From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 6/23/2018 3:38:53 PM
To: Steve Bannon [redacted]
Subject: Re: Re:
Attachments: image002.png; image003.png; image004.png; image001.png

Importance: High

maybe, but southern district . money laundering. . any action that "offends the constitution " . corrupt intent. . . many open questions. . flippers will dictate (my view)

On Sat, Jun 23, 2018 at 2:44 PM, Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:
Big deal

Begin forwarded message:

Resent-From: <[redacted]>
From: "Rivkin, David" <[redacted]>
Date: June 23, 2018 at 8:14:49 AM EDT
To: Steve Bannon <[redacted]>
Subject: Fwd: Re:

Here it is.

Sent from my iPhone

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From: "Grossman, Andrew M" <[redacted]>
Date: June 23, 2018 at 12:56:55 AM EDT
To: "Rivkin, David" <[redacted]>
Subject: Re:

Mueller's Fruit of the Poisonous Tree

It makes no difference how honorable he is. His investigation is tainted by the bias that attended its origin in 2016.

By

David B. Rivkin Jr. and

Elizabeth Price Foley

June 22, 2018 6:38 p.m. ET

414 COMMENTS

Special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation may face a serious legal obstacle: It is tainted by antecedent political bias. The June 14 report from Michael Horowitz, the Justice Department's

inspector general, unearthed a pattern of anti-Trump bias by high-ranking officials at the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Some of their communications, the report says, were "not only indicative of a biased state of mind but imply a willingness to take action to impact a presidential candidate's electoral prospects." Although Mr. Horowitz could not definitively ascertain whether this bias "directly affected" specific FBI actions in the Hillary Clinton email investigation, it nonetheless affects the legality of the Trump-Russia collusion inquiry, code-named Crossfire Hurricane.

Crossfire was launched only months before the 2016 election. Its FBI progenitors—the same ones who had investigated Mrs. Clinton—deployed at least one informant to probe Trump campaign advisers, obtained Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court wiretap warrants, issued national security letters to gather records, and unmasked the identities of campaign officials who were surveilled. They also repeatedly leaked investigative information.

Mr. Horowitz is separately scrutinizing Crossfire and isn't expected to finish for months. But the current report reveals that FBI officials displayed not merely an appearance of bias against Donald Trump, but animus bordering on hatred. Peter Strzok, who led both the Clinton and Trump investigations, confidently assuaged a colleague's fear that Mr. Trump would become president: "No he won't. We'll stop it." An unnamed FBI lawyer assigned to Crossfire told a colleague he was "devastated" and "numb" after Mr. Trump won, while declaring to another FBI attorney: "Viva le resistance."

The report highlights the FBI's failure to act promptly upon discovering that Anthony Weiner's laptop contained thousands of Mrs. Clinton's emails. Investigators justified the delay by citing the "higher priority" of Crossfire. But Mr. Horowitz writes: "We did not have confidence that Strzok's decision to prioritize the Russia investigation over following up on [the] investigative lead discovered on the Weiner laptop was free from bias."

Similarly, although Mr. Horowitz found no evidence that then-FBI Director James Comey was trying to influence the election, Mr. Comey did make decisions based on political considerations. He told the inspector general that his election-eve decision to reopen the Clinton email investigation was motivated by a desire to protect her assumed presidency's legitimacy.

The inspector general wrote that Mr. Strzok's text messages "created the appearance that investigative decisions were impacted by bias or improper considerations." The report adds, importantly, that "most of the text messages raising such questions pertained to the Russia investigation." Given how biases ineluctably shape behavior, these facts create a strong inference that by squelching the Clinton investigation and building a narrative of Trump-Russia collusion, a group of government officials

sought to bolster Mrs. Clinton's electoral chances and, if the unthinkable happened, obtain an insurance policy to cripple the Trump administration with accusations of illegitimacy.

What does this have to do with Mr. Mueller, who was appointed in May 2017 after President Trump fired Mr. Comey? The inspector general concludes that the pervasive bias "cast a cloud over the FBI investigations to which these employees were assigned," including Crossfire. And if Crossfire was politically motivated, then its culmination, the appointment of a special counsel, inherited the taint. All special-counsel activities—investigations, plea deals, subpoenas, reports, indictments and convictions—are fruit of a poisonous tree, byproducts of a violation of due process. That Mr. Mueller and his staff had nothing to do with Crossfire's origin offers no cure.

When the government deprives a person of life, liberty or property, it is required to use fundamentally fair processes. The Supreme Court has made clear that when governmental action "shocks the conscience," it violates due process. Such conduct includes investigative or prosecutorial efforts that appear, under the totality of the circumstances, to be motivated by corruption, bias or entrapment.

In *U.S. v. Russell* (1973), the justices observed: "We may someday be presented with a situation in which the conduct of law enforcement agents is so outrageous that due process principles would absolutely bar the government from invoking judicial processes to obtain a conviction." It didn't take long. In *Blackledge v. Perry* (1974), the court concluded that due process was offended by a prosecutor's "realistic likelihood of 'vindictiveness' " that tainted the "very initiation of proceedings."
In *Young v. U.S. ex rel. Vuitton* (1987), the justices held that because prosecutors have "power to employ the full machinery of the state in scrutinizing any given individual . . . we must have assurance that those who would wield this power will be guided solely by their sense of public responsibility for the attainment of justice." Prosecutors must be "disinterested" and make "dispassionate assessments," free from any personal bias.
In *Williams v. Pennsylvania* (2016), the court held that a state judge's potential bias violated due process because he had played a role, a quarter-century earlier, in prosecuting the death-row inmate whose habeas corpus petition he was hearing. The passage of time and involvement of others do not vitiate the taint but heighten "the need for objective rules preventing the operation of bias that might otherwise be obscured," the justices wrote. A single biased individual "might still have an influence that, while not so visible . . . is nevertheless significant."
In addition to the numerous anti-Trump messages uncovered by the inspector general, there is a strong circumstantial case—including personnel, timing, methods and the absence of evidence—that Crossfire was initiated for political, not national-security, purposes.

It was initiated in defiance of a longstanding Justice Department presumption against investigating campaigns in an election year. And while impartiality is always required, a 2012 memo by then-Attorney General Eric Holder emphasizes that impartiality is "particularly important in an election year," and "politics must play no role in the decisions of federal prosecutors or investigators regarding any investigations. . . . Law enforcement officers and prosecutors may never select the timing of investigative steps or criminal charges for the purpose of affecting any election, or for the purpose of giving an advantage or disadvantage to any candidate or political party."

Strong evidence of a crime can overcome this policy, as was the case with the bureau's investigation of Mrs. Clinton's private email server, which began more than a year before the 2016 election. But Crossfire was not a criminal investigation. It was a counterintelligence investigation predicated on the notion that Russia could be colluding with the Trump campaign. There appears to have been no discernible evidence of Trump-Russia collusion at the time Crossfire was launched, further reinforcing the notion that it was initiated "for the purpose" of affecting the presidential election.

The chief evidence of collusion is the hacking of the Democratic National Committee's servers. But nothing in the public record suggests the Trump campaign aided that effort. The collusion narrative therefore hinges on the more generic assertion that Russia aimed to help Mr. Trump's election, and that the Trump campaign reciprocated by embracing pro-Russian policies. Yet despite massive surveillance and investigation, there's still no public evidence of any such exchange—only that Russia attempted to sow political discord by undermining Mrs. Clinton and to a lesser extent Mr. Trump.

Some members of the Trump team interacted with Russians and advocated dovish policies. But so did numerous American political and academic elites, including many Clinton advisers. Presidential campaigns routinely seek opposition research and interact with foreign powers. The Clinton campaign funded the Steele dossier, whose British author paid Russians to dish anti-Trump dirt. The Podesta Group, led by the brother of Mrs. Clinton's campaign chairman, received millions lobbying for Russia's largest bank and the European Center for a Modern Ukraine, both with deep Kremlin ties. The Clinton Foundation and Bill Clinton took millions from Kremlin-connected businesses.

No evidence has emerged of Trump-Russia collusion, and Mr. Mueller has yet to bring collusion-related charges against anyone. Evidence suggests one of his targets, George Papadopoulos, was lured to London, plied with the prospect of Russian information damaging to Mrs. Clinton, and taken to dinner, where he drunkenly bragged that he'd heard about such dirt but never seen it. These circumstances not only fail to suggest Mr. Papadopoulos committed a crime, they reek of entrapment. The source of this information, former Australian diplomat Alexander Downer, admits Mr.

Papadopolous never mentioned emails, destroying any reasonable inference of a connection between the DNC hack and the Trump campaign.

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Given the paucity of evidence, it's staggering that the FBI would initiate a counterintelligence investigation, led by politically biased staff, amid a presidential campaign. The aggressive methods and subsequent leaking only strengthen that conclusion. If the FBI sincerely believed Trump associates were Russian targets or agents, the proper response would have been to inform Mr. Trump so that he could protect his campaign and the country.

Mr. Trump's critics argue that the claim of political bias is belied by the fact that Crossfire was not leaked before the election. In fact, there were vigorous, successful pre-election efforts to publicize the Trump-Russia collusion narrative. Shortly after Crossfire's launch, CIA Director John Brennan and Mr. Comey briefed Congress, triggering predictable leaking. Christopher Steele and his patrons embarked on a media roadshow, making their dossier something of an open secret in Washington.

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Mr. Rivkin and Ms. Foley practice appellate and constitutional law in Washington. He served at the Justice Department and the White House Counsel's Office during the Reagan and George H.W. Bush administrations. She is a professor at Florida International University College of Law.

Appeared in the June 23, 2018, print edition.

Best,

Andrew

Andrew Grossman
Partner

BakerHostetler

Washington Square
1050 Connecticut Ave, N.W. | Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20036-5304
T [redacted]
bakerlaw.com

From: "Rivkin, David" <[redacted]n>
Date: Friday, June 22, 2018 at 7:50 PM
To: "Grossman, Andrew M" <[redacted]n>
Subject: <no subject>

Can you please send me WSJ op Ed. Tx

Sent from my iPhone

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Sent: 6/23/2018 4:01:37 PM
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Subject: Fwd: Re:
Attachments: image003.png; image002.png; image001.png; image004.png

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Appeared in the June 23, 2018, print edition.

Best,

Andrew

Andrew Grossman
Partner

BakerHostetler

Washington Square
1050 Connecticut Ave, N.W. | Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20036-5304
[redacted]
bakerlaw.com

From: "Rivkin, David" <[redacted]>
Date: Friday, June 22, 2018 at 7:50 PM
To: "Grossman, Andrew M" <[redacted]>
Subject: <no subject>

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 6/23/2018 5:25:33 PM
To: Kathy Ruemmler [[redacted]]
Subject: Re: Fwd: Re:

exactly my view. on facebook I thought you might look at the recent internet and privacy opinions and pose some open questions. to be discussed . mark wants to bring the internet to the rest of the world. . and healthcare . . his wife is nice but boring. . what do you see as the challegnes what does she or he see. . social

On Sat, Jun 23, 2018 at 7:11 PM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:
Yawn. And David Rivkin is a hack. Zero — and I mean zero — chance that a court would find a due process violation on these facts. Fruit of the poisonous tree doctrine does not apply.

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Similarly, although Mr. Horowitz found no evidence that then-FBI Director James Comey was trying to influence the election, Mr. Comey did make decisions based on political considerations. He told the inspector general that his election-eve decision to reopen the Clinton email investigation was motivated by a desire to protect her assumed presidency's legitimacy.

The inspector general wrote that Mr. Strzok's text messages "created the appearance that investigative decisions were impacted by bias or improper considerations." The report adds, importantly, that "most of the text messages raising such questions pertained to the Russia investigation." Given how biases ineluctably shape behavior, these facts create a strong inference that by squelching the Clinton investigation and building a narrative of Trump-Russia collusion, a group of government officials sought to bolster Mrs. Clinton's electoral chances and, if the unthinkable happened, obtain an insurance policy to cripple the Trump administration with accusations of illegitimacy.

What does this have to do with Mr. Mueller, who was appointed in May 2017 after President Trump fired Mr. Comey? The inspector general concludes that the pervasive bias "cast a cloud over the FBI investigations to which these employees were assigned," including Crossfire. And if Crossfire was politically motivated, then its culmination, the appointment of a special counsel, inherited the taint. All special-counsel activities—investigations, plea deals, subpoenas, reports, indictments and convictions—are fruit of a poisonous tree, byproducts of a violation of due process. That Mr. Mueller and his staff had nothing to do with Crossfire's origin offers no cure.

When the government deprives a person of life, liberty or property, it is required to use fundamentally fair processes. The Supreme Court has made clear that when governmental action "shocks the conscience," it violates due process. Such conduct includes investigative or prosecutorial efforts that appear, under the totality of the circumstances, to be motivated by corruption, bias or entrapment.

In *U.S. v. Russell* (1973), the justices observed: "We may someday be presented with a situation in which the conduct of law enforcement agents is so outrageous that due process principles would absolutely bar the government from invoking judicial processes to obtain a conviction." It didn't take long. In *Blackledge v. Perry* (1974), the court concluded that due process was offended by a prosecutor's "realistic likelihood of 'vindictiveness' " that tainted the "very initiation of proceedings." In *Young v. U.S. ex rel. Vuitton* (1987), the justices held that because prosecutors have "power to employ the full machinery of the state in scrutinizing any given individual . . . we must have assurance that those who would wield this power will be guided solely by their sense of public responsibility for the attainment of justice." Prosecutors must be "disinterested" and make "dispassionate assessments," free from any personal bias.

In *Williams v. Pennsylvania* (2016), the court held that a state judge's potential bias violated due process because he had played a role, a quarter-century earlier, in prosecuting the death-row inmate whose habeas corpus petition he was hearing. The passage of time and involvement of others do not vitiate the taint but heighten "the need for objective rules preventing the operation of bias that might otherwise be obscured," the justices wrote. A single biased individual "might still have an influence that, while not so visible . . . is nevertheless significant."

In addition to the numerous anti-Trump messages uncovered by the inspector general, there is a strong circumstantial case—including personnel, timing, methods and the absence of evidence—that Crossfire was initiated for political, not national-security, purposes.

It was initiated in defiance of a longstanding Justice Department presumption against investigating campaigns in an election year. And while impartiality is always required, a 2012 memo by then-Attorney General Eric Holder emphasizes that impartiality is "particularly important in an election year," and "politics must play no role in the decisions of federal prosecutors or investigators regarding any investigations. . . . Law enforcement officers and prosecutors may never select the timing of investigative steps or criminal charges for the purpose of affecting any election, or for the purpose of giving an advantage or disadvantage to any candidate or political party."

Strong evidence of a crime can overcome this policy, as was the case with the bureau's investigation of Mrs. Clinton's private email server, which began more than a year before the 2016 election. But Crossfire was not a criminal investigation. It was a counterintelligence investigation predicated on the notion that Russia could be colluding with the Trump campaign. There appears to have been no discernible evidence of Trump-Russia collusion at the time Crossfire was launched, further reinforcing the notion that it was initiated "for the purpose" of affecting the presidential election.

The chief evidence of collusion is the hacking of the Democratic National Committee's servers. But nothing in the public record suggests the Trump campaign aided that effort. The collusion narrative therefore hinges on the more generic assertion that Russia aimed to help Mr. Trump's election, and that the Trump campaign reciprocated by embracing pro-Russian policies. Yet despite massive surveillance and investigation, there's still no public evidence of any such exchange—only that Russia attempted to sow political discord by undermining Mrs. Clinton and to a lesser extent Mr. Trump.

Some members of the Trump team interacted with Russians and advocated dovish policies. But so did numerous American political and academic elites, including many Clinton advisers. Presidential campaigns routinely seek opposition research and interact with foreign powers. The Clinton campaign funded the Steele dossier, whose British author paid Russians to dish anti-Trump dirt. The Podesta

Group, led by the brother of Mrs. Clinton's campaign chairman, received millions lobbying for Russia's largest bank and the European Center for a Modern Ukraine, both with deep Kremlin ties. The Clinton Foundation and Bill Clinton took millions from Kremlin-connected businesses.

No evidence has emerged of Trump-Russia collusion, and Mr. Mueller has yet to bring collusion-related charges against anyone. Evidence suggests one of his targets, George Papadopoulos, was lured to London, plied with the prospect of Russian information damaging to Mrs. Clinton, and taken to dinner, where he drunkenly bragged that he'd heard about such dirt but never seen it. These circumstances not only fail to suggest Mr. Papadopoulos committed a crime, they reek of entrapment. The source of this information, former Australian diplomat Alexander Downer, admits Mr. Papadopolous never mentioned emails, destroying any reasonable inference of a connection between the DNC hack and the Trump campaign.

Crossfire's progenitors thus ignored an obvious question: If Russia promised unspecified dirt on Mrs. Clinton but never delivered it, how would that amount to collusion with the Trump campaign? If anything, such behavior suggests an attempt to entice and potentially embarrass Mr. Trump by dangling the prospect of compromising information and getting his aides to jump at it.

Given the paucity of evidence, it's staggering that the FBI would initiate a counterintelligence investigation, led by politically biased staff, amid a presidential campaign. The aggressive methods and subsequent leaking only strengthen that conclusion. If the FBI sincerely believed Trump associates were Russian targets or agents, the proper response would have been to inform Mr. Trump so that he could protect his campaign and the country.

Mr. Trump's critics argue that the claim of political bias is belied by the fact that Crossfire was not leaked before the election. In fact, there were vigorous, successful pre-election efforts to publicize the Trump-Russia collusion narrative. Shortly after Crossfire's launch, CIA Director John Brennan and Mr. Comey briefed Congress, triggering predictable leaking. Christopher Steele and his patrons embarked on a media roadshow, making their dossier something of an open secret in Washington.

On Aug. 29, 2016, the New York Times published a letter to Mr. Comey from Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid, saying he'd learned of "evidence of a direct connection between the Russian government and Donald Trump's presidential campaign," which had "employed a number of individuals with significant and disturbing ties to Russia and the Kremlin." On Aug. 30, the ranking Democratic members of four House committees wrote a public letter to Mr. Comey requesting "that the FBI assess whether connections between Trump campaign officials and Russian interests" may have contributed to the DNC hack so as "to interfere with the U.S. presidential election." On Sept. 23, Yahoo News's

Michael Isikoff reported the Hill briefings and the Steele dossier's allegations regarding Carter Page. On Oct. 30, Harry Reid again publicly wrote Mr. Comey: "In my communications with you and other top officials in the national security community, it has become clear that you possess explosive information about close ties and coordination between Donald Trump, his top advisors, and the Russian government."

That these leaking efforts failed to prevent Mr. Trump's victory, or that Mr. Comey's ham-fisted interventions might have also hurt Mrs. Clinton's electoral prospects, does not diminish the legal significance of the anti-Trump bias shown by government officials.

The totality of the circumstances creates the appearance that Crossfire was politically motivated. Since an attempt by federal law enforcement to influence a presidential election "shocks the conscience," any prosecutorial effort derived from such an outrageous abuse of power must be suppressed. The public will learn more once the inspector general finishes his investigation into Crossfire's genesis. But given what is now known, due process demands, at a minimum, that the special counsel's activity be paused. Those affected by Mr. Mueller's investigation could litigate such an argument in court. One would hope, however, that given the facts either Mr. Mueller himself or Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein would do it first.

Mr. Rivkin and Ms. Foley practice appellate and constitutional law in Washington. He served at the Justice Department and the White House Counsel's Office during the Reagan and George H.W. Bush administrations. She is a professor at Florida International University College of Law.

Appeared in the June 23, 2018, print edition.

Best,

Andrew

Andrew Grossman
Partner

<image001.png>

Washington Square
1050 Connecticut Ave, N.W. | Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20036-5304

[redacted]

bakerlaw.com

<image002.png> <image003.png> <image004.png>

From: "Rivkin, David" <[redacted]>
Date: Friday, June 22, 2018 at 7:50 PM
To: "Grossman, Andrew M" <[redacted]>
Subject: <no subject>

Can you please send me WSJ op Ed. Tx

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Date: Thursday, August 9 2018 10:47 AM
Subject: Fwd: Our May conversation - more thoughts
From: jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: BS Stern <[redacted]>;

Hi all –

I spent some time mulling additional aspects of a third choice presidential run and wanted to run five specific attributes for a candidate by you as a group.

This much we know - the Fall elections are shaping up to be a referendum on the most divisive American President in memory. The battle for potential Supreme Court justice Brett Kavanaugh's nomination this fall will only amplify the polarity of the political debate that is already deeply overwrought on both sides. The rising tide of pressure on Donald Trump from the Mueller investigation shows no sign of ebbing.

Unless the underlying political dynamics are disrupted, the outcomes of these unprecedented events will still leave us with the same unsatisfactory two front battlefield of the 2016 Presidential election. Watching these unrelenting, compounding events since our discussion in May, I am guessing we are all asking the same question: now what? For the 48 percent of Americans who believe Donald Trump should not be in the White House, perhaps we too want our own "chaos" candidate in 2020?

Should Trump run again, this could be a "break glass" moment for the majority of Americans who don't support him. Do we want to break the genteel precedents of two parties running their ceremonious and seemingly illogical nominating process to select a candidate? (Why do Iowa and New Hampshire play such outsized roles? What kind of small-d democratic process relies on superdelegates?) The system failed in 2016, with both parties producing terribly flawed candidates in a race to the bottom. We need to build a back-up plan in the event the system fails again.

It's possible, of course, that we won't need a third-party candidate. Trump could decide not to run for whatever reason. The Democrats could nominate a winning 2020 candidate. I am not willing to take those bets.

The ideal candidate for a new third party is someone who is widely perceived to be that rare combination of both good *and* great. We are looking for a proven leader of men and women, someone with clear, democratic – and moral – values that reflect the best of America, not our worst. We know people like this on the national stage now.

As a thought experiment, consider the possibilities of a ticket outside the partisan lanes and imagine the chemistry of radical combinations: Biden/Romney? Bill Gates/Hogan? Bloomberg/Haley? Howard Schultz/Bob Corker? Sandberg/Kasich?

As we have discussed narrow path to electing the first president outside the two major party primary system in 168 years is more navigable than most think. Heading into 2020, converging trends in American's demands for a third party (a historic high of 61%), disapproval of Donald Trump holding steady above 50%, and the increasingly leftward drift of the Democratic Party suggest that electorate may be susceptible to merits of a new centrist party. Cynics will say that the structural impediments of ballot and presidential debate access, the overwhelming advantages of legacy parties' fundraising and voter turn-out operations preordain failure, but they're wrong; the legal and logistical hurdles are amenable to a combination of lawyering and resources. The bigger, more consequential factors come in terms of candidate quality and policy. I believe a candidate with five specific characteristics including a unique – and purposefully non-specific - policy agenda could limbo a win.

- This is what I think a successful third-party candidate looks like; a dream third party ticket would start off with enough name ID to be an instant contender. Building the name ID to run nationally is just too long and expensive of a process to accomplish in the 28 months until the next presidential election. We can't beat a celebrity without some celebrity of our own, whether from politics, sports, business, or entertainment. Instantaneous name ID is so crucial because the candidate must

start out in striking distance in any three-way poll against Trump and a fill-in-the-blank Democratic flavor-of-the day candidate. The media and political class will predetermine irrelevance otherwise.

- A Democrat-leaning candidate would *have* to top the ideal third-party ticket. We need someone with a shot at snaking a plurality of the vote in the blue states Hillary Clinton won (227 electoral votes), but moderate enough to win a plurality in some combination of Trump states like Florida, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and Michigan (another 119 votes). The right candidate may even to put North Carolina, Ohio, Indiana in play for a centrist bi-partisan ticket as well (totaling an electoral sweep of 464 elector votes). A right leaning candidate would meet the same fate as a primary challenger to Trump – for all intents and purposes we need to assume that 36% of voters won't be cleaved from Trump under any circumstances and run to win around them. The deep red states would be off the table entirely.

- With the Trump reality show airing daily, voters are now expecting to take their politics with a side of entertainment. Heretofore, ratings will matter no matter how dry the policy topic. Surely Stephen Colbert would gladly sacrifice his executive producer Chris Licht to produce a daily comedic segment of this dream candidate interviewing Americans in truck stops and McDonald's across the country. A few of the "Saturday Night Live" script writers could certainly be enticed to disguise serious debates as informative amusement. Any candidate must be committed to a near daily cadence of high quality, compelling video production. It will be especially crucial to keep the voters' attention during what will be a raucous Democratic primary season. Rules governing access to the general election debate stage dictate that a candidate enjoy support of at least 15% of voters in the months leading up to the general election.

- This dream candidate would pledge to serve only four years and address all of the U.S.'s ticking time bombs like Social Security, Medicare, health care reform, climate change, money in politics, gerrymandering, and infrastructure investment in a single term. This one-and-done term decouples our candidate from the usual politics and gives them the power of promise and deliver decisive action. A four-year term pledge ensures governance independent of campaign finance concerns and

narrow special interests inherent to winning re-election. This "fix-it" ticket would promise to force decisions on all the underlying structural policy matters damaging America's long-term prospects and distorting our democracy. No more kicking the can down the road.

- This candidate should also pledge to push for laws passed that reflect the will of simple majorities in Congress. Congress now only allows bills to move forward when a "majority of a majority" supports the policy and on many levels seems fundamentally broken. This third-party president could force votes based on a transparent reading of where the votes lie via coalition building. The Senate filibuster power will present a high hurdle, but a third-party candidate would be a de facto disruptor of the two-party system. Party discipline could well break down, and moderates in both parties could form a powerful, decisive block willing to work with the new President. The policies passed into law may not be ideal for either Democrats or Republicans, but for the major agenda items that must be addressed for America's long-term health, an imperfect fix that corrects course is better than those that now have us hurtling toward national bankruptcy.

And if no candidate secures 270 electoral votes in 2020? The House of Representatives would choose the next president. In 2016, reports suggested Michael Bloomberg declined to run on a third-party ticket for fear of splitting support from Hillary Clinton and throwing the election to a GOP-controlled House of Representatives who would then vote to select the president. The fear was the GOP controlled House would have just elected Trump.

Would Democratic control of the House mean that the House would pick an alternative to Trump as president? Each state delegation has a single vote in selecting a president and it is the incoming Congress - the class elected in 2020 that would decide the election. But no matter which party has the speaker's chair, the GOP would almost certainly have the upper hand in the majority of state delegations controlled. Would the state delegations pick a president based on party majority control of the delegation, the winner of the popular vote in each state or their own calculations as to who is best for America? Precedent suggests that delegations use secret ballots, which means individual lawmakers may vote their consciences.

If we recruit this ideal candidate; threading the needle of name ID, a center-left bent, a TV-savvy campaign team and a pledge to serve only four years with an apartisan agenda, money and campaign expertise would certainly follow. And 50 state ballot access is a function of time (starting in the fall of 2019 would be prudential) and hard work as we have discussed and many of you have exhaustively war-gamed.

Part and parcel of this effort would be motivating the often politically lackadaisical middle to vote. The raft of new technologies in data targeting and biometric mobile voting technology could transform the electorate in the next few, amping voter participation and injecting the voices of moderates (both in political views and level of political interest) into the process. And any third-party effort must incorporate advocacy for accelerated adaption of these all but inevitable voter verification tools. I believe Silicon Valley could be game-changing allies in this effort.

I am sure none of us doubt that chaos could potentially be unleashed by jamming three viable candidates into a two-party system. An election that ends up in the House of Representatives is an uncontrollable, murky and ancient process. But might that be a less scary prospect than relying on the Democrats to nominate a candidate who can beat Trump in 2020?

I look forward to talking more about all of our ideas on this hopeful project in coming weeks. Please feel free to call me to discuss. Thank you for taking time to review this note.

Sincerely,

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/23/2018 3:16:47 PM
To: Kathy Ruemmler[redacted]
Subject: Re: NYTimes: Donald Trump's High Crimes and Misdemeanors

you see , i know how dirty donald is. my guess is that non lawyers ny biz people have no idea. what it means to have your fixer flip

On Thu, Aug 23, 2018 at 11:13 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

It makes no difference whether it was his money. Issue is failure to disclose. Plus, fact that he has lied his ass off about it makes clear that he knew it was illegal.

On Aug 23, 2018, at 11:03 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

I think he makes the argument that it was his , trumps money , making it not illegal. though he also said he only found out afterwards? and the fact according to the indicment was billed as services rendered and grossed up. im sure his acct has flipped anyway. . I did talk in detail to starr yesterday re indicments how trump can make a deal (special counsel) . clintons trash can yes starr gave me more. YECHHHH! .

On Thu, Aug 23, 2018 at 10:50 AM, Kathy Ruemmler <[redacted]> wrote:

Here's a story from The New York Times that I thought you'd find interesting:

The principled case for impeachment is clear. What's missing is the courage.

Read More...

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/24/2018 12:47:43 PM
To: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Trump @ War

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: <redacted>
Date: Thu, Aug 23, 2018 at 4:25 PM
Subject: Trump @ War
To: "jeevacation@gmail.com" <jeevacation@gmail.com>

https://app.frame.io/presentations/a87092af-cb6a-473b-9241-582c03dbb906

Sent from ProtonMail Mobile

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 9/12/2018 6:15:20 PM
To: Larry Summers [redacted]
Subject: Re: This morning

https://www.cato-unbound.org/2016/12/13/jason-mcdaniel/ranked-choice-voting-likely-means-lower-turnout-more-errors difficult to judge one way or the other. turnout , does not reflect ethnicity .? stable does not mean same. . looking at the argumnents on both sides , I would have to conclude in your words a big nothingburger

On Wed, Sep 12, 2018 at 5:01 AM, Larry Summers <[redacted]> wrote:

More than u may want to know
Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at:[redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Maskin, Eric" <[redacted]>
Date: September 11, 2018 at 10:24:21 PM EDT
To: LHS <[redacted]
Subject: RE: This morning

I believe there are, but don't know how careful they are. I will try to get you references.

From: LHS <[redacted]>
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2018 10:23 PM
To: Maskin, Eric [redacted]
Cc: lhsoffice [redacted]
Subject: Re: This morning

Are there empirical studies on turnout.

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at:[redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

On Sep 11, 2018, at 10:20 PM, Maskin, Eric <[redacted] wrote:

Yes, we can expect more extremists to run under RCV. But also more centrists (e.g., Bloomberg). Since the centrists are closer to the median voter, they will defeat the extremists.

The evidence I have seen suggests that RCV *increases* turn-out. [But it's important that voters be given the choice to rank as many or few candidates as they like, so that a voter always has the option of voting for a single candidate (in effect, he would be ranking all other candidates as tied for second). In practice, most voters choose to rank two or three candidates, but a significant fraction just rank one]

In fact the increase in the diversity of candidates under RCV is related to turn-out. If RCV had been used in 2016, Bernie Sanders could have run as an independent in the general election without fear of guaranteeing a Trump victory. Many of the Bernie supporters who stayed home on election day might then have voted---and presumably would have ranked Clinton second. This would have given her a victory over Trump in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania (and possibly elsewhere).

Eric

From: LHS <[redacted]>
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2018 7:52 PM
To: Maskin, Eric <[redacted]
Cc: lhsoffice [redacted]
Subject: Re: This morning

I get that formal argument

What about aspects not quite in model.

More folk will run from extremes if they can attract more First run votes. Candidates can position a bit.

Separately I pitched this to someone today.

He said he had heard that because of its greater complexity African American and lower income turnout was depressed. Is there evidence on turnout impacts?

Sent from my iPhone

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at:[redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers

www.larrysummers.com

On Sep 11, 2018, at 6:05 PM, Maskin, Eric <[redacted]> wrote:

Hi Larry,

Thank you very much for taking the meeting this morning. I'm glad you found it worthwhile, and I agree with you that Adam Friedman's commitment to the project is impressive.

I AM serious about working on this---it's a nice opportunity to make important practical use of some interesting theory. Voting rules may seem nerdy and dry, but they can make an enormous difference to actual politics

The formal argument that RCV promotes centrism better than the current system (plurality rule) is straightforward. Suppose that most voters vote ideologically in the sense that the closer a candidate is to their own position on the left-right spectrum, the more like they are to vote for him. Then under majority rule (my favorite voting system)---in which voters rank candidates and the winner is the candidate who beats all other in pairwise comparisons----the winner will be the median voter's favorite candidate -----in other words, the most centrist candidate gets elected (this assumes that there are enough candidates running so that there is one who is reasonably close to the median voter). Now observe that RCV is in between majority rule and plurality rule, and so will promote centrism better than plurality rule.

Best wishes, Eric

From: LHS <[redacted]>
Sent: Tuesday, September 11, 2018 4:16 PM
To: Maskin, Eric [redacted]
Cc: lhsoffice [redacted]
Subject: This morning

It was fun and interesting.

I admire your friends determination.

Are you serious about working on this?

Has anyone done a full analysis of this and polarization.

Seems like on one hand it might encourage Ralph Nader cuz he d get more first round votes and not elect George bush. This might be bad.

On other hand, gore would not have to move left to take Nader vote.

If I like centrism is it clear that this is better.

I get that it avoids arbitrary outcomes but assume that a tea party nut is as likely to elect a dem as a lefty is to elect et a republican.

Anyway thanks for setting up.

Btw I gave them 10,000.

Larry
Sent from my iPad

Please direct all scheduling inquiries to my office at: [redacted]

Follow me on twitter @lhsummers
www.larrysummers.com

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 11/5/2018 8:23:58 PM
To: Michael Wolff [redacted]
Subject: Re:

take photos

On Mon, Nov 5, 2018 at 8:36 PM Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:

I was thinking of opening with you and Bannon talking about Trump. Would let you sound smart and offer what I think would be a crowd-pleasing perspective, and make you seem like a credible player--former friend of Trump, advisor to world leaders, sought after person, etc--without having to too much rehash old stuff.

Doesn't seem like they can win...but who knows. I'm meeting Bannon had 3 tomorrow and will stay with him until the end.

On Mon, Nov 5, 2018 at 2:08 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

if the republicans pull this off , steve would deserve most of the credit. . he was way out in front on this way out. . . execution not to his liking but..... on another note , what were you thinking about me in the book, with what moniker

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 5/23/2019 12:53:04 AM
To: Michael Wolff [redacted]]
Subject: Re:

Home

On Wed, May 22, 2019 at 8:24 PM Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:

> Where are you tomorrow?
>
> On Wed, May 22, 2019 at 8:23 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> > Why had no one interviewed some of trump classmates at wharton ? Deutsh bank papers very bery bad
> > --
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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 5/23/2019 1:11:24 AM
To: Michael Wolff [redacted]]
Subject: Re:

Great

On Wed, May 22, 2019 at 8:56 PM Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:
Lunch tomorrow? Or after? I have 4:00 appt. anytime before works.

On Wed, May 22, 2019 at 8:53 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Free afternoon

On Wed, May 22, 2019 at 8:24 PM Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:
Where are you tomorrow?

On Wed, May 22, 2019 at 8:23 PM J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
Why had no one interviewed some of trump classmates at wharton ? Deutsh bank papers very bery bad
--
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From: Terry Kafka [[redacted]]
Sent: 8/19/2013 8:34:18 PM
To: Mark L. Epstein [[redacted]]; Jeffery Edwards [jeevacation@gmail.com]; 'Warren Eisenstein' [[redacted]]
CC: Mark Albert[[redacted]], Janet Kafka [[redacted]]
Subject: FW: shortest books of all time

Importance: High

From: [redacted] [[redacted]]
Sent: Monday, August 19, 2013 12:25 PM
To: terry@impactoutdoor.com
Subject: Re: shortest books of all time

Now that is really funny!!!

On Aug 19, 2013, at 7:53 AM, [redacted] wrote:

Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: Joel Dunn <[redacted]>
Date: Mon, 19 Aug 2013 07:35:50 -0700 (PDT)
To: Nicholas Gahhos<[redacted]>; John Stepek<[redacted]>; Ed Hammer<[redacted]>; Bob & Sandy<[redacted]>; Joe Nordgaard<[redacted]>; Terry Kafka<[redacted]>; Bridges Hague<[redacted]>
ReplyTo: Joel Dunn <[redacted]>
Subject: shortest books of all time

The Shortest Books of All Time

MY BLACK GIRLFRIENDS

By Tiger Woods

THINGS I LOVE ABOUT MY COUNTRY

By Jane Fonda and Cindy Sheehan
Illustrated by Michael Moore
Forward by George Soros

MY CHRISTIAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND HOW I HELPED AFTER KATRINA

By Rev Jesse Jackson & Rev Al Sharpton

THINGS I CANNOT AFFORD
By Bill Gates

THINGS I WOULD NOT DO FOR MONEY
By Dennis Rodman

THINGS WE KNOW TO BE TRUE
By Al Gore and John Kerry

HOW TO LIVE LIFE TO THE FULLEST
By Dr. Jack Kevorkian

TO ALL THE MEN WE HAVE LOVED BEFORE
By Ellen de Generes and Rosie O'Donnell

GUIDE TO DATING ETIQUETTE
By Mike Tyson

THE AMISH PHONE DIRECTORY

MY PLAN TO FIND THE REAL KILLERS
By O. J. Simpson

HOW TO DRINK AND DRIVE SAFELY
By Ted Kennedy

MY BOOK OF MORALS
By Bill Clinton
With introduction by The Rev. Jesse Jackson

My Complete Knowledge of Military Strategy
By Nancy Pelosi

THINGS I DID TO DESERVE THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE
By Barack Obama

From: Laurie Cameron [redacted]
Sent: 9/3/2013 3:17:44 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Sept 2 position
Attachments: Sept 2.nmbtemplate

Importance: High

Hi Jeffrey,

Attached please find the Sept 2 position. The realized gain increased by the $28 k option premium that resulted from the barrier level trading in USD JPY. The USD sold off vs the AUD, GBP and the NZD today. The USD rallied against the CAD and the JPY.

I have separated y t d p/l from Sept p/l so that the numbers mean more.

Hopefully the AUD will stay above .88 going into next Monday. As I write this it is approx .90, which is good. I know it's not BRL, but I think that we are realizing some good gains. In the weeks ahead volatility will likely increase as Congress considers standing behind Obama and attacking Syria. Liquidity in restricted currencies can disappear at the trader's will. I prefer that we trade liquid easily currencies at a time like this.

Laurie

ECONOMÍA
El licor servido en locales de fiestas será controlado.
Pág. 6

ECONOMÍA
La potencia asiática es tentada a controlar la economía venezolana.
Pág. 7

MUNDO
La doctrina de Barack Obama analizada por ecuatorianos.
Pág. 12

Hoy llega el sultán de Dubái para apostar por Posorja

GUILLERMO LIZARZABURO CASTRO, lizarzaburugu@granasa.com.ec ■ GUAYAQUIL

Ahmed bin Sulayem se reunirá con Rafael Correa para analizar inversión en Posorja.

Por su viaje a Lima, **el alcalde Jaime Nebot no lo podrá recibir** en su despacho

Ya tiene inversiones portuarias en Colombia y Perú y no podría faltar, en esta zona de América Latina, la ciudad puerto más importante del Pacífico Sur: Guayaquil, donde al año llegan 1,5 millones de contenedores de 20 pies (TEU) despachados con la misma rapidez que en Europa.

El sultán de Dubái, Ahmed bin Sulayem, accionista mayoritario de la operadora portuaria número cuatro en el mundo Dubai Port World (DPW), llega hoy a Ecuador. Se reunirá con el presidente de la República, Rafael Correa, para tratar sobre una de las posibles inversiones más importantes para la ciudad, el puerto de aguas profundas en Posorja.

La cita con el alcalde de la ciudad, Jaime Nebot, quien ha defendido la construcción de esa infraestructura después de que el Gobierno, a través de la Subsecretaría de Puertos, le revocara el permiso al grupo Alinport, no se dará. El burgomaestre estará en Lima, Perú, hasta el lunes, confirmó a EXPRESO un alto funcionario del Cabildo.

En una carta enviada el 5 de julio de este año José Antonio Lousa, director de Inversiones del grupo Albacora -socio del puerto de aguas profundas, Alinport, junto con el grupo Nobis y Juan José Valasco- comunicó al alcalde Nebot su preocupación por el retiro del permiso de operación.

Según el Gobierno, esta no realizó las inversiones previstas, por lo que suspendió el permiso el 14 de junio de 2013.

El 7 de septiembre, en la cadena, el presidente Correa señaló que fue un error parar esa inversión. "Ahí la Subsecretaría (de Puertos) cometió un error al revocarle el permiso de construcción a Alinport- "porque si yo quito la concesión es porque tengo otra alternativa, otro inversionista". Por eso anotó que va a empujar a los inversionistas así esté atrasado. "Estamos trabajando en el programa. Esperamos una inversión

Sultán Ahmed bin Sulayem

Nació en 1955 en el Dubái. Fue presidente de Dubai World hasta el 12 de diciembre de 2010.

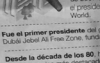
De familia prominente en los negocios de Dubái si menos desde el siglo XX. El padre de Bin Sulayem fue asesor para familia del gobernante Maktoum de Dubái.

Recibió una licenciatura en Economía de la Temple University en Filadelfia, EE UU. Se le concedió un doctorado honorario en Middlesex University en Dubái.

Participa actualmente en Seven Tides International, (inversión inmobiliaria) en Development Company en Dubái. El 30 de mayo de 2007 se convirtió en el presidente de DP World.

Fue el primer presidente del gobierno de Dubái, jebel Ali Free Zone, fundada en 1985.

Desde la década de los 80, ha sido uno de las empresarios más destacados en Dubái, con una serie de empresas vinculadas al Gobierno. Ayudó a fundar Nakheel, una de las mayores promotoras de los Emiratos Árabes y también ambas empresas filiales de Dubái World.



Formó parte de la junta directiva de la Corporación de Inversiones de Dubái, el brazo Fondo de Riqueza Soberana, hasta noviembre de 2009, cuando tuvo renovado a raíz de la crisis de deuda que sacó Dubái ese año.

DPW está interesada en tomar las acciones de la naviera Maerks, que formaba parte de Alinport. Ejecutivos de la compañía mantuvieron durante ocho meses reuniones con Nebot y los otros socios de Alinport, donde se realizaron estudios sobre la nueva terminal de contenedores.

EMPRESA FUERTE. Este Diario [illegible] la hora de la llegada del sultán y de la reunión con el presidente Correa, pero fuentes del sector empresarial solo confirmaron que llegará hoy, en un jet privado y será acompañado por los ejecutivos de Nobis, quienes también recibieron en las anteriores ocasiones a ejecutivos de DPW.

La comunicación directa para negociar la toma de un importante paquete accionario ha sido con Roberto Dunn, director ejecutivo y miembro de la Junta Directiva de Nobis.

DP World tiene una cartera de más de 65 terminales marítimas en 6 continentes, incluidos los nuevos desarrollos en marcha en la India, Africa, Europa, América del Sur y Oriente Medio. Maneja la terminal marítima de Callao, en Perú, y es accionista en Buenaventura, Colombia.

Los contenedores son el negocio principal de la empresa y genera más de tres cuartas partes de sus ingresos. En 2012 DP World manejó más de 56 millones de TEU. Con su línea de compromiso de los desarrollos y expansiones, se espera que la capacidad aumente a más de 100 millones de TEU en 2020. Tiene un equipo de 28.000 personas en el mundo, invierte en infraestructura y personal. Ahora espera anclar en Posorja.

ESTO ES DUBÁI

Un estado islámico rico, donde se tolera el bikini y el alcohol

■ Bill Clinton, David Beckham, Carlos Slim, Bill Gates. Hay que ser millonario para tener una propiedad en Dubái. The World es un conjunto de islotes forrados de palmeras con forma de mapamundi. Sus mansiones solo están al alcance de los ricos de Forbes. Se vendieron -año 2001- a razón de 5 15 y 45 millones.

Con los ingresos producidos por el petróleo como patrimonio familiar la dinastía Al Maktoum ha convertido su reino en un paraíso fiscal y tecnológico que atrae a sus zonas de libre comercio a las multinacionales.

Es uno de los siete emiratos que forman los Emiratos Árabes Unidos y tiene una superficie de 4.113 kilómetros cuadrados. Está en la costa del Golfo Pérsico. El entrante de agua salada del golfo atraviesa la ciudad.

Su gobierno es regido por un sistema de monarquía constitucional, encabezado por el jeque Mohamed bin Rashid Al Maktum desde de 2006.

Es un Estado islámico, pero moderado, donde se juega un torneo anual de tenis que reparte 1,4 millones en premios y donde Roger Federer ha sido campeón cinco veces y Novak Djokovic, cuatro. No impone la ley musulmana a los extranjeros y las costumbres occidentales son toleradas. Se puede beber alcohol y ver chicas en bikini.

Para el 2015 prevé tener 40 millones de turistas. En 2002 permitió por primera vez a ciudadanos extranjeros la propiedad de una casa, al menos en proyectos concretos, como The Palm. La liberalización del mercado inmobiliario en un paraíso fiscal, como es Dubái, despertó más riqueza. Las primeras propiedades puestas a la venta en Palm Jumeirah se agotaron en dos meses. El año 2007, 780 apartamentos fueron vendidos en 48 horas.

Con Ecuador el comercio es escaso: 2,5 millones de dólares exportados entre enero y julio de 2013.

COMUNICADO

Parlamento Andino rechaza su cierre

Los miembros del Parlamento Andino rechazaron la decisión del Consejo Andino de Ministros de Relaciones Exteriores de eliminar esa institución. Para ellos, eso "atenta contra la democracia de la región, pone en riesgo el proceso de integración, violenta el ordenamiento jurídico, así como la soberanía popular.

SUPERINTENDENTE

Ochoa recibe dos impugnaciones más

La postulación de Carlos Ochoa a la Superintendencia de Comunicación recibió más cuestionamientos El asambleísta Andrés Páez (CREO) y el ciudadano Néstor Napoleón Marroquín lo impugnaron. "Ni qué decir del requisito de idoneidad en el que Ocho tiene serias objeciones pues no haber procedido con imparcialidad, neutralidad ni objetividad", dijo Paez.

VISITA OFICIAL

Correa irá a Bolivia el 3 de octubre

El presidente Rafael Correa realizará su primera visita oficial a su colega boliviano, Evo Morales, el jueves 3 de octubre para fortalecer su alianza política y discutir sobre los avances de la integración. Correa ha estado varias veces en Bolivia, pero será su primera visita de carácter oficial y recíproca a la de Morales hizo a

JUDICIAL

Detienen a presuntos traficantes de droga

Un operativo realizado martes permitió la detención de dos presuntos carte internacionales de tupefacientes. que calizado en el barrio Abril, de Puerto Bolívar Oro. La medida fue puesta por la fiscal yaquil, María Colmenino, quien se to Machala, con ella de la Unidad de Contra el Crimen

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026520

Cooperating Without Looking

Moshe Hoffman,[1,2*†] Erez Yoeli,[2,3*] Martin Nowak[2]

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Cooperation occurs when we take on costs to help others. A key mechanism by which cooperation is sustained is reciprocity: individuals cooperate with those who have cooperated in the past. In reality, we not only condition on others' past cooperative actions, but also on the decision making process that leads to cooperation: we trust more those who cooperate without calculating the costs because they will cooperate even when those costs are high. We propose a game theory model to explain this phenomenon. In our model, player 1 chooses whether or not to cooperate with player 2. Player 1 faces a stochastic temptation to defect and, before choosing whether to cooperate, also decides whether to "look" at the realized temptation. Player 2 observes not only whether player 1 ultimately cooperated but also whether she looked, then decides

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whether or not to continue interacting with player 1. We find conditions in which there is an equilibrium where player 2 chooses to interact with player 1 only if player 1 cooperates without looking (CWOL) and player 1 chooses to CWOL. We show that this equilibrium is robust to both high degrees of rationality, as modeled by subgame perfection and learning or evolutionary dynamics, as modeled by the replicator dynamic. Using computer simulations, we also show that it emerges with high frequency, even in the presence of other equilibria. Additionally, we show that the ability for player 1 to avoid looking, and the ability for player 2 to detect looking increases cooperation. We propose this model as a possible explanation for a number of interesting phenomena, and thereby derive novel predictions about these phenomena, including why we dislike "flip-flopping" politicians and respect principled people more generally, why people cooperate intuitively, and why people feel disgust when considering taboo trade-offs, and why people fall in love.

Cooperation occurs when we take on costs to help others. A key mechanism by which cooperation is sustained is reciprocity: individuals condition their behavior on others' past actions [1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14]. In reality, we not only condition on others' past actions, but also on the decision-making process that lead to cooperation: we place more trust in cooperators who do not take time to carefully weigh the costs of cooperation and who do not try to collect data on such costs before deciding whether to cooperate. For example, we are impressed by colleagues who agree to proofread a paper without thinking twice, and view with suspicion those who ask, "how long will it take?" before agreeing to attend a practice talk. Such considerations are left out of standard

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models of reciprocity, which only attend to cooperative actions and not the deliberation process leading up to the action.

We develop a simple model to explain why "looking" at the costs of cooperation is viewed with suspicion. The explanation we suggest is quite intuitive: those who cooperate without looking (CWOL) can be trusted to cooperate even in times when there are temptations to defect. While this insight can be captured without the need for a formal model, it is less clear that cooperators will choose to not look, since they pay a price by cooperating blindly in tempting circumstances. Moreover, the formal model, as will be seen, helps explicate when CWOL will occur as well as what difference the ability to not look and to observe others not looking will make.

We formalize this idea using what we call the envelope game (see figure 1). The envelope game distills an interaction between two individuals, or players, in an uncertain environment. Thus, we start by assuming there is a distribution of payoffs with two possibilities: one in which defection is relatively tempting, and another in which it is not. The temptation to defect is randomly determined. Defection is not tempting with probability p and tempting with probability $1-p$. Both players know how likely it is that defection is tempting. However, at this point, neither player knows size of the temptation. That is, the temptation is placed inside an envelope and the envelope is sealed without the players knowing its content. Next, we assume that one of the players, player 1, chooses whether to learn the size of the temptation, either via mental deliberation or by gathering information. We model this in a simplified way by assuming that player 1 has a dichotomous choice: she can choose to open the envelope and look inside it, or not. If she opens the envelope and looks, she learns the size of the temptation. If she does not open the envelope and look, she only knows the distribution of payoffs. Player 1 then chooses whether to cooperate or defect. We model cooperation as costly to player 1, regardless

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of the temptation, but more costly if the temptation is high. Thus, if the temptation is low, player 1 gets $a > 0$ if she cooperates and $c_l > a$ if she defects. If the temptation is high, she gets a if she cooperates and $c_h > c_l$ if she defects. We assume that cooperation benefits the other player, which we refer to as player 2. We assume, for simplicity, that player 2 gets $b > 0$ if 1 cooperates and $d < 0$ if 1 defects, and that these payoffs to player 2 are the same regardless of 1's temptation. For now, we also assume that $d < p/(1-p) \cdot b$; that is, defection is sufficiently harmful to player 2 that player 2 prefers to avoid the interaction if player 1 only cooperates some of the time. Finally, we model player 2's trust in player 1. We model this by giving player 2 the choice of whether to continue the interaction with player 1. If player 2 continues the interaction, then with probability w, all previous steps are repeated, potentially indefinitely. That is, the temptation to defect is randomly chosen again, player 1 chooses whether to look at it, and so on. With probability $1 - w$, the game ends. The parameter w can be interpreted as the likelihood of a future interaction or the player's discounting of future payoffs. Crucially, we assume that player 2 observes both of player 1's choices: not only whether 1 cooperated, but also whether 1 first looked. Our model, therefore, applies to situations where player 1's looking is somewhat observable, for example, if player 1 can gain additional information about the costs of defection by asking player 2 questions, or if player 1 can take time to ponder the decision and player 2 can observe player 1's reaction time. We assume that players maximize their expected payoffs. Note that since we assumed $a > 0$ and $b > 0$, both players benefit from a cooperative interaction.

In the envelope game, a strategy for player 1 dictates whether she will look and whether she will cooperate, as a function of whether she has looked and cooperated in the past, and as a function of the temptation if she has just looked. For example, one relatively simple strategy for player 1 is to look and cooperate whenever the temptation is low.

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Similarly, a strategy for player 2 dictates whether he will continue or exit as a function of everything player 1 has done in the past. One relatively simple strategy for player 2 is to continue so long as player 1 has cooperated. If both players play according to this pair of strategies, each time the temptation is low, player 1 cooperates and gets a, player 2 gets b, and the game continues with probability w until the first time the temptation is high. Then, player 1 defects and gets c_h and player 2 gets d. Some straightforward calculations yield the players' expected payoffs: player 1's is $[ap + c_h(1-p)] / [1-pw]$ and player 2's is $[bp + d(1-p)] / [1-pw]$. Because a strategy specifies players' moves in every period and the game's length is undetermined, infinitely many possible strategies exist. We are primarily interested in the seven strategies represented in Figure 2, which shows the expected payoff for each player for each strategy pair of interest.

Of particular interest is the strategy pair designated in the top left corner of figure 2), in which player 2 discriminates between cooperators who look and those who do not look, and player 1 cooperates without looking (CWOL). The following simple argument demonstrates that this strategy pair is a Nash Equilibrium (which means no player has an incentive to unilaterally deviate) whenever $\frac{a}{1-w} \geq c_l p + c_h(1-p)$. This condition has a natural interpretation: player 1's expected temptation from defection is less than the gains from an ongoing cooperative interaction. Thus, player 1 would lose from deviating, for example by looking, because this would end the lucrative ongoing relationship, reducing player 1's payoff from an expected $\frac{a}{1-w}$ to 0. Player 2 would also lose from deviating, by choosing to exit, because when player 1 is always cooperating, she expects $\frac{b}{1-w}$ from the relationship, and exiting yields 0.

One potential concern with this equilibrium is that, since player 2 is not worse off by not attending to looking, he might not do so. This turns out to not be the case. The intuition is that if there is even a small probability player 1 looks, player 2 is better off

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attending to looking. In the appendix, we formalize this intuition by showing that this equilibrium is subgame perfect, a solution concept used to rule out these kinds of concerns in settings where there is a high degree of rationality [15].

We might wonder whether CWOL will emerge in a population of players who are not rational, but are evolving or learning their strategies. There are two reasons to suspect it will not emerge. First, CWOL may be susceptible to the invasion of mutants. In particular, the concern is that a player 2 mutant might arise that does not attend to whether player 1 looks, rendering looking irrelevant. This mutant's fitness is no higher or lower than the incumbent strategy, so may grow by drift. Subsequently, a player 1 mutant which looks and defects when the temptation is high would have a fitness advantage and proliferate. While the player 2 mutant would then start dying off since it would now have lower fitness than the incumbent, it is not clear that it would do so fast enough for the player 1 mutant to also die off, returning to the CWOL equilibrium. Second, CWOL may be stable but have such a small basin of attraction that it will never emerge. In particular, there are three other equilibria to consider, which can be seen in figure 2. The first is comprised of the strategy pair where player 1 always defects, and player 2 always exits (which we refer to as the ALLD equilibrium). It is a Nash Equilibrium for all parameter values. The second is the strategy pair where player 2 exits if player 1 defects, and player 1 cooperates with or without looking (we refer to this as the CWL equilibrium). It is a Nash equilibrium when $\frac{a}{1-w} \geq c_2$. In fact, there are many more Nash Equilibria, where the population mixes between different strategies.

Consequently, we employ computer simulations of the replicator dynamic to explore the evolutionary dynamics of the envelope game. The replicator dynamic is the standard model for evolutionary dynamics [16, 17, 18, 19], and also models learning dynamics such as reinforcement learning or prestige-biased imitation [20]. It describes strategies evolving

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over time under the assumption that the rate of reproduction within each population is proportional to the fitness relative to that type's other strategies. Since replicator dynamics cannot be solved in closed form, they must analyzed using computer simulations seeded with randomly chosen strategy frequencies. This method also requires restricting the analysis to a few strategies. Therefore, we run our replicator analysis only on the restricted set of strategies represented in figure 2. While this set of strategies is restricted, it includes the potentially destabilizing mutants discussed above.

To investigate the frequencies in which different equilibria emerge, we randomly seed the strategy frequencies many times and record the frequency of each strategy after the population has stabilized. Many mixtures of strategies are behaviorally consistent with CWOL, for example, if a large enough fraction of player 2s exit when player 1s look then no player 1s will look, even if this fraction is less than 1. Thus, we classify population frequencies as being behaviorally equivalent to ALLD, CWL, and CWOL (see appendix for details). We plot the frequencies of each of these for different values of a in figure 3 (see appendix for analogous figures for other parameters). As can be seen, CWOL emerges often when it is a Nash Equilibrium.

Next, we identify the conditions under which people will be most likely to avoid looking and detect looking amongst others. For this, we interpret the conditions under which CWOL is the only cooperative equilibrium, because, as we show in the appendix, when one allows for mutations, the CWOL equilibrium no longer emerges in dynamic simulations when both CWOL and CWL are equilibria. Recall that CWL is a Nash equilibrium if and only if $\frac{a}{1-w} \geq c_2$. This equilibrium condition has a natural interpretation: in order to sustain CWL, the long term gains to player 1 from the ongoing relationship must suffice for player 1 to cooperate even when player 1 knows the temptation is high in the current period. Contrast this with the condition that determines if CWOL is an equilibrium:

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$\frac{a}{1-w} \geq c_1 p + c_2(1-p)$. This equilibrium condition has a natural interpretation as well: in order to sustain CWOL, the long term gains to player 1 from the ongoing relationship must suffice for player 1 to cooperate when player 1 *expects* the temptation to *sometimes* be high. That is, not looking makes the expected–as opposed to realized–gains from defection relevant, in a sense smoothing the temptation to defection. Thus, the range where CWOL is an equilibrium and CWL is not, $c_1 p + c_2(1-p) \leq \frac{a}{1-w} < c_2$, has the following interpretation: the expected temptation is low but the maximal temptation is high. In the appendix, we confirm this result using our subgame perfections analysis. We also use dynamics to show that, CWOL increases relative to CWL when we increase the maximal temptation, but hold the mean temptation constant.

We identify a second condition under which people will be most likely to avoid and detect looking by relaxing the assumption $d > \frac{p}{1-p}b$. Then, in the region where $d \leq \frac{p}{1-p}b$, there is a fourth equilibrium. It is the strategy pair where player 2 always continues if player 1 cooperates when the temptation is low, and player 1 looks and cooperates only when the temptation is low (we refer to this as the ONLYL equilibrium). In contrast, CWOL is an equilibrium for all values of d. CWOL is thus the only cooperative equilibrium in the parameter region $d > \frac{p}{1-p}b$, which has the interpretation: defection is sufficiently harmful to player 2 such that player 2 prefers to avoid the interaction if player 1 only cooperates some of the time.

Note that CWOL is an equilibrium over a wider parameter region than both CWL and ONLYL, and thus that the ability to avoid looking and to detect whether others look increases the parameter space over which cooperation is feasible. To see this, consider removing player 1's strategy which consists of not looking. Alternatively, consider removing player 2's strategy where he conditions his behavior on whether player 1 has looked. In either case, cooperation is only sustained in a Nash Equilibrium if $\frac{a}{1-w} \geq ap + c_2(1-p)$ or

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$d > \frac{p}{1-p}b$. These are the same condition needed for CWL and ONLYL, respectively, and, as discussed above, these ranges is strictly smaller than the range of values over which CWOL is an equilibrium.

To summarize, CWOL can occur in equilibrium, and this equilibrium is subgame perfect, is stable, and has a sizable basin of attraction in the replicator dynamics. Moreover, we expect player 2 to prefer interacting with player 1s who do not look and player 1s to actively avoid looking when defection is harmful and the temptation to defect is usually small but sometimes huge. Finally, under these conditions, cooperation can be sustained only if player 1 can avoid looking and player 2 can observe whether player 1 looks.

While we modeled player 1 looking at the temptation to defect, we could analogously have modeled player 1 looking at the benefits to cooperating. This can be interpreted as looking to see if anyone is watching, asking what one will get, or calculating the value of the ongoing relationship. In this and some similar cases, the modifications to the model would be straightforward and analysis would be equivalent.

We now apply the model to shed light on a number of interesting phenomena, including why we dislike "flip-flopping" politicians and respect principled people more generally, why people cooperate intuitively, why people feel disgust when considering taboo trade-offs, and why people fall in love.

We trust candidates for political office whose policies are the result of their convictions and are consistent over time, and distrust those whose policies are carefully constructed in consultation with their pollsters and who "flip-flop" in response to public opinion, as caricatured by the infamous 2004 Republican presidential campaign television ad showing John Kerry wind-surfing, and tacking from one direction to another. At first glance, this seems irrational: one would think it a virtue for a politician to flexibly respond to public opinion once in office. This logic is illustrated by John Maynard Keynes' famous quote:

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"When the facts change, I change my mind. What do you do, sir?" However, if policies based on conviction or consistency over time are signals that a candidate does not look at the benefits of cooperation, this is an indication that the candidate can be trusted in situations where making the decision that is right for his or her constituency comes at a large political cost. Consistent with this, opponents take every opportunity to paint candidates as flip-floppers who cannot be trusted [21]. This argument generalizes outside of politics to why we respect people who are "principled" over those who are "strategic".

People intuitively cooperate. That is, when people make decisions rapidly, they are more likely to cooperate than if they have time to deliberate. Additionally, people who cooperate make quicker decisions than those who defect [22]. The Social Heuristics Hypothesis offers one explanation for this phenomena: we adopt heuristics to avoid incurring cognitive costs associated with deliberation [23, 24, 25]. In a world with repeated interactions, it is usually worthwhile to cooperate, so individuals may adopt heuristics such as "always cooperate" or "cooperate as long a situation is not a business interaction." These same individuals, when serving as laboratory subjects, may apply these heuristics and cooperate even when it is not worthwhile to do so [22, 26].

Our model offers the following alternative explanation for intuitive cooperation. Intuitive cooperation may serve to reduce responsiveness to realized costs. Thus, others should trust intuitive cooperators more than deliberate cooperators. Since intuitive cooperators are more trustworthy, this may lead people to evolve or learn to become intuitive cooperators. Note that this explanation suggests that intuitive cooperation may be an optimal response to others' ability to detect deliberation, and not, as a heuristic is, an attempt to avoid cognitive costs. For this explanation to be sensible, it must be the case that whether or not a decision is made intuitively or deliberatively is detectable. In fact, it is: deliberative decision making leads to slower reaction time, as well as increased pupil size

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and heart rate [27], and sometimes blushing or stammering [28]. In contrast to the Social Heuristics Hypothesis, our model also predicts that decisions related to cooperation are more likely to be intuitive than other decisions that are similarly usually worthwhile, and that intuitive cooperators are trusted more than reflective cooperators. To our knowledge, neither of these predictions has been tested yet.

People dislike considering trade-offs related to "sacred values" [29]. Sacred values are values such as love, liberty, honor, justice, or life, that people treat "as possessing transcendental significance that precludes comparisons, trade-offs, or indeed any mingling with secular values" [29]. While there is variation in what societies consider sacred, virtually all societies have a concept of sacredness [29]. Sacred values are so strongly imbued in us that we do not find them puzzling prima fascia, yet their existence and origin remains poorly understood. What makes us treat some values as sacred and what differentiates these values from secular values like free time or money that we more readily trade off?

Our model provides one possible explanation. People who calculate costs of trading off against sacred values are less trustworthy when it comes to safeguarding these values than people who consider them sacred and would never calculate the costs of trading off against them. Responding with disgust to these "taboo trade-offs" may be one way to prevent us from interacting with people who make such trade offs and hence are less trustworthy, and may also be a way to signal to others that we ourselves would not consider, and therefore make, such trade-offs. Consistent with CWOL, it is taboo to consider the trade-off even if one ultimately makes the right choice, and the longer the trade-off is considered for, the harsher the judgement by observers [29]. As with intuitive cooperation, if people who refuse to consider taboo trade-offs are seen as more trustworthy, this may lead people to evolve or learn to abide by these taboos. If CWOL indeed underlies

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the phenomena of taboo trade-offs, then it provides a novel prediction: taboo trade-offs will prevail precisely in situations where there is large but infrequent temptation to defect and defection is harmful, such as selling a child, betraying a country, or sleeping with someone for a million dollars. It remains to be shown that taboo trade-offs demonstrate this characteristic. It also provides an important policy prescription regarding policies forbidding taboo trade-offs, for example, the ban on euthanasia: such policies are socially suboptimal, since the benefits of cooperating without looking accrue to the individuals who advocate them, but the costs are borne by society.

Finally, our model offers an explanation for emotions such as love, and can thus be thought of as a formalization of Frank (1988). Love has the property that we behave altruistically towards our partners regardless of what temptations arise [30], as illustrated by the wedding vow, "for better or for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health." For example, love causes individuals to ignore other potential mates, even if those mates are better than one's current mate, as Shakespeare's Juliet did when her love for Romeo led her to rebuff the advances of the otherwise-more-suitable Paris.

Why does love have this property? Our model suggests that those in love will more often be chosen as long-term partners. If this argument in fact underlies love, then it is crucial that love is observable, and that it necessarily cannot be displayed while still attending to costs. There is evidence consistent with this: related emotions are observable [31], cannot be faked [32], and are relied upon by partners when choosing whether to cooperate [33]. There is also reason to believe love and related emotions would be hard to fake, given their autonomic origins, and the costs of placing their activation under conscious control [30, 28]. However, it remains to be shown that love in particular has these attributes, and that it cannot be displayed while attending to costs.

Our formalism adds novel insights to Frank's argument about love. First, our model

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clarifies that falling in or out of love depends on the distribution of temptations, but not their immediate realizations. This suggests people will fall out of love when there is a permanent change in alternative mating opportunities or relationship costs, but not a one-off temptation. For example, a man may fall out of love with his wife after becoming unexpectedly successful, as many more women will be now be interested in him than he anticipated when they first met. Second, the model clarifies that love comes with a cost–the cost of ignored temptations–and suggests that this cost must be compensated with commensurate investment in the relationship. Only sometimes is it worthwhile for the recipient of love to compensate a suitor, which explains why people actively avoid the strong affections of those with whom they do not wish to have long-term relationships. Third, our model clarifies why mere discussions of the costs and benefits of a relationship or a break-up, for example, suggesting a prenuptial agreement, damage the relationship. Such discussions indicate that one is looking at the costs of the relationship and cast doubt on one's commitment.

These arguments extend to anger. Anger can be thought of as "punishing without looking". It prevents people from looking at the costs of inflicting harm on others after a transgression, thereby deterring future transgressions.

Acknowledgments

This research was funded in part by the John Templeton Foundation, Grant RFP-12-11 from the Foundational Questions in Evolutionary Biology Fund, the National Science Foundation Grant No. 0905645, and the Army Research Office Grant No. W911NF-11-1-0363. We thank Keri Hu for helpful research assistance. Any opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors and not of the Federal Trade Commission or any individual Commissioner.

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Figure 1: The Envelope Game

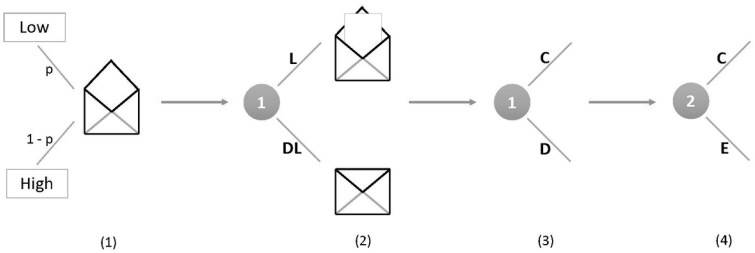

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Figure 2: Payoffs for a Restricted Set of Strategies in the Envelope Game

	Player 2		
Player 1	Continue if Player 1 Cooperates Without Looking	Continue if Player 1 Cooperates	Always Exit
Cooperate Without Looking	$\frac{a}{1-w}, \frac{b}{1-w}$	$\frac{a}{1-w}, \frac{b}{1-w}$	a, b
Cooperate With Looking	a, b	$\frac{a}{1-w}, \frac{b}{1-w}$	a, b
Look and Cooperate Only When Temptation is Low	$ap + c_h(1-p), bp + d(1-p)$	$\frac{ap+c_h(1-p)}{1-pw}, \frac{bp+d(1-p)}{1-pw}$	$ap + c_h(1-p), bp + d(1-p)$
Always Defect	$c_l p + c_h(1-p), d$	$c_l p + c_h(1-p), d$	$c_l p + c_h(1-p), d$

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Figure 3: Learning Dynamics of the Envelope Game

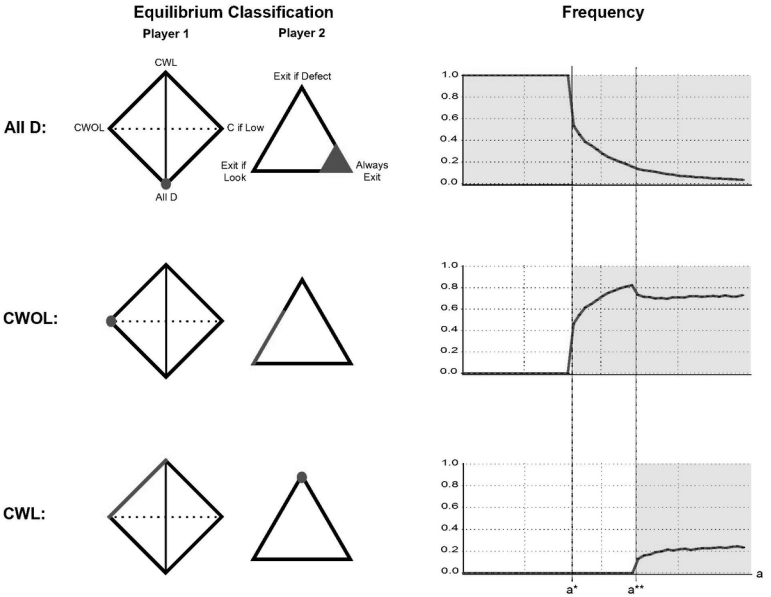

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Figure Legends

Figure 1: The Envelope Game

We model non-strategic cooperative behavior using what we call the envelope game. (a) Column 1: The game begins when the temptation to defect is randomly chosen, as indicated by a notice randomly being placed in the envelope. The temptation to defect is low with probability p and high with probability $1-p$. Column 2: Then, player 1 chooses whether to look (open the envelope) or not. Column 3: Player 1 then chooses whether to cooperate or defect. Player 1 may only condition her action on the realized temptation determined in column 1 if she looked. Each time player 1 cooperates, then, regardless of whether player 1 looked, player 1 gets $a > 0$ and player 2 gets $b > 0$. Each time player 1 defects, her payoffs depend on whether defection was tempting. If it was not tempting, player 1 gets $c_l > a$ and if it was tempting, player 1 gets $c_h > c_l$. In either case, each time player 1 defects, player 2 gets $d < 0$. Column 4: Player 2, having observed both of player 1's choices, chooses whether to continue or exit. If player 2 continues, with probability w, all previous steps are repeated, potentially indefinitely.

Figure 2: Payoffs for a Restricted Set of Strategies in the Envelope Game

This table presents the payoffs for the restricted set of strategies used for the replicator analysis. Player 1's strategies are presented in separate rows, and player 2's strategies are presented in columns. The payoffs presented in the intersection of a given row and column are those that the players receive if they play the corresponding strategies. For example, consider what happens if player 1 looks and cooperates only if the temptation is low (penultimate row) and player 2 repeats continues when player 1 cooperates (middle column). Then, player 1's expected payoff is $[ap + c_h(1-p)]\,[1-pw]$ (the first entry in the corresponding cell) and player 2's is $[bp + d(1-p)]\,[1-pw]$ (the second entry in the

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same cell; for details of calculations leading to payoffs, see appendix). This calculation is the result of the following logic: each time the temptation is low, player 1 cooperates and gets a, player 2 gets b, and the game continues with probability w until the first time the temptation is high. We refer to the strategy where player 1 cooperates without looking (top row) as CWOL. We also refer to the strategy pair where player 1 CWOLs and player 2 continues if player 1 CWOLs (first column) as CWOL. We refer to the strategy pairs where player 1 cooperates with or without looking and player 2 continues if player 1 cooperates (first and second row, and middle middle column) as CWL. We refer to the strategy pair where player 1 always defects and player 2 always exits (bottom row and rightmost column) as ALLD. ALLD is always an equilibrium of the envelope game. CWOL is an equilibrium if $a/(1-w) > c_l p + c_h(1-p)$. CWL is an equilibrium if $a/(1-w) > c_h$. This region is a subset of the region for which CWOL is an equilibrium.

Figure 3: Learning Dynamics of the Envelope Game

We apply the replicator dynamic to the envelope game restricted to the strategies represented in figure 2. The replicator dynamic describes strategies evolving over time under the assumption that the rate of reproduction within each population is proportional to the fitness relative to that type's other strategies. The replicator dynamic also models learning dynamics such as reinforcement learning or prestige-biased imitation. We run 1000 time series with randomly seeded strategy frequencies for a range of values of a, and record the frequency with which they stabilize in one of the strategy pairs identified in figure 2, or in a behaviorally equivalent equilibrium, as presented in the simplexes. We vary the value of a along the x-axis. The y-axis represents frequencies, and each colored line presents the frequency of the strategy pair. The parameter region where the strategy pair is supported as an equilibrium is shaded in light red. CWOL is supported as an

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equilibrium in the region $a \geq a^* = (1-w) \cdot [c_l p + c_h(1-p)]$, and emerges often in this parameter region. CWL is supported as an equilibrium in a strictly smaller parameter region, $a \geq a^* = (1-w) \cdot c_h$. Neither CWOL nor CWL emerge in the parameter regions where they are not supported in equilibrium.

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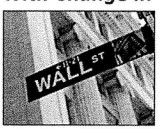
39 DTR GG-3

Carried Interest

Camp's Tax Plan Hits Wall Street With Change in Carried Interest Treatment



By Brett Ferguson

Investment fund managers would take a hit on their tax bills under House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dave Camp's (R-Mich.) proposal to dramatically reshape the treatment of carried interest income.

Under current law, the share of long-term investment gains that fund managers are allowed to keep for themselves as compensation is treated as capital gains and taxed at about half the rate of ordinary income. President Barack Obama has called for that income, known as carried interest, to be taxed at ordinary income tax rates, saying the payments are more like income from a service performed than a return on investment.

Camp, while taking a softer line than the president, says he agrees.

"A partnership (e.g., private equity fund) that is in the business of raising capital, investing in other businesses, developing such businesses, and ultimately selling them, is in the trade or business of selling businesses. The businesses bought and sold by the partnership are its inventory," according to a detailed summary of Camp's proposal.

The summary said to apply the tax law consistently, the profits derived by such an investment partnership and paid to its managing partners through management fees and a profits interest in the partnership should be treated as ordinary income.

But the Camp proposal also takes into account the technicalities of such businesses, excluding partnerships engaged in the real estate business, and applying a recharacterization formula to partners earning carried interest to take into account any share of invested capital they may own.

According to the proposal, an applicable partnership interest would include any interest transferred, directly or indirectly, to a partner in connection with the performance of services by the partner, provided that the partnership is engaged in a trade or business conducted on a regular, continuous and substantial basis consisting of raising or returning capital, identifying, investing in, or disposing of other trades or businesses, and developing such trades or businesses.

Recharacterization Formula Applied

The recharacterization formula "generally would treat the service partner's applicable share of the invested capital of the partnership as generating ordinary income by multiplying that share by a specified rate of return (the Federal long-term rate plus 10 percentage points), intended to approximate the compensation earned by the service partner for managing the capital of the partnership," the proposal said.

Under the plan, the recharacterization amount would be determined, but not realized, on an annual basis and tracked over time.

"To the extent a service partner contributes capital to the partnership, the result would be less capital gain being characterized as ordinary income. Any distribution or gain from the sale of a partnership interest (i.e., a realization event) then would be treated as ordinary to the extent of the partner's recharacterization account balance for the tax year. Amounts in excess of the recharacterization account balance would be capital gain," the proposal said.

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In a Feb. 25 article written for the Wall Street Journal, Camp said the proposal "can clean up provisions like 'carried interest' that allow certain private-equity firms to get the investment-income tax rate on what anyone else would call normal wage income."

Benchmark for Future Bills?

The carried-interest proposal comes on top of a Camp plan to impose a tax on the assets of the largest U.S. banks and insurers. Even though his plan faces long odds in Congress this year, the proposal will become a benchmark for tax policy.

Under current law, carried interest, or the profits share received by private equity managers, gets treated as capital gains, with a top basic rate of 20 percent as opposed to the ordinary income rate of 39.6 percent.

Obama and other Democrats have been trying since 2007 to change that law with little success. Camp is wrapping a change to carried interest inside a reconstruction of the tax code that would lower tax rates and broaden the tax base.

Steve Judge, president and chief executive officer of the Private Equity Growth Capital Council, an industry trade group, said Camp's proposal was "disappointing."

"Key policy makers from both parties have already made clear that the discussion around this draft proposal will be brief," Judge said in a statement Feb. 25. "Nevertheless, Chairman Camp's proposal penalizes long-term capital investment, which he and other members of the House Ways and Means Committee have purported to support."

With assistance from Richard Rubin in Washington.

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To contact the editor responsible for this story: Cheryl Saenz at csaenz@bna.com

For More Information

Texts of the discussion draft and the section-by-section summary are in TaxCore.

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MARKETS

U.S. Private-Equity Tax Change Doubtful This Year, Says Carlyle Co-Founder

Suggested Reform Could Increase Taxes on Private-Equity Profits

By MIKE SPECTOR

Feb. 26, 2014 5:06 a.m. ET

BERLIN— Carlyle Group LP co-founder David Rubenstein said U.S. lawmakers are "unlikely" to take up legislation this year that could potentially increase taxes on deal profits reaped by private-equity managers.

Mr. Rubenstein's comments came after the chairman of the U.S. House Ways and Means Committee, Republican Dave Camp of Michigan, said Congress should "clean up" the treatment of private-equity firms' share of deal profits, called "carried interest." These profits are currently treated as capital gains and taxed at a lower rate than ordinary income.

"We can clean up provisions like carried interest that allow certain private-equity firms to get the investment-income tax rate on what anyone else would call normal wage income," Mr. Camp said in an opinion piece published on Wednesday in The Wall Street Journal outlining a series of tax-reform proposals.

More from SuperReturn Conference
TPG 'Contemplating' Going Public
Apollo Weighs Investing in Debt
Kravis Warns on Debt Levels

But Mr. Rubenstein, often viewed by private-equity watchers as an authority on national politics since his firm is based in Washington, said various factors would likely prevent any measures affecting buyout firms from taking hold any time soon.

Montana Democrat Max Baucus, previously the chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, was just confirmed as the U.S. ambassador to China, lowering the chances that chamber will take up such legislation, Mr. Rubenstein said. In addition, a term limit will force Mr. Camp to relinquish his committee chairmanship in the House next year, he said.

"It's unlikely that will get into law," Mr. Rubenstein said of Mr. Camp's proposal before an audience at the SuperReturn International private-equity conference in Germany's capital. "I don't think there is likely to be any tax reform legislation passed by this Congress at all."

Private-equity firm managers, including Mr. Rubenstein and founders of other large buyout firms, have argued that carried interest they receive after investing in a company and later selling it should be treated as a capital gain. Proponents of taxing these profits at a higher rate contend the money is compensation

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for services private-equity managers render when working on companies they take private.

The carried interest debate bubbled up in the wake of the recession and financial overhaul law later taken up on Capitol Hill. But the issue so far hasn't been addressed in any legislation passed by Congress and for the most part hasn't gained traction amid other issues lawmakers are tackling. Still, many leading private-equity managers expect at some point to receive the more stringent tax treatment.

Meanwhile, Mr. Rubenstein said sovereign-wealth funds will soon become the largest contributors of investment capital to private-equity firms, surpassing giant pension funds. Sovereign-wealth funds currently manage about $5.4 trillion, a number that will exceed $8 trillion by 2020, he said.

Mr. Rubenstein said he expected investment allocations to private-equity firms will continue increasing as investors seek higher returns and buyout firms focus more on operational improvements to companies to drive profits.

"It's not a financial engineering game as people thought in the early days," he said. "Operational improvements are where the bulk of returns are coming from."

Write to Mike Spector at mike.spector@wsj.com

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From: Gi Feather [redacted]
on behalf of Gerald Barton [redacted]
Sent: 4/23/2014 12:07:37 PM
To: Jeevacation@gmail.com
Attachments: att15d3a.JPG

Jeffrey,

Thank you for the kindness shown to me and my family in the periodic availability of the New York apartment. Lesley has done an admirable job in making us feel welcome and always with good cheer.

Some years ago, we talked about the opportunity to use Landmark's $166 million tax loss. At that time, my ambition, ego, or stupidity limited the discussion. My memory is you, after discussions with Larry Summers, decided the pursuit was not worth the prey. Now, age (which I laughingly call maturity) or new information, has opened doors that I believe we can now accomplish the goals we discussed some years ago.

If, at a time and place of your convenience, you had 30 minutes for me to outline the fundamentals of the plan, you would know what I believe would work and if your mental quickness is still there, you would know whether or not you wanted to proceed. Certainly, when the goal is so great, 30 minutes with an old friend is not a great sacrifice.

On a personal note, your friend, Larry Summers, recently gave a meaningful speech in Toronto entitled "Will 2014 End Up Like 1914". You may find it worth reading. Your friend, Donald Trump recently purchased a project we developed on the west coast of Ireland, Doonbeg Golf Club. It has been consistently rated the best resort in Europe.

Jeffrey, please let me know when and where this is convenient for you.

Jerry

Gerald G. Barton
Landmark Land Company, Inc.
P.O. Box 1880
Upper Marlboro, MD 20773
Phone: [redacted]
Fax: [redacted]

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Subject: Fwd: Photos
Attachments: photo_1.JPG; photo_2.JPG; photo_3.JPG; photo_4.JPG

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From: Lvjet[redacted]>
To: jeevacation <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Sent: Sat, Jun 7, 2014 12:45 pm
Subject: Fwd: Photos

Jeffrey,
photos of unmasked B727,. Paint shop indicated we can use Vinyl for your "E" Logo and "Flag" as oppose of painting. this would enable easy removal if plane sells in the future. Trump and other airlines uses Vinyl for logos,.
can you sketch the style of "E" for the tail, and I'll request rendering with slanted Flag for Right side of Vertical Stabilizer,.

thank you,
Larry

-----Original Message-----
From: Guy Amico <[redacted]
To: Larry Visoski <[redacted]>
Cc: Scott Stambaugh <[redacted]; JR Stambaugh
[redacted]>
Sent: Sat, Jun 7, 2014 12:16 pm
Subject: Photos

Date: Monday, March 19 2012 05:59 PM
Subject: 2 Seminars-MONEY & POWER possible Invite List
From: Lesley Groff <[redacted]>
To: Jeffrey Epstein CC <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Seminar-MONEY

Marc Andreesen

Paul Batista (Not sure this is who you mean)

Jeff Bezos

Sergey Brin

Bill Gates

Danny Hillis

Danny Kahneman

Jaron Lanier

Dick Merkin (?)

Michael Milken (?)

Nathan Myhrvold

Boris Nikolic

Larry Page

Tom Pritzker

Eric Schmidt

Jim Simons

Jes Staley

Peter Thiel

Ian Osborne (add Ian to both seminar lists?)

Seminar-POWER

Bill Clinton

Howard Gardner

Bill Gates

George Mitchell

Michael Ovitz

Igor (? Not sure who this is)

Ian Osborne (add Ian to both seminar lists?)

From: Sultan Bin Sulayem [redacted]
Sent: 4/24/2012 4:28:07 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Foreign Policy magazine: The Ayatollah Under the Bed(sheets):
Attachments: image001.jpg; image002.jpg

Importance: High

http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2012/04/23/the_ayatollah_under_the_bedsheets

The Ayatollah Under the Bed(sheets)

In the Islamic Republic of Iran, all politics may not be sexual, but all sex is political.

BY KARIM SADJADPOUR | MAY/JUNE 2012

In the early years of the Iranian Revolution, an obscure cleric named Ayatollah Gilani became a sensation on state television by contemplating bizarre hypotheticals at the intersection of Islamic law and sexuality. One of his most outlandish scenarios -- still mocked by Iranians three decades later -- went like this:

Imagine you are a young man sleeping in your bedroom. In the bedroom directly below, your aunt lies asleep. Now imagine that an earthquake happens that collapses your floor, causing you to fall directly on top of her. For the sake of argument, let's assume that you're both nude, and you're erect, and you land with such perfect precision on top of her that you unintentionally achieve intercourse. Is the child of such an encounter *halalzadeh* (legitimate) or *haramzadeh* (a bastard)?

Such tales of random ribaldry may sound anomalous in the seemingly austere, asexual Islamic Republic of Iran. But the "Gili Show," as it came to be known, had quite the following among both the traditional classes, who were titillated by his taboo topics, and the Tehrani elite, who tuned in for comic relief. Gilani helped spawn what is now a virtual cottage industry of clerics and fundamentalists turned amateur sexologists offering incoherent advice on everything from **quickies** ("The man's goal should be to lighten his load as soon as possible without arousing his woman") to **masturbation** ("a grave, grave sin which causes scientific and medical harm").

Perhaps it's not entirely surprising that Iran's Shiite fundamentalists -- not unlike their evangelical Christian, Catholic, Orthodox Jewish, and Sunni Muslim counterparts -- spend an inordinate amount of time pondering sexuality. They are human, after all. But the sexual manias of Iran's religious fundamentalists are worthy of greater scrutiny, all the more so because they control a state with nuclear ambitions, vast oil wealth, and a young, dynamic, stifled population. Yet for a variety of reasons -- fear of becoming Salman Rushdie, of being labeled an Orientalist, of upsetting religious sensibilities -- the remarkable hypocrisy of the Iranian regime is often studiously avoided.

That's a mistake. Because religion *is* politics in a theocracy like Iran, uninformed or antiquated notions of sexuality aren't just confined to the bedroom -- they pervade the country's seminaries, military barracks, boardrooms, courtrooms, and classrooms. A common aphorism among Iranians is that before the revolution, people partied outside the home and prayed inside, while today they pray outside and party inside. This reverse dichotomy is true of a lot of social behavior in Iran. For many Iranians, this perverse state of affairs is now so ingrained, such an inherent aspect of daily interactions with Iranian officialdom, that it is no longer noteworthy. For those in the West who seek to better understand what makes Tehran tick, though, the regime's curious fixation on sex cannot be ignored.

To **paraphrase** the late U.S. House Speaker Tip O'Neill, in the Islamic Republic of Iran all politics may not be sexual, but all sex is political. Exhibit A is the revolution's father, the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Like all Shiite clerics aspiring to become a "source of emulation" (*marja'-e taqlid*), Khomeini spent the first part of his career meticulously examining and dispensing religious guidance on personal behavior and ritual purity that ranged from the mundane ("It is recommended not to hold back the need to urinate or defecate, especially if it hurts") to the surprisingly lewd.

In his 1961 religious treatise *A Clarification of Questions* (*Towzih al-Masael*), Khomeini issued detailed pronouncements on issues ranging from **sodomy** ("If a man sodomizes the son, brother, or father of his wife after their marriage, the marriage remains valid") to bestiality ("If a person has intercourse with a cow, a sheep, or a camel, their urine and

dung become impure and drinking their milk will be unlawful"). As a young boy growing up in the American Midwest, I remember being both horrified and bewildered after coming across these precise passages in a translated volume of Khomeini's sayings I found in our Persian émigré home.

Scholars of Shiism -- including harsh critics of Khomeini -- emphasize that such themes were the norm among clerics of Khomeini's generation and should be understood in their proper context: Islam was a religion that emerged out of a rural desert, and the Prophet Mohammed was himself once a shepherd. Whereas religions like Christianity and Judaism simply declare such behavior to be sinful, Islam addresses them from a juridical point of view.

The underlying problem, says Islamic scholar Mehdi Khalaji, a former seminary student in the Shiite epicenter of Qom, is not that such issues were addressed, but the fact that "Islamic jurisprudence hasn't yet been modernized. It's totally disconnected from the issues that modern, urban people have to deal with."

Indeed, Khomeini's religious prescriptions are often the butt of jokes among Iran's post-revolutionary generations. "I've never even seen a camel in Tehran," prominent Iranian cartoonist Nikahang Kowsar told me, "let alone been tempted to have sex with one."

IF THERE IS A DOUBLE ENTENDRE that aptly captures today's Middle East, it is the "youth bulge." The Arab world's median age is 22, Iran's is 27; Western Europe's, by contrast, is near 40. High levels of Internet and satellite television penetration, with their pervasive pornography, coupled with the region's youthful demographics, have accentuated the Muslim Middle East's fraught relationship with sexuality.

Google Trends, which monitors searches from around the world, shows that of the seven countries that most frequently search the word "sex" on Google, **five are Muslim** and one (India) has a large Muslim minority. (The word "**sexy**" is even more popular among Arabs.) Google Insights, another trend spotter, shows that the most rapidly rising search term for Iranians so far in 2012 has been "Golshifteh Farahani," a popular exiled actress who in January posed topless for the French magazine *Madame Figaro*.

Before the 1979 revolution, religious fundamentalists were revolted by images of scantily clad Iranian women in the country's cinema and television; today, state television and cinema are forbidden from showing unveiled Iranian women. This is despite the fact that most of the country's citizens have access to the much more tawdry fare on satellite TV (the dishes are officially illegal, but thought to be smuggled in by the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps itself). In the forthcoming documentary ***The Iran Job***, Kevin Sheppard, an American who played basketball in Iran's professional leagues, is shocked while surfing his newly connected satellite television. "We have 600 channels," he remarks, "400 of them are sex!"

Because of its religious pretensions, however, the Iranian regime is forced to spend untold millions of dollars trying to jam satellite TV broadcasts to prevent them from reaching the country's citizens -- a futile attempt to simultaneously repel the forces of both technology and human nature. In an interview with the *New Yorker* several years ago, an Iranian security official **candidly assessed the challenge** at hand:

The majority of the population is young.... Young people by nature are horny. Because they are horny, they like to watch satellite channels where there are films or programs they can jerk off to.... We have to do something about satellite television to keep society free from this horny jerk-off situation.

One might assume a country that suffers from chronic inflation and unemployment -- not to mention harsh international sanctions and a potential war over its nuclear program -- would have better things to do than discourage its youth from masturbating. Yet the regime continues to pour hundreds of millions of dollars into Chinese censorship technology to create a **moral Iron Dome** against political and cultural subversion, with decidedly mixed results. Piped-in BBC Persian and Voice of America television are sometimes successfully scrambled, but those who want pornography have no shortage of outlets. That said, the censorship software sometimes get a bit overzealous. One Iranian friend told me of repeated unsuccessful attempts to access his British university's email account from Tehran, only to realize that the school's apparently bawdy name -- Essex -- was prohibited by the regime's Internet filters.

DURING THE RULE OF WESTERN-ORIENTED autocrat Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi, Tehran was a rapidly evolving society that deceptively appeared to be crossing into the modern age. My own family history is perhaps representative of Iran's urban middle-class trajectory during the 20th century: My devout paternal grandmother, born in 1907, wore a chador and wasn't formally educated beyond elementary school; three of her four daughters attended university, and all eschewed the veil. All of *their* daughters grew up in a Tehran in which miniskirts were the trend, and **Googoosh** -- Iran's pre-revolutionary J. Lo (but remarkably modest by today's standards) -- was their main "source of emulation."

Khomeini's opposition to the shah was fueled in part by the latter's enfranchisement of women, which the ayatollah deliberately conflated with sexual decadence. In his 1970 book *Islamic Governance*(*Hukumat-e Islami*) -- which would later provide the ideological and political template for post-revolutionary Iran -- Khomeini **hyperventilated** that "sexual vice has now reached such proportions that it is destroying entire generations, corrupting our youth, and causing them to neglect all forms of work! They are all rushing to enjoy the various forms of vice that have become so freely available and so enthusiastically promoted."

Khomeini nonetheless reassured his liberal revolutionary compatriots -- just months before the revolution, while in Paris exile -- that "women [would be] free in the Islamic Republic in the selection of their activities and their future and their clothing." Much to its retrospective dismay, a sizable chunk of Iran's liberal intelligentsia -- both male and female -- lined up behind Khomeini, some even referring to him as an "Iranian Gandhi." Shortly after consolidating power, however, Khomeini and his disciples swiftly moved to crush opposing views and curtail female social and sartorial freedoms. "Islam doesn't allow for people to [wear swimsuits] in the sea," he **proclaimed** shortly after becoming supreme leader. We "will skin their hide!"

Women who resisted the mandatory veil were met with violence and intimidation, including lyrical taunts of "*Ya roosari, ya toosari!*" ("Cover your head or be smacked in the head!"). As Iranian Nobel Peace Prize laureate Shirin Ebadi **recently wrote**, "Although the 1979 revolution in Iran is often called an Islamic revolution, it can actually

be said to be a revolution of men against women.... The drafters of [the Islamic Penal Code] had effectively taken us back 1,400 years."

Like Islamists in today's Egypt -- and some among America's Christian right -- Iran's revolutionaries found fertile ground on which to play the politics of pious populism, rather than concretely address the enormous challenges of building a diversified economy. The country's massive oil wealth made it appear all too easy. Khomeini famously dismissed economics as "for donkeys," and he responded to complaints of inflation by saying, "The revolution wasn't about the price of watermelons." Three decades later, the results are self-evident: In 1979, resource-rich Iran's GDP was almost double that of resource-poor Turkey. Today, it is roughly half.

The brutal reality is that Iranians had entrusted their national destiny to a man, Khomeini, who had spent far more time thinking about the religious penalties for fornicating with animals than how to run a modern economy.

AFTER HIS DEATH IN 1989, Khomeini was succeeded by the current supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who has remained loyal to Khomeini's vision for Iran, including his prudishness regarding matters of the flesh. For Khamenei -- who has said that keeping women in hijab would "prevent our society from being plunged into corruption and turmoil" -- outward displays of feminine beauty are viewed not only with religious disfavor, but as an existential threat to the regime itself.

Khamenei contends that the health of the family unit is integral to the Islamic Republic's well-being and is undermined by female beauty. Although to some this worldview is fundamentally misogynistic,**Khamenei sees** men, not women, as untrustworthy and incapable of resisting temptation:

In Islam, women have been prohibited from showing off their beauty in order to attract men or cause *fitna* [upheaval or sedition]. Showing off one's physical attraction to men is a kind of fitna ... [for] if this love for beauty and members of the opposite sex is found somewhere other than the framework of the family, the stability of the family will be undermined.

Interestingly, the word Khamenei employs against the potential unveiling of women -- *fitna* -- is the same word used to describe the opposition Green Movement that took to the streets in the summer of 2009 to protest President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's contested reelection. In other words, women's hair is *itself* seen as seditious and counterrevolutionary. Even so-called liberal politicians in the Islamic Republic have long fixated on this issue. Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, Iran's first post-revolutionary president, who has spent the past three decades exiled in France, reportedly once asserted that women's hair has been scientifically proven to emit sexually enticing rays. (An Iranian satirist responded with a cartoon showing a man inadvertently aroused while eating lunch at his friend's home; the culprit turned out to be an errant strand of his friend's wife's hair in the ***ghormeh sabzi*** stew, an Iranian national dish.)

OVER THE LAST TWO DECADES, the women of Iran's younger generation have increasingly pushed back and loosened their veils, but any discussion of abolishing the veil altogether is not tolerated by Khamenei. In addition to opposition toward the United States and Israel, the hijab is often considered one of the Islamic Republic's three remaining ideological pillars. "For Islamic Republic officials, the hijab has vast symbolic importance; it is what holds up the dam, keeping all of Iranians' other demands for social freedoms at bay," says Azadeh Moaveni, an Iranian-American **author**. "Relax on the hijab, they think, and all hell will break loose; next people will want to swill beer on the street and read uncensored novels. They think of it as a gateway freedom."

Despite Khamenei's assertion that the hijab prevents men from straying, governmental policies in fact encourage the opposite. For example, to help accommodate the apparently incorrigibly wandering libido of the Iranian male, the country's parliament -- composed of Khamenei loyalists -- has supported sharia-sanctioned "temporary marriages" (known in Persian as *sigheh*) allowing men as many sexual partners as they want. The marriage contract can last as little as a few minutes, and it doesn't need to be officially registered. The man can abruptly end the sigheh when he likes, but initiating divorce is far more difficult for women. Indeed, women who stray from the sanctity of their marriages do so at grave risk -- dozens have been stoned to death in Iran for adultery.

The country's economic malaise has also led to a reportedly sharp rise in plain old, non-Islamically sanctioned prostitution. Tehran's high-end taxi drivers, often underemployed university graduates, casually point them out on the street.

"When economies take a downturn, informal economies and illicit networks become more attractive," says Pardis Mahdavi, author of a **book on sexuality in Iran**. "Technology facilitates this too."

During the shah's time, Tehran's **notorious red-light district** was known as Shahr-e Noe (New City), a place where countless young Iranian men lost their virginity. Like many things post-revolution, however, the Islamic Republic just imagined that banning the symptom would make the problem go away. But pouring saltpeter from the minarets hasn't worked. "They razed Shahr-e Noe thinking it would end prostitution," a retired Iranian laborer once told me. "Now all of Tehran has become Shahr-e Noe."

UNSURPRISINGLY, THE OUTWARDLY CHASTE nature of Khomeinist political culture has perverted normal sexual behavior, creating peculiar curiosities -- and proclivities -- among Iranian officialdom. Omid Memarian, a journalist who spent several months in the notorious Evin prison for his articles critical of the government, told me that his interrogators seemed far more interested in his sex life than his political peccadilloes. "I tried to answer their questions in very general terms, but they'd interrupt me," he recalled. "They wanted to know details. 'Start from when you were unbuttoning her blouse....'" In one instance, he told me, he was horrified when an interrogator appeared to be rubbing himself while listening.

Observers of American politics -- the land of **Jimmy Swaggart**, **Mark Sanford**, and **Newt Gingrich**, to name just a few -- won't be surprised to learn that it is often the most outspoken Iranian advocates of traditional values who fall short of achieving them. Memarian spent part of his mandatory military service in Tehran writing speeches for a senior Revolutionary Guard commander who routinely attacked the craven immorality of the "Global Arrogance" (i.e., the United States). "His *filmi* [the person who brought him bootlegged films on CD] later told me that he always requested 'films with scenes' [*film-haye sahne-dar*]," a euphemism for porn.

In a well-publicized national scandal in 2008, the Tehran police commander responsible for enforcing Iran's strict anti-vice laws, Reza Zarei, was caught nude in a brothel with six women (one of the women claimed he had asked them to **pray naked** in front of him). While American politicians might bounce back from such transgressions with their own **television show** (see: **Spitzer, Eliot**), the revelation of the incident reportedly led Zarei to attempt suicide while in prison.

The shame of sexual malfeasance has been routinely used by the regime as a form of political coercion and intimidation. When the famously jocular reformist cleric Mohammad Ali Abtahi, former vice president to Mohammad Khatami, was imprisoned after Iran's contested 2009 presidential election, he surprised his supporters by confessing with great gusto to being part of a Western-backed conspiracy to foment a velvet revolution. Although his confession was undoubtedly forced, his close associates claim that what compelled him to confess was not physical or psychological torture but hidden photos of him -- *in flagrante delicto* -- at a secret Tehran love nest that was long being monitored.

The Islamic Republic isn't always so prudish, however. In fact, it's been willing to use sexual incentives as a form of statecraft. In a **WikiLeaked U.S. State Department cable**, for example, senior Iraqi tribal chief Abu Cheffat confided in a U.S. diplomat in Baghdad that Tehran effectively wielded influence over Iraqi politicians -- ostensibly visiting Iran for "medical treatment" -- by offering inducements including "temporary marriages" with Iranian women. Not that Cheffat was complaining, mind you: The perks were surely better than when he visited President George W. Bush at the White House in 2008. It was not without reason, he explained, that Iranian soft power was trumping American hard power in Iraq.

More recently, three Iranian intelligence agents who unsuccessfully tried to kill Israeli government officials in Bangkok this past February photographed themselves at a bar in the beach resort of Pattaya with local "**escorts**." When I asked the scion of a powerful cleric in Tehran how ostensible devotees of Khomeini's religious ideology are able to reconcile frequenting non-Muslim prostitutes and drinking alcohol, he quickly dismissed any religious obstacles. "There are government clerics who can easily grant them religious

pretexts [*mojavez'e Shar'i*]," he explained. "They can make the case that if they didn't frequent prostitutes and drink alcohol they would appear to be [terrorists] and raise suspicions."

In essence, the Iranian regime's approach toward sex, like its philosophy of governance, is marked by *maslahat*, or expediency, and used alternately as a tool of suppression, inducement, and incitement. In the summer of 2009, when hundreds of thousands of Iranians took to the streets to protest Ahmadinejad's reelection, many protesters were brutally beaten by the Basij militia, gangs of young regime thugs on motorbikes who were given a green light to quell the uprising. As Iranian-American academic Shervin Malekzadeh reported from Tehran, the Basij seemed to be driven by a combination of class resentment and pent-up frustration. "They don't screw; they don't drink or smoke joints," one of his sources told him. "What else are they going to do with all of that energy?"

But perhaps the seminal -- and most heartbreaking -- moment of the Green Revolution was the murder of a 26-year-old female protester, Neda Agha-Soltan, whose bloody death was caught on cell-phone camera and rendered one of the most viral videos in history. In an **HBO documentary** about her life, Neda's mother **recalls a message** that some sympathetic female Basij members relayed to Neda days before she was killed by a sniper: "Dear, please don't come out looking so beautiful.... Do us a favor and don't come out because the Basiji men target beautiful girls. And they will shoot you."

While the iconic faces of Iran's 1979 revolution were bearded, middle-aged men, Neda has come to symbolize the new face of dissent in 21st-century Iran: a young, modern, educated woman. For her opposition to the regime and to the hijab, she is the embodiment of fitna in Khamenei's eyes.

THREE SPRINGS LATER, the Iranian regime once again is faced with a crisis, this time of an external variety. As Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu threatens war in between meals, the Pentagon plays war games and policy planners huddle in the White House: Is the Iranian regime rational or irrational? Can diplomatic negotioations prevent Iran from obtaining a bomb, or is an attack on Iran's nuclear facilities inevitable?

Many Iran watchers assert that to persuade Tehran not to pursue a nuclear weapon, Washington must reassure Khamenei that the United States merely seeks a change in Iranian behavior, not a change of the Iranian regime.

What they fail to consider is Khamenei's deep-seated conviction that U.S. designs to overthrow the Islamic Republic hinge not on military invasion but on cultural and political subversion intended to foment a "velvet" revolution from within. Consider this **revealing address** on Iranian state TV in 2005:

More than Iran's enemies need artillery, guns, and so forth, they need to spread cultural values that lead to moral corruption.... I recently read in the news that a senior official in an important American political center said: "Instead of bombs, send them miniskirts." He is right. If they arouse sexual desires in any given country, if they spread unrestrained mixing of men and women, and if they lead youth to behavior to which they are naturally inclined by instincts, there will no longer be any need for artillery and guns against that nation.

Khamenei's vast collection of writings and speeches makes clear that the weapons of mass destruction he fears most are cultural -- more Kim Kardashian and Lady Gaga than bunker busters and aircraft carriers. In other words, Tehran is threatened not only by what America does, but by what America is: a depraved, postmodern colonial power bent on achieving global cultural hegemony. America's "strategic policy," Khamenei has said, "is seeking female promiscuity."

Khamenei's words capture the paradox and perversion of modern Iran. While dropping bombs on the Iranian regime could likely prolong its shelf-life, a regime that sees women's hair as an existential threat is already well past its sell-by date.

Karim Sadjadpour is senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:27:15 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: Zeitplan amfar Gala 19.5.2012

Importance: High

[redacted] is my friend there who will host us. She is very close friend with [redacted] as well.
[redacted] and I are still trying to get [redacted] to join at the last moment.
She and her family own 80% or so of Austrian media (Heute etc). She is describing program below.
The plan would be that we arrive to Vienna on Thursday 17th mid day.

On Thursday there is a big Premiere of Mozart La Clemenza de Tito and we go to that.

ON Friday [redacted] is organizing a dinner/reception with her friends. We can schedule some other meetings/visits during day.

On Saturday the night starts at 5pm and goes through early next morning.

I leave first flight Sunday morning for San Francisco to meet Bill.
If you are staying in Vienna and have time (and like [redacted] you should go to her brunch.

How this seems to you???

B

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2012 5:51 AM
To: 'Cavan Mahony'; Boris Nikolic; [redacted]
Subject: WG: Zeitplan amfar Gala 19.5.2012

Hallo everybody!

Attached (sorry in Germain) the Programm fort he lifeball on the 19th.
Actually there will be a Galadinner with our prime minister and Bill Clinton and all kinds of stars in the Hofburg (former Imerial estate - very impressive to see from inside)) It is only 250 people,. A seated dinner and more upscale than the rest oft he evening. It start's at 5pm with a Champagne cocktail and from there we go directly to the opening oft he ball where we'll have a really cool Box first row!!

Dresscode: actually the lifeball is really crazy and 'half naked' We always do a intermediare because otherwise you feel like an idiot at the Amfar Gala dinner before. People now don't wear Tuxedos anymore. Christoph wear's normal black trouseres with a white shirt and a dar sakko because he doesn't want to be in any crazy stuff on all the pics. Half oft he people oft he gala dinenr also waer some 'little' crazy stuff like pink velvet sakkos (and a mask for later) or so. girls: Crazy as you like. There are a lot of atrists that are really dressed up. I will wear a quiet see-through short dress with high high heels+ a chanel Tatoo and will take a face mask fort he ball later.

So I hope this helped at least a little bit. For pics got to: lifeball.org

Friday night: We would like to invite you all for dinner and will organize a nice place with a cool bar. Aress follows. Pls let me know who wants to join!!

Sunday: I'm very sure we'll be dead :-) BUT we would like to invite you to our house/garden/pool (swimmwear) for brunch starting at 11. Fürfanggasse 4, 1190 Wien. From hotel Sachen max. 15 min with Taxi. If you fly late we can walk from our house to one oft he famous Austrian heurigen ...and get some more alcholic to drink :-) :-)

On Thursday there is a big Premiere of Mozart La Clemenza de Tito. Very hard to get tickets but for 2 of you I could still organize (hopefully9 if some of you already arrive on Thursday.

Big kiss to everbody...I promise you...not often you will have seen something that crazy :-)

[redacted]

[redacted]

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-----Ursprüngliche Nachricht-----
Von: Manuela Wieland [redacted]
Gesendet: Montag, 07. Mai 2012 13:45
An: [redacted]
Betreff: Zeitplan amfar Gala 19.5.2012

Liebe Frau Dichand,

anbei der Zeitablauf von der AMFAR Gala 2012 am 19.5.2012.
LG MW

Unique Public High Schools Cited by Obama, Get Substantial Backing from Science Investor, Jeffrey Epstein

A group of uniquely run public schools in New York State and New Jersey have been brought into the spotlight from recent financial backing from science investor, Jeffrey Epstein and his foundation, The Jeffrey Epstein VI Foundation. The schools are called the Bard High School Early College schools (BHSEC) and are located in Manhattan and Queens of New York City and in Newark, New Jersey.

The Bard schools are not charter schools. They operate under the governance of New York State and New Jersey. However, they run with the efficiency and success of a prominent charter school. The schools are small, with less than 600 students each and a student teacher ratio of 20 to 1. Admission is academically exclusive, focusing on academic records, writing and math assessments and an eagerness for ideas and learning. And like most charter schools, the BHSEC schools critically have autonomy, even though they have to meet Regent state exams and graduation guidelines. They have the autonomy to run their teaching staff, budget and choose their curriculum.

Unlike charter schools however, the BHSEC schools provide an entire high school curriculum in just two years and then two years of college level credits. After four years, students graduate with sixty college credits, a New York State Regents or New Jersey high school diploma, and a Bard College Associate in Arts degree in liberal arts and sciences. The accelerated approach stems from the schools' belief that many young people are ready and eager to do serious college work at age sixteen and that young adults' ambition to learn must be taken seriously.

The results have been exceptional: 95% of BHSEC graduates move on to a four-year college. In July, 2009, President Obama, addressing the NAACP's centennial convention cited the schools as a public education role model for the nation: "Innovations like Bard High School Early College and Medgar Evers College Preparatory School that are challenging students to complete high school and earn a free associate's degree or college credit in just four years." In 2012, *The New York Observer* ranked the BHSEC Manhattan school as the #1 public high school in New York City, with an A+ grade, outranking the top private school.

BHSEC has its roots in the college system. In June 2001, The New York City Board of Education and Bard College jointly created Bard High School Early College (BHSEC), with the support of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Since the 1960's Bard College, originally called, Bard College of Simon's Rock, was the nation's only four year college and was specifically designed for younger scholars.

"Competition is tough," Jeffrey Epstein notes, whose foundation actively supports public education across the country. "Approximately 7,000 applicants compete for 150 seats each fall. So we need to continue working with state education boards to duplicate this successful model."

From: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Sent: 7/10/2012 10:56:42 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Lesley: Please deliver to Jeffrey

Importance: High

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: Charles Stevenson [redacted]
Date: July 10, 2012 5:45:56 PM EDT
To: Lesley Groff <[redacted]
Subject: Lesley: Please deliver to Jeffrey

Jeffrey,

Thank you for your gifts to Bard College. Every dollar is deeply appreciated.

Charles

Re: Exceptional Public Schools Cited By Obama, Get Critical Backing From Investor, Jeffrey Epstein - US Politics Today

http://uspolitics.einnews.com/pr_news/103931767/exceptional-public-schools-cited-by-obama-get-critical-backing-from-investor-jeffrey-epstein

Exceptional Public Schools Cited By Obama, Get Critical Backing From Investor, Jeffrey Epstein

PR Newswire

NEW YORK, July 5, 2012 /PRNewswire/ -- A group of unique public high schools in New York State and New Jersey, cited by President Obama as role models for the nation, have received critical funding from science investor, Jeffrey Epstein and his foundation, The Jeffrey Epstein VI Foundation. The schools are called the Bard High School Early College schools (BHSEC) in Manhattan and Queens of New York City and in Newark, New Jersey.

The Bard schools are not charter schools. They are financed by New York State and New Jersey. However, they run with the efficiency and success of a prominent charter school. The schools are small, with less than 600 students each and a student teacher ratio of 20 to 1. Admission is academically exclusive, focusing on academic records, writing and math assessments and an eagerness for ideas and learning. And like most charter schools, the BHSEC schools critically have autonomy, even though they have to meet Regent state exams and state graduation guidelines. They have the autonomy to run their teaching staff, budget, operations and curriculum.

Unlike charter schools however, BHSEC schools provide an entire high school curriculum in just two years and then two years of college level credits. After four years, students graduate with sixty college credits, a state Regents high school diploma and a Bard College Associate in Arts degree in the liberal arts and sciences. This accelerated approach comes from the schools' belief that many young people are ready and eager to do serious college work at age sixteen and that young adults' ambition to learn must be taken seriously.

The results have been exceptional: 95% of BHSEC graduates attend college. In July 2009, President Obama, addressing the NAACP's centennial convention cited the schools as a role model for the nation: "Innovations like Bard High School Early College and Medgar Evers College Preparatory School that are challenging students to complete high school and earn a free associate's degree or college credit in just four years." In 2012, The New York Observer ranked BHSEC as the #1 public high school in New York City, with an A+ grade, outranking the top private school.

BHSEC has its roots in the college system. In June 2001, The New York City Board of Education and Bard College created Bard High School Early College with the support of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Since the 1960's Bard College, originally called, Bard College of Simon's Rock, was the nation's only four year college and was designed for younger scholars.

"Competition is tough," Jeffrey Epstein notes, whose foundation actively supports public education across the country. "Approximately 7,000 applicants compete for 150 seats each fall. So we need to continue working with state education boards to duplicate this successful model."

http://www.jeffreyepstein.org

SOURCE http://www.jeffreyepstein.org

From: BARBRO EHNBOM [redacted]
Sent: 8/20/2012 1:23:57 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: [redacted]
Attachments: Be_[redacted]1.jpg

Importance: High

How about this year's SALSS Project Manager [redacted] - brainy and sensual!

Picture attached!

Barbro C. Ehnbom
Chairman, Swedish-American Life Science Summit
Office: [redacted]
Cell: [redacted]
Sweden: [redacted]
360 E. 55 St. #10G
New York, N.Y. 10022

-----Original Message-----
From: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>
To: Barbro C Ehnbom [redacted]
Sent: Mon, Aug 20, 2012 2:32 pm
Subject: Re: Program & Attendee list

who is you r wife choice this year?

On Sat, Aug 18, 2012 at 12:11 PM, Barbro C Ehnbom <[redacted]> wrote:

Dear Jeffrey,

I am sorry I did not call back Yesterday-I was exhausted from a crazy week and fell asleep as soon as I came home! Anyway, here is the full program and attendee list attached, this is the Globalization Summit I invited Bill Clinton to when I met him in Stockholm last Summer-
But he is a bit busy I gather!
Anyway, hope Greta Tufvesson got hold of you re search service? Also, I did see your mail about possibly coming here end of September-however, I am supposedly arranging a fund-raiser for Congress Woman Diana deGette of Colorado on Sept 27 in NYC; she is the only one with a scientific agenda and she is just super-if anything I am hoping on your involvement?
How about going to Stockholm mid or end november..albeit a bit dark and maybe cold..?
Let me know what you think!
Also, I just heard from my friend Jeff Kriendler in Miami and guess who was just walking in there -our friend Goldsamt!
First prize for perseverance!
Also, Sofia and the prince is on every magazine here, I think it is wonderful!
Marcus has two big concerts in Stockholm this coming week. Me - SALSS!

KRAM
BE

Barbro C. Ehnbom
Sent from iPad

Vidarebefordrat brev:

Från: [redacted] <[redacted]n>
Datum: August 18, 2012 8:44:29 AM GMT+02:00
Till: Barbro Ehnbom <[redacted]
Ämne: Program & Attendee list

--
****
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Jeffrey Epstein
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From: [redacted]
Sent: 11/2/2012 2:34:45 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE:

Importance: High

Perfect, my father is in Florence now ; we all fly on Sunday to Tanzania for 6 days with my daughters.
I believe that the American Ambassador will go back to the US in a few months after the elections , even if President Obama wins. Maybe you want to ask him about the letter for the Interallie before his departure?

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: mercredi 31 octobre 2012 23:14
To: [redacted]
Subject:

due to hurrricane , i will not come until december. lets organize a call with your father, or if he likes i am happy to fly mom and dad to new york . in a couple of weeks when hurrican isssues subside.

--
****
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Jeffrey Epstein
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The J.P. Morgan View

Do US elections change anything?

- **Asset allocation** — The equity market has priced out the Romney win scenario, but from these levels, our economic and market outlook and risks are unchanged. These keep us medium-term overweight equities and credit, despite the likely volatility as the fiscal cliff is negotiated. Within equities, we stay underweight the US, and move most of the overweight into EM Asia. We have moved some of our credit overweight from the US to Europe.
- **Economics** — The data flows continue to confirm that June/July was likely the bottom in global activity growth, and that we are gently lifting from those levels, even as it will take well into next year before growth returns to trend.
- **Fixed Income** — Look for yields to head higher, but focus more risk on spread compression trades.
- **Equities** — We focus our overweights on EM Asia, Cyclical stocks and US Home builders.
- **Credit** — We see the current dip as an opportunity to add risk.
- **Currencies** — Be long the dollar during the fiscal cliff negotiations.
- **Commodities** — A further set of better Chinese economic data keeps us long base metals.

- **Equity markets are taking the Obama victory quite badly,** with US stocks down some 4% on Wednesday and Thursday. This has pushed up global bond markets, and credit spreads are wider, but commodities are largely ignoring this turmoil. We don't think an Obama victory truly changes the economic outlook, or risks, but it does eliminate the Romney hope that appeared to have been in market pricing.
- **By definition, the Romney scenario is now priced out of the market.** The US elections confirm the status quo in Washington, and to us, they do so also for the broad economic and market outlook, from current levels. Hence, we do not see much reason to change our investment allocations, and remain medium-term overweight both credit and equities against cash, government debt, and commodities. We do so on the basis of value – still high risk premia – fading risks on fiscal policy in the US into next year; an expected rebound in global growth; and super easy monetary policy, with more QE coming if growth were to disappoint.
- In recent weeks, we have switched out of our long-standing US risk overweight, into an underweight, on the argument that the US had the most committed central banker, its growth has been least disappointing, and its fiscal risks were further into the future. This relative risk has changed, with Chinese economic data confirming that its economy is rebounding, while the ECB now creating a period a relative financial "peace". The US, in contrast, is at the start of intense negotiations on how to avoid a fiscal-cliff induced recession next year. Neither side of the aisle has an interest in being blamed for a recession. But markets will still be buffeted by a steady news flow on wide gaps between each side's position.

See page 7 for analyst certification and important disclosures.

Global Asset Allocation

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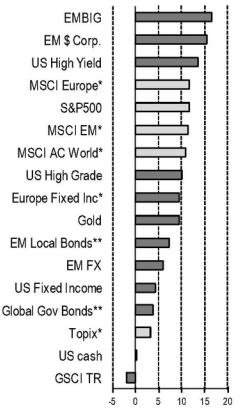
YTD returns through Nov 8
%, equities are in lighter color.



Source: J.P. Morgan, Bloomberg. See blue box on page 2 for description.

- As a result, we stay underweight US equities and have moved risk from our US credit longs into Europe. Our initial US equity underweight was against Europe and EM Asia. Our recent downgrade of Q1 growth in the Euro area and better activity data in China made us move the lion's share of the overweight versus the US into EM Asia (see Wednesday's *Global Market Outlook and Strategy*).
- **Chinese activity data continue to surprise on the upside**. October data for IP, retail sales and fixed investment each came above our expectations. This creates upside risk, but no change yet, to our forecasts which already assume a gentle rise in quarterly growth rates from under 7% early this year to just above 8% in Q1. Better data reduce the need for renewed fiscal and monetary stimulus. The 18th Party Congress started yesterday, will last a week, and will be followed by the announcement of the next leadership. More important for the economic outlook will be the Annual Central Economic Working Conference that will be held in December. We expect it to support continued moderate fiscal policy, a neutral monetary policy, and further economic rebalancing towards domestic consumption. It may also lower the 2013 growth target to 7%. For more details, see Haibin Zhu in today's GDW.

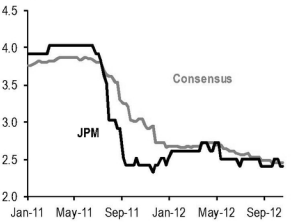
Fixed Income

- **Bonds rallied strongly, in the slipstream of the tumbling equity market.** President Obama's re-election perhaps also diminishes expectations of a change in course at the Fed.
- The ECB and the Bank of England stood pat at their policy meetings this week, but the latter delivered a curveball today, announcing that its net coupon income from QE would be transferred to the UK Treasury from next year on. The near-term effect is a **slight monetary easing**, as the money will be used to reduce the amount of gilts in issue, similar to QE itself.
- Beyond that, this is another small step towards **perceptions that monetary policy is no longer independent from fiscal policy**, like the Bank of Japan's joint statement with two government ministers last month. Nobody knows the tipping point at which these perceptions feed into much higher inflation expectations, just that we'll know it when we see it.
- Core euro bond yields are towards the low end of the range, and we expect them to head higher. But we focus more risk on **spread compression trades**, via overweights in Euro area peripherals, US MBS, and EM local bonds vs DM.

Equities

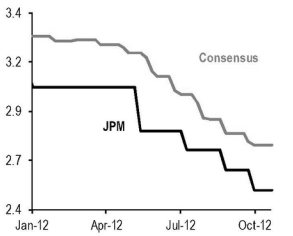
- Equity markets fell sharply post US elections, but we are not changing our strategy.
- From a month ago, we avoided directional longs in our GMOS model equity portfolio due to elevated positions by spec investors (see Charts A10 and A12 in today's *Flows & Liquidity*). We preferred to **focus instead on regional and sectoral trades**. We stay with the same strategy focusing our recommendations on EM Asia across regions, and Cyclical stocks and US Home builders across sectors.
- The rebound in the October global manufacturing PMI is what keeps us **long Cyclical vs. Defensive** equity sectors. **Is this a high-beta trade? Not**

2012 global GDP growth forecasts: JPMorgan and Consensus



Source: J.P. Morgan, Consensus Economics. Consensus Economics forecasts are for regions and countries that we averaged using the same 5-year rolling USD GDP weights that we use for our own global growth forecast.

2013 global GDP growth forecasts: JPMorgan and Consensus



Source: J.P. Morgan, Consensus Economics. Consensus Economics forecasts are for regions and countries that we averaged using the same 5-year rolling USD GDP weights that we use for our own global growth forecast.

More details in ...

Global Data Watch, Bruce Kasman and David Hensley

Global Markets Outlook and Strategy, Jan Loeys, Bruce Kasman, et al.

US Fixed Income Markets, Terry Belton and Srini Ramaswamy

Global Fixed Income Markets, Pavan Wadhwa and Fabio Bassi

Emerging Markets Outlook and Strategy, Joyce Chang

Key trades and risk: Emerging Market Equity Strategy, Adrian Mowat et al.

Flows and Liquidity, Nikos Panigirtzoglou et al.

Description of YTD Chart on front page:

Returns in USD. *Local currency. **Hedged into USD. Euro Fixed Income is iBoxx Overall Index. US HG, HY, EMBIG and EM $ Corp are JPM indices. EM FX is ELMI+ in $.

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necessarily. Last summer, as equity markets rebounded in June and July, Cyclical sectors actually underperformed. The thin grey line in the top chart shows that Cyclical sectors have recaptured only a quarter of the underperformance seen between March and August and thus provide a better entry point. Position indicators suggest that investors are underweight Cyclicals and overweight Defensives which is turn means that Defensive sectors are more vulnerable to position unwinding.

- We introduced an **underweight in US equities** in mid October to position for the US fiscal cliff risk. Obama's win makes it more likely that this risk will intensify into year-end. Across regions we favor EM Asia and Europe vs. the US. While the US is facing fiscal cliff risks, Asian equities are benefiting from concrete signs that economic activity is rebounding in China. European equities are benefiting from greater improvement in financial conditions, although they are more vulnerable to noise around the Greek and Spanish issues.

Credit

- **US credit spreads edged wider in response to the fall in equity markets following the US elections.** US HG widened 7bp to 160bp, undoing around half of October's peak-to-trough moves. Similar moves registered in other USD credit markets. At 107bp, the CDX.IG is now back to early-August levels, even as the CDS-Bond basis moved back into negative territory with corporate bond spreads again moving above CDS.
- Credit spreads may be repricing the risk of a fiscal-cliff induced recession in 2013. For context, we expect the eventual outcome of the negotiations to lead to about 2% of GDP in fiscal contraction, not enough to tip the economy back into recession in itself, and considerably lower than the 4% drag under the full enactment of all revenue raising measures and spending cuts currently set to become law on Jan 1.
- From our point of view, the elections confirm the status quo both in Washington and in market conditions – i.e. we should expect more of the same and **it has been a great year for credit**. Therefore, **we see the current dip as an opportunity to add risk**, and expect spreads to continue to tighten into year end, albeit at a slower rate than in recent months. We stay down in quality and outline in *GMOS* this week some relative value arguments for Euro HY vs US HY. On that front, European credit shrugged off the election outcome, tightening marginally in the HG space and widening very slightly in the HY space.

Foreign Exchange

- The post-US election drama is unfolding as expected. Four more years with the same cast is delivering a higher USD versus most currencies but JPY due to deleveraging ahead of the fiscal cliff, and lower USD/CNY forwards due to avoidance of US-China trade conflict (see *An FX guide to America's toss-up election, FX Markets Weekly,* Nov 2). The only surprise has been that FX volatility remains so subdued (VXY unchanged at 7.4%) in a week when the trade-weighted dollar and equity volatility have rallied. Chalk it up to positioning, as most indicators suggest that institutions investors entered the US polls with aggregate USD positions close to flat.
- Now, sausage-making season begins. US recession is guaranteed if the fiscal cliff is enacted on schedule, and neither Congress nor the President welcomes

More details in ...

US Credit Markets Outlook and Strategy, Eric Beinstein et al.

High Yield Credit Markets Weekly, Peter Acciavatti et al.

European Credit Outlook & Strategy, Steven Dulake et al.

Emerging Markets Cross Product Strategy Weekly, Eric Beinstein et al.

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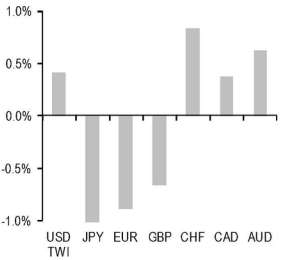
that outcome. But avoiding the worst case requires a short-term bargain plus a long-term compromise on a scale not seen in Washington since the Clinton-Congressional budget showdown of 1995/96. As with sausage making, this process won't be pleasant to watch. It would be easier to return in several weeks when the final product is ready, but for those who cannot avoid, ignore the likely volatility, and add to defensive trades.

- Washington needs at least a month to broker deferral of a decent part of the fiscal cliff before it can assume the monumental task of comprehensive fiscal reform next year, and the currencies most vulnerable to an impasse are expensive. If no grand bargain is reached before the end of the year, full implementation of the cliff implies enough fiscal tightening to drive the dollar up 3%-5% versus commodity currencies, given typical patterns during global growth shocks. Even if these tax increases are reversed later in the year, the first response would be a higher USD versus all currencies but the yen, given how long that investors are of cyclical currencies and how short they are the yen.
- Stay short USD/JPY and buy USD vs high-beta (AUD, NZD, SEK and GBP) in cash and options for a move of a few percent in coming weeks. In options, sell a 1-mo NZD/USD call (0.8250 strike, 0.83 RKI), buy a bearish 2-mo AUD/USD seagull (buy 1.03-1.01 put spread, sell 1.05 call) and buy a bearish 2-mo GBP/USD seagull (buy 1.57-1.55 put spread, sell 1.6250 call). Buy USD/SEK in cash.

FX weekly change in USD



Source: J.P. Morgan

Commodities

- **Commodities are up some 1% this week, led by precious metals, which rallied almost 4%.** The strong gains in gold are probably due to the US election result as Obama's victory means no change to Fed policy and so continued QE and negative real yields. Gold also tends to gain when there is high fiscal uncertainty, just as it did last year during the acrimonious debt ceiling debate which cost the US its AAA rating. **We stay long gold.**
- Chinese economic data came out stronger than expected this week, providing support for our view that Chinese economic growth has bottomed and will rebound through next year. China's slowing activity growth has been a major drag on commodities over the last few years and the improving economy is what makes us **long base metals**.
- The expected rebound in Chinese growth does not imply that we will go back to the double-digit growth rates that we saw before the crisis, and immediately after. The periods when China's economy grew at a pace above 8% coincided with very strong price gains on commodities, as it boosted global demand. China's leadership is in the process of reorienting its economy towards domestic consumption and to reduce reliance on exports and capital investments. As a result, Chinese growth will likely settle in a 7%-8% range over the medium term, a growth pace that in the past has not put upwards pressure on commodity prices.

More details in ...

FX Markets Weekly, John Normand et al.
Commodity Markets Outlook & Strategy, Colin Fenton et al.
Oil Markets Monthly, Colin Fenton et al.
Daily Metals Note, Colin Fenton et al.
Agriculture Weekly, Dietz et al.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026575

Jan Loeys
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Interest rates		Current	Dec-12	Mar-13	Jun-13	Sep-13	YTD Return*
United States	Fed funds rate	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.125	0.125	
	10-year yields	1.63	2.00	2.00	2.00	2.25	2.6%
Euro area	Refi rate	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.75	
	10-year yields	1.35	2.00	2.15	2.25	2.25	3.9%
United Kingdom	Repo rate	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	
	10-year yields	1.74	2.20	2.30	2.35	2.35	2.9%
Japan	Overnight call rate	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.05	
	10-year yields	0.73	0.85	0.90	0.95	1.00	2.0%
GBI-EM hedged in $	Yield - Global Diversified	5.64	6.00				7.3%

Credit Markets	Current	Index	YTD Return*
US high grade (bp over UST)	161	JPMorgan JULI Porfolio Spread to Treasury	10.1%
Euro high grade (bp over Euro gov)	176	iBoxx Euro Corporate Index	9.5%
USD high yield (bp vs. UST)	582	JPMorgan Global High Yield Index STW	13.1%
Euro high yield (bp over Euro gov)	726	iBoxx Euro HY Index	21.0%
EMBIG (bp vs. UST)	294	EMBI Global	16.4%
EM Corporates (bp vs. UST)	337	JPM EM Corporates (CEMBI)	15.4%

		Quarterly Averages					
Commodities	Current	12Q4	13Q1	13Q2	13Q3	GSCI Index	YTD Return*
Brent ($/bbl)	110	105	112	105	120	Energy	-3.7%
Gold ($/oz)	1733	1725	1750	1775		Precious Metals	8.7%
Copper ($/metric ton)	7629	8300	8500	8700		Industrial Metals	-2.5%
Corn ($/Bu)	7.45	8.75	8.50	8.25		Agriculture	15.2%

Foreign Exchange	Current	Dec-12	Mar-13	Jun-13	Sep-13	3m cash index	YTD Return* in USD
EUR/USD	1.28	1.30	1.30	1.32	1.34	EUR	-0.8%
USD/JPY	80.5	78	79	79	79	JPY	3.4%
GBP/USD	1.60	1..61	1.60	1.62	1.63	GBP	4.1%
USD/BRL	2.03	2.02	2.02	2.00	1.98	BRL	-2.6%
USD/CNY	6.24	6.32	6.32	6.30	6.25	CNY	2.5%
USD/KRW	1091	1125	1125	1110	1100	KRW	8.1%
USD/TRY	1.79	1.80	1.75	1.75	1.70	TRY	13.3%

Equities	Current	YTD Return (local ccy)
S&P	1390	15.6%
Nasdaq	3014	21.2%
Topix	731	4.4%
FTSE 100	5770	8.6%
MSCI Eurozone*	143	15.8%
MSCI Europe*	1104	13.2%
MSCI EM $*	995	12.2%
Brazil Bovespa	58383	2.6%
Hang Seng	22111	22.7%
Shanghai SE	2117	-4.2%

*Levels/returns as of Nov 08, 2012
Local currency except MSCI EM $

Sector Allocation *	US YTD	Europe YTD	Japan YTD	EM YTD ($)
Energy	6.1%	-0.5%	-7.5%	3.4%
Materials	11.7%	10.3%	-5.0%	3.5%
Industrials	12.6%	**15.7%**	1.2%	10.5%
Discretionary	**21.0%**	**23.9%**	**4.5%**	10.8%
Staples	11.4%	13.1%	**13.8%**	**19.5%**
Healthcare	**18.4%**	**15.5%**	**15.0%**	**30.9%**
Financials	**25.6%**	**24.2%**	**23.0%**	**16.8%**
Information Tech.	**15.6%**	**16.1%**	-5.2%	**19.3%**
Telecommunications	**21.9%**	-3.4%	-1.3%	**12.2%**
Utilities	4.7%	8.2%	-20.4%	5.2%
Overall	**15.6%**	**13.2%**	**4.4%**	**12.2%**

Source: J.P. Morgan

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Global Economic Outlook Summary

	Real GDP			Real GDP							Consumer prices			
	% over a year ago			% over previous period, saar							% over a year ago			
	2011	2012	2013	1Q12	2Q12	3Q12	4Q12	1Q13	2Q13	3Q13	4Q11	2Q12	4Q12	2Q13
The Americas														
United States	1.8	2.2	1.7	2.0	1.3	2.0	2.0	1.0	1.5	2.5	3.3	1.9	1.9	1.7
Canada	2.6	2.2	2.1	1.8	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.7	1.6	2.4	2.0
Latin America	4.2	2.9	3.9	2.8	2.4	**3.9** ↓	4.5	3.4	3.7	4.0	7.2	6.0	6.0	6.8
Argentina	8.9	2.7	3.6	2.4	-3.2	5.0	10.0	2.0	2.5	2.0	9.6	9.9	10.0	11.0
Brazil	2.7	1.4	4.1	0.5	1.6	4.8	4.6	3.8	4.0	4.3	6.7	5.0	5.5	5.6
Chile	6.0	5.4	4.5	5.1	7.1	3.0	4.0	4.0	5.0	5.0	4.0	3.1	2.5	3.1
Colombia	5.9	4.3	4.5	0.9	6.7	2.8	3.8	4.2	5.5	5.5	3.9	3.4	3.1	3.2
Ecuador	8.0	5.0	4.0	4.2	4.8	3.0	5.5	5.0	3.0	3.0	5.5	5.1	5.1	5.4
Mexico	3.9	3.9	3.6	4.9	3.5	**2.1** ↓	3.5	4.0	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.9	4.4	4.1
Peru	6.9	6.0	7.0	8.3	6.0	5.5	6.0	8.0	8.0	7.0	4.5	4.1	3.0	2.8
Uruguay	5.7	3.5	4.0	11.8	2.1	9.0	-9.0	12.0	7.0	9.0	8.3	8.0	7.6	7.2
Venezuela	4.2	5.0	0.0	10.1	0.6	3.5	0.0	-4.0	0.0	3.0	28.5	22.3	18.5	30.2
Asia/Pacific														
Japan	-0.7	1.7	0.1	5.3	0.7	-3.5	-2.0	1.0	1.6	1.3	-0.3	0.2	0.0	-0.2
Australia	2.1	3.5	2.5	5.6	2.6	1.5	1.8	3.8	2.5	1.8	3.1	1.2	1.7	2.7
New Zealand	1.3	2.6	2.9	4.1	2.3	1.5	3.5	3.7	3.3	2.0	1.8	1.0	1.4	1.5
Asia ex Japan	7.4	6.1	6.4	7.2	5.8	5.7	**6.2** ↓	6.3	6.5	6.8	4.9	3.9	3.4	**3.9** ↑
China	9.3	7.6	8.0	6.6	7.1	7.7	8.2	8.0	8.2	8.2	4.6	2.9	2.2	3.3
Hong Kong	5.0	1.2	3.2	2.4	-0.4	2.0	2.5	3.5	3.5	5.0	5.7	4.2	3.4	3.4
India	6.5	5.6	6.0	6.1	5.3	5.2	5.0	5.8	6.0	6.8	8.4	10.1	9.8	9.0
Indonesia	6.5	5.7	3.5	**4.7** ↑	**6.0** ↓	**4.9** ↑	3.0	3.0	4.0	4.0	4.1	4.5	3.9	2.2
Korea	3.6	2.3	3.2	3.5	1.1	0.6	3.5	3.0	4.0	4.5	4.0	2.4	1.9	3.0
Malaysia	5.1	**5.0** ↑	**3.7** ↑	5.8	5.9	2.5	**3.5** ↑	**3.5** ↑	3.0	3.5	3.2	1.7	1.1	1.2
Philippines	3.8	5.3	3.5	12.6	0.9	1.2	1.2	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.7	2.9	2.3	2.3
Singapore	4.9	**1.5** ↓	**2.5** ↓	**9.5** ↓	-0.7	**-3.9** ↓	**3.2** ↓	**4.9** ↓	**1.6** ↑	**4.1** ↓	5.5	5.3	**4.5** ↑	**4.0** ↑
Taiwan	4.0	1.2	3.4	1.6	2.2	3.5	3.8	3.5	3.5	3.8	1.4	1.7	2.1	1.8
Thailand	0.1	5.8	2.7	50.8	13.9	2.0	1.5	1.5	2.0	2.0	4.0	2.5	3.3	3.0
Africa/Middle East														
Israel	4.6	3.0	3.1	3.1	3.4	2.0	2.8	4.9	6.1	6.1	2.5	1.6	1.3	1.5
South Africa	3.1	2.2	2.7	2.7	3.2	1.6	-1.3	5.4	3.3	3.6	6.1	5.7	5.6	5.8
Europe														
Euro area	1.5	-0.4	0.1	0.0	-0.7	0.0	-1.5	0.0	0.8	1.3	2.9	2.5	2.5	1.9
Germany	3.1	1.0	**1.1** ↓	2.0	1.1	1.0	**-1.0** ↓	1.0	2.0	2.5	2.6	2.1	2.1	1.8
France	1.7	0.1	-0.1	0.1	-0.1	**0.0** ↓	-1.5	-0.5	0.5	1.0	2.6	2.3	1.9	1.3
Italy	**0.6** ↑	-2.3	**-0.5** ↑	**-3.2** ↑	-3.3	**-1.5** ↓	**-2.0** ↑	-0.5	**1.0** ↑	**1.3** ↑	3.7	3.6	3.2	2.3
Spain	0.4	-1.3	**-1.7** ↓	-1.3	-1.7	-1.2	-2.5	**-3.0** ↓	**0.0** ↓	**0.0** ↓	2.7	1.9	3.4	2.9
United Kingdom	0.9	0.0	1.8	-1.2	-1.5	4.1	0.5	1.5	2.0	2.5	4.6	2.8	2.6	2.5
Emerging Europe	4.8	2.6	**2.6** ↓	2.4	1.3	**0.4** ↓	**1.8** ↓	**2.7** ↓	**2.4** ↓	**3.7** ↓	6.4	5.0	**6.0** ↓	**6.3** ↑
Bulgaria	1.7	1.0	1.5	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
Czech Republic	1.7	-1.1	0.9	-3.1	-0.8	-1.2	-1.3	2.1	1.0	4.3	2.4	3.4	2.9	2.4
Hungary	1.6	-1.2	0.5	-3.5	-0.9	-1.0	-1.0	1.0	1.5	1.8	4.1	5.5	5.8	4.7
Poland	4.3	2.3	**1.6** ↓	2.4	1.6	0.5	**0.5** ↓	**1.3** ↓	**2.3** ↓	**3.0** ↓	4.6	4.0	3.1	2.5
Romania	2.5	0.0	0.8	0.5	1.9	-2.4	-1.2	1.2	-0.4	3.2	3.4	1.9	4.7	6.4
Russia	4.3	3.6	3.0	3.7	1.5	**1.0** ↓	3.0	3.5	3.0	4.0	6.7	3.8	**6.8** ↑	7.4
Turkey	8.5	2.8	3.7	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	9.2	9.4	**7.3** ↓	**7.5** ↑
Global	3.0	2.4	2.5	3.0	1.8	2.0	1.9	2.4	2.7	3.2	3.8	2.8	2.8	2.8
Developed markets	1.3	1.2	1.0	1.7	0.4	0.6	0.2	0.9	1.4	1.9	2.7	1.8	1.9	1.6
Emerging markets	6.1	4.7	5.1	5.4	4.3	**4.5** ↓	**5.0** ↓	5.1	5.2	5.6	5.7	4.6	4.4	**5.0** ↑

Source: J.P. Morgan

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Date: Tuesday, January 29 2013 04:46 PM
From: Cecile de Jongh [redacted]
To: JEE <jeevacation@gmail.com>;

Antigua: Land Of Sun, Sand, And Super Cheap Downloads

by Jacob Goldstein
http://www.npr.org/blogs/money/2013/01/28/170466137/antigua- land-of-sun-sand-and-super-cheap-downloads
January 28, 2013 3:07 PM

Sun, sand and super cheap downloads.

Any day now, you might be able to download Argo, Lincoln and Les Mis for a dime a piece. Microsoft Office could go for a quarter. A song might cost a penny. And it could all be perfectly legal under international law.

As part of a long-running trade dispute, the tiny island nation of Antigua and Barbuda (population: 90,000) won the right to use the intellectual property of U.S. firms — without having to pay any royalties or licensing fees.

At a meeting in Geneva today, the country got the final go ahead from the World Trade Organization.

The fight goes back to the 1990s, **when a bunch of online casinos set up shop in Antigua. After the U.S. cracked down on the casinos, Antigua complained to the WTO, arguing that the U.S. was unfairly protecting its domestic casinos in violation of free trade rules.**

Antigua won the case. Typically, when a country wins a case at the WTO, it wins the right to, say, put a tariff on goods from the losing country. But Antigua is so small that tariffs wouldn't have any noticeable effect on the U.S. economy.

So Antigua took another route: It asked the WTO to recover damages in the form of intellectual property, and the WTO said yes. If this seems likely to cause harm to innocents who had nothing to do with the fight over online casinos, that's the whole point.

"It's so Bill Gates might ring up Obama and say, 'Why have I lost my copyright so you can protect gaming?'" Mark Mendel, the lawyer representing Antigua told me. (By "gaming," Mendel means the U.S. casino business.)

To be clear, the Bill Gates reference was hypothetical. Antigua has not yet said what it plans to sell or how it plans to sell it. And whatever it sells, it's not going to be able to sell all that much of it. The WTO said Antigua can collect only about $21 million a year in damages.

In fact, Mendel says, Antigua really doesn't want to do this at all. What it wants is to cut some kind of deal directly with the U.S. that would revive the country's online gambling industry, or help create some other industry in its place.

"Antigua is still a very limited economy," Mendel said.

As recently as Friday, the U.S. and Antigua were still talking about settlement options, Nkenge Harmon, a spokeswoman for the U.S. government, told me in an email. And, she wrote:

> ...if Antigua does proceed with the unprecedented plan for its government to authorize the theft of intellectual property, it would only serve to hurt Antigua's own interests. Government-authorized piracy would undermine chances for a settlement. It also would serve as a major impediment to foreign investment in the Antiguan economy, particularly in high-tech industries.

With warm regards,

Cecile

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"Nearly all men can stand adversity, but if you want to test a man's character, give him power." ~ Abraham Lincoln

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PR | I | L | LD | Rank | Age | Rank

1. **Jeffrey Epstein** - Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia
en.wikipedia.org › Jeffrey_Epstein
Jeffrey Edward **Epstein** (born January 20, 1953) is an American financier and science and education philanthropist. He is responsible for founding The Program ...
Life - Financial career - Science funding - Solicitation of prostitution
SEOquake | PR: 5 | I: 36,800,000 | L: 29 | LD: 41128060 | I: n/a | Rank: 6 | Age: n/a | whois | source | Rank: 1

same position as on 1/25

Born: January 20, 1953 (age 60), Brooklyn

2. **Jeffrey Epstein**: International Moneyman of Mystery
nymag.com › people
He's pals with a passel of Nobel Prize–winning scientists, CEOs like Leslie Wexner of the Limited, socialite Ghislaine Maxwell, even Donald Trump. But it wasn't ...
SEOquake | PR: 3 | I: 930,000 | L: 28 | LD: 1440113 | I: n/a | Rank: 2742 | Age: n/a | whois

same position as on 1/25. note on 1/25 snapshot, there was a 2nd NYMAG.COM listing at #3 titled: Jeffrey Epstein: News & Coverage on New York Magazine...this listing has dropped off the page.

3. Billionaire **Jeffrey Epstein**: I'm a sex offender, not a predator ...
www.nypost.com › manhattan
Feb 26, 2011 – Billionaire pervert **Jeffrey Epstein** is back in New York City – and making wisecracks about his just-ended jail stint for having sex with an ...
SEOquake | PR: 3 | I: 518,000 | L: 14 | LD: 796336 | I: n/a | Rank: 1203 | Age: n/a | whois

Was position # 4 on 1/25 but because the 2nd NYMAG.COM listing dropped off from #3, this listing has moved up one spot

4. Home - **JEFFREY EPSTEIN** VI FOUNDATION
www.jeffreyepsteinfoundation.com/
Jeffrey Epstein. Holds a Conference of Nobel Laureates to Define Gravity ... The conference was financed by science philanthropist **Jeffrey Epstein** and his ...
SEOquake | PR: 2 | I: 152 | L: 0 | LD: 0 | I: n/a | Rank: n/a | Age: n/a | whois

This asset was at #6 on 1/25. it has moved up 2 positions. 1 spot because the 2nd NYMAG.COM listing from 1/25 is gone and then an additional spot upward from linkbuilding.

5. **Jeffrey Epstein**
www.huffingtonpost.com › jeffrey-epstein
Disgraced billionaire money manager (and former Bill Clinton associate) **Jeffrey Epstein** is back in New York City after 13 months of jail time for soli.
SEOquake | PR: 0 | I: 80,600,000 | L: 0 | LD: -49129932 | I: n/a | Rank: 87 | Age: n/a | whois | source | Rank: 21

This negative was at position 5 on 1/25 but is now being outranked by jeffreyepsteinfoundation.com. If you refer to the image on 1/25, you'll see that at that time, jeffreyepsteinfoundation.com did not outrank this huff post article

6. **Jeff Epstein** profiles | LinkedIn
www.linkedin.com › Epstein
View the profiles of professionals named **Jeff Epstein** on LinkedIn. There are 25 professionals named **Jeff Epstein**, who use LinkedIn to exchange information: ...
SEOquake | PR: 3 | I: 145,000,000 | L: 0 | LD: 26453654 | I: n/a | Rank: 14 | Age: n/a | whois | source | Rank: 33

this was at #9 on 1/25, now showing at position #6. we linkbuild also to this

7. Katie Couric, Woody Allen: **Jeffrey Epstein's** Society Friends Close ...
www.thedailybeast.com › bill-clinton-katie-couric-woody-allen-jeffrey-epst...
Apr 1, 2011 – Despite the pedophile mogul's conviction for soliciting underage prostitution, his circle is standing by their man. Scientists whose research ...
SEOquake | PR: 2 | I: 311,000 | L: 0 | LD: 3767268 | I: n/a | Rank: 1232 | Age: n/a | whois | source | Rank: 311

8. **Jeff N. Epstein**, PhD
www.cincinnatichildrens.org › jeff-epstein
Jeff N. **Epstein**, PhD, is the director of the Center for ADHD and a professor of pediatrics for the Division of Behavioral Medicine and Clinical Psychology at ...
SEOquake | PR: 2 | I: 30,200 | L: 0 | LD: 20164 | I: n/a | Rank: 192853 | Age: n/a | whois | source | Rank: 11518

this is someone else but it is keeping other potential negatives off

9. **Jeffrey Epstein** Science
www.jeffreyepsteinscience.com/
JEFFREY EPSTEIN SCIENCE Investing in Science Research and Education Throughout the World. The **Jeffrey Epstein** VI Foundation was founded to support ...
SEOquake | PR: 5 | I: 7 | L: 76 | LD: 126 | I: n/a | Rank: n/a | Age: n/a | whois | source | Rank: 1667921

this was #7 on 1/25, it's position has shifted but it should climb again

10. The **Jeffrey Epstein** VI Foundation
www.jeffreyepsteinvi.com/
Press. Oldest Synagogue in America Gets Critical Support fro m Financier, **Jeffrey Epstein**. Press. Investor **Jeffrey Epstein** Fights for the Only Disabilities Group in ...
SEOquake | PR: 4 | I: n/a | L: 0 | LD: 0 | I: n/a | Rank: n/a | Age: n/a | whois | source | Rank: 4263621

this asset has moved up from #14 to # 10 since 1/25.

Searches related to **jeffrey epstein**

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jeffrey epstein **net worth** | jeffrey epstein **rhinoplasty**
jeffrey epstein **disney** | jeffrey epstein **plastic surgeon**
jeffrey epstein **vanity fair** | jeffrey epstein **foundation**

the negative Prince Andrew Daily Mail article showing up in News for Jeffrey Epstein at bottom of the page on 1/25 image is now off the page

Goooooooooooogle ›

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DISREGARDED ENTITIES

Disregarded Entities: To Be Or Not To Be?

Exceptions to the general rule that a disregarded entity is treated as a "tax nothing" for tax purposes have burgeoned over the last several years.

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As practitioners regularly use disregarded entities (DREs) in estate, corporate, and tax planning, it is very important that they consider during the course of planning the growing number of instances in which DREs are considered to exist, in whole or in part, for tax purposes.

Various provisions of the Code and regulations confer "disregarded" status on an entity. This article briefly describes the four most common forms of DREs and their origins and outlines some of the more significant—but often overlooked—exceptions and modifications to the general rule that DREs are treated as "tax nothings." Because the forms of DREs originate in different statutory and regulatory provisions, some of the exceptions and modifications are specific to only certain forms of DREs, others apply to all forms of DREs, and some are unique to grantor trusts. Practitioners should be attentive to this growing class of exceptions and modifications when tax planning for their clients.

Types of Disregarded Entities

The discussion below gives a general overview of four of the more frequently used types of DREs and their legislative creation, but there are also other miscellaneous DREs that arise primarily through the combined use of one DRE. For example, a partnership between a taxpayer and a DRE that is wholly-owned by the taxpayer does not constitute a partnership for federal tax purposes; rather, the partnership is a DRE, absent an election (under the check-the-box regulations discussed below) to be treated as a corporation. [1]

Grantor Trust Rules.

The oldest form of a disregarded entity is the grantor trust. While the development of the grantor trust rules began in the early 1900s, Congress did not issue statutory guidance until 1954. That statutory guidance developed into what is commonly known today as the grantor trust rules, which are found in Subpart E of Subchapter J of the Code. [2]

In short, the primary result of the grantor trust rules is to tax the grantor of a trust on the trust's income if the grantor retains dominion and control over the trust (or a portion of it). [3] In doing so, the grantor trust rules treat the grantor of a trust as the "owner" of the trust (or relevant portion thereof) for income tax purposes. [4] As a result, in calculating his or her taxable income, the grantor includes the applicable portion of the trust's income, deductions, and credits. [5]

Unlike the check-the-box rules, there are conflicting views regarding the treatment of a grantor trust as a DRE. While the plain language of the Code's grantor trust rules appears to imply that a wholly grantor trust (i.e., a trust that is deemed to be entirely owned by a single individual or entity) will be disregarded for federal income tax purposes and the IRS has treated grantor trusts as DREs, at least one court has not interpreted the rules in that manner. [6] Given the varying views on the topic, each practitioner needs to determine whether his or her particular grantor trust may be treated as a DRE. This article assumes that the grantor trust rules treat applicable grantor trusts as DREs, and will survey the exceptions and modifications that apply given such assumption.

Check-the-Box Rules.

Prior to 1997, the federal tax classification of an unincorporated business entity was determined under what were known as the "*Kintner* Regulations," which analyzed four characteristics of the entity to determine whether it more closely resembled a corporation or a partnership. [7] In 1997, the Treasury Department showed sympathy for practitioners when it simplified the classification of unincorporated business entities by promulgating Regs. 301.7701-1, -2, and -3, now universally known as the "check-the-box" regulations. [8]

A business entity that is not automatically classified as a corporation (a "per se corporation") pursuant to the check-the-box regulations (an "eligible entity") may generally elect its classification for federal tax purposes. [9] The default classification for a domestic eligible entity is:

(1) A partnership if the entity has two or more members.
(2) "Disregarded as an entity separate from its owner" if it has a single owner. [10]

The default classification for a foreign eligible entity is:

(1) A partnership if it has two or more members and at least one member does not have limited liability.
(2) A corporation if all members have limited liability.
(3) A DRE if it has a single owner that does not have limited liability. [11]

A member of a foreign eligible entity has limited liability if the member has no personal liability for the debts or claims against the entity by reason of being a member. [12]

Although a single-member eligible entity, such as a domestic limited liability company (LLC) with a single owner (SMLLC), is automatically treated as "disregarded as an entity separate from its owner," it may elect on Form 8832 to be taxed as a corporation. [13] If an SMLLC does not elect to be treated as a corporation, the check-the-box regulations treat its activities "in the same manner as a sole proprietorship, branch, or division of the owner." [14] Thus, except where an exception or modification exists, a non-electing SMLLC is generally ignored for federal tax purposes.

Qualified Subchapter S Subsidiary Rules.

A very common form of DRE is the qualified Subchapter S corporation (QSub). Any domestic corporation that is eligible to be a Subchapter S corporation and that is wholly owned by a Subchapter S corporation will be treated as a QSub if its parent corporation so elects. [15] The QSub election is made on Form 8869. When the QSub election is made, the subsidiary is generally deemed to have liquidated into the S corporation parent. [16]

In general, a QSub is not treated as a separate corporation for federal tax purposes. [17] All of the QSub's assets, liabilities, and items of income, deduction, and credit are treated as assets, liabilities, and items of income, deduction, and credit of the Subchapter S corporation parent. [18] As discussed below, however, there are certain regulatory exceptions to the general rule that a QSub is not treated as a separate corporation for federal tax purposes.

Qualified REIT Subsidiary Rules.

A qualified real estate investment trust subsidiary (QRS) is a relatively specialized form of disregarded entity. A real estate investment trust (REIT) is an electing domestic corporation (or trust or other association taxable as a corporation) that meets various organizational requirements, derives most of its income from passive real property sources, distributes most of its income to its owners, and holds mainly real estate. [19] REITs generally receive conduit income tax treatment for income distributed to their owners. [20]

A QRS is a corporation (or trust or other association taxable as a corporation) which is wholly owned by a REIT and does not elect with its owner to be treated as a taxable REIT subsidiary. [21] A QRS is not treated as a separate corporation, and, like a QSub, its assets, liabilities, and items of income, deductions, and credit are treated as those of the REIT owner. [22] Thus, the corporate status of a QRS is generally ignored for federal tax purposes. As with QSubs, however, there are certain regulatory exceptions to the general rule that a QRS is disregarded for federal tax purposes.

General Exceptions and Modifications

The number of exceptions and modifications to the general rule that DREs are treated as "tax nothings" has quietly increased over the last decade. A survey of some of the more prevalent exceptions and modifications to the general rule follows.

Employment and Excise Taxes.

Shortly after the check-the-box regulations and the QSub rules were issued in the late 1990s, the IRS issued Notice 99-6. [23] This Notice announced the IRS's intention to issue guidance on the proper method for DREs to report employment taxes. It also sought public comment on the issue. Notice 99-6 set forth two methods for reporting and paying employment tax for DREs until the IRS issued its guidance. The temporary guidance said that the IRS would accept reporting and payment of employment taxes with respect to SMLLC or QSub employees if either of the following occurred:

> (1) The owner calculated, reported, and paid all employment tax obligations with respect to the DRE's employees under its own name and taxpayer identification number.
> (2) The DRE separately calculated, reported, and paid all employment tax obligations with respect to its employees under the owner's own name and taxpayer identification number. [24]

Despite allowing a DRE to separately calculate, report, and pay employment tax obligations with respect to its employees, Notice 99-6 said that the owner would, nonetheless, retain ultimate responsibility for the employment tax obligations incurred with respect to the DRE's employees.

After almost six years, the IRS issued proposed regulations governing the treatment of DREs for employment tax and related reporting purposes. [25] In August 2007, the IRS finalized the proposed regulations with a few minor modifications. [26] Reg. 301.7701-2(c)(2)(iv) treats eligible

single-owner DREs (e.g., SMLLCs) as corporations for employment tax purposes. [27] Thus, the entity now must use its own taxpayer identification number when it files and pays employment taxes. [28] An individual owner of a DRE, however, is subject to self-employment tax and is not treated as an employee of the disregarded entity for employment tax purposes. [29] This special employment tax provision is applicable with respect to wages paid on or after 1/1/09. [30] The IRS also recently updated its *Employer Tax Guide* to reflect the final regulations. [31]

In addition, the IRS issued a similar provision with respect to certain excise tax reporting, registration, and payment obligations. [32] That provision treats an eligible single-owner DRE as a separate entity for certain excise tax purposes. [33] This special excise tax rule applies to liabilities imposed and actions first required or permitted in periods beginning on or after 1/1/08. [34]

The IRS also issued a final regulation under Section 1361 that mirrors the employment and excise tax regulation provisions promulgated under Section 7701. [35] Like the check-the-box regulations' rules, the QSub regulation treats a QSub as a corporation for employment and excise tax purposes only. [36] The regulation relating to employment taxes applies with respect to wages paid on or after 1/1/09, but the excise tax provision applies to liabilities imposed and actions first required or permitted in periods beginning on or after 1/1/08. [37] The IRS probably did not need to issue separate provisions under Section 1361 because Regs. 301.7701-2(c)(2)(iv) and (v) appear to cover QSubs as well as SMLLCs. The IRS did not issue special provisions with respect to REITs, but Regs. 301.7701-2(c)(2)(iv) and (v) should also cover REITs. There is no authority explicitly extending these rules to grantor trusts.

Tax Liability Considerations

A DRE, including an SMLLC, a QSub, and a QRS, is treated as a separate entity for purposes of:

(1) Federal tax liabilities of the entity for any tax period for which the entity was not disregarded,
(2) Federal tax liabilities of any other entity for which the entity is liable.
(3) Federal tax refunds or credits. [38]

The regulations setting forth these exceptions apply after 3/31/04. [39] The following examples illustrate these exceptions to the general rule that DREs are treated as tax nothings.

If a domestic corporation merges (pursuant to a state law merger) into a domestic SMLLC owned by an individual, the SMLLC is the successor to the corporation, for state law purposes, and is liable for all of the corporation's debts. If the IRS sought to extend the statute of limitations on assessment with respect to a liability of the corporation for a tax year prior to the tax year in which the merger occurred, the SMLLC is liable for the corporation's taxes that remain unpaid, and, therefore, is the proper party to sign the consent to extend the period of limitations. [40] The result would be the same if the SMLLC was a QSub or a QRS. [41]

Using this example, assume that for a tax year ending before the merger occurred the IRS determines that the corporation miscalculated and underreported its income tax liability. Because the SMLLC is the successor to the corporation and is liable for the underpayment of the corporation's taxes, the IRS may assess the deficiency directly against the SMLLC. [42] In the event that the SMLLC fails to pay the liability after notice and demand, the IRS can file a federal tax lien against all of the SMLLC's property and its rights to property. [43]

With respect to QSubs and QRSs, their owners are not liable for deficiencies relating to a tax year that precedes the year in which the QSub or QRS election is made, because the tax liability is for a tax year for which the QSub or QRS was not disregarded. [44] As a result, the IRS may

assess the liability only against the QSub or QRS and, in the event of a failure to pay the liability after notice and demand, may file a federal tax lien only against the QSub's or QRS's property and rights to property. [45]

Another instance in which a DRE is recognized for federal tax purposes arises when the IRS is seeking to collect a tax liability from the sole member of a SMLLC. In CCA 199930013, the IRS Chief Counsel advised that the IRS could not levy on an LLC's assets, because under state law the sole member of the LLC did not own the property of the LLC. The Chief Counsel stated that the mere fact that an LLC is disregarded as an entity separate from its sole member (the taxpayer in that case) for federal tax purposes does not entitle the IRS to disregard the LLC for collection purposes. [46] The Chief Counsel added that state law determines a taxpayer's property interests for purposes of tax collection, [47] but the IRS could levy on the taxpayer's distributive interest in the LLC and sell that interest or file suit to foreclose the federal tax lien against the ownership interest. [48] In addition, depending on the facts of the case, the IRS might collect from an LLC's assets on the basis that it is the alter ego of its single-member or pursuant to a nominee or transferee liability theory. [49]

TEFRA Rules.

Another exception to the general rule arises in the context of the Code's audit rules for partnerships, which were enacted by the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982 (TEFRA). TEFRA radically changed the way in which the IRS audits partnerships for errors in reporting partnership income. [50] TEFRA's basis is found in Section 6221, which provides that "the tax treatment of any partnership item (and the applicability of any penalty, addition to tax, or additional amount which relates to an adjustment to a partnership item) shall be determined at the partnership level."

Section 6231(a)(1)(B) excludes "small partnerships" from the TEFRA rules by excluding from the definition of a "partnership" any partnership with ten or fewer partners, each of whom is a U.S. individual, a C corporation, or an estate of a deceased partner. The small partnership exception does not apply, however, to a partnership for a tax year if any partner in the partnership during that tax year is a "pass-thru partner." [51] A pass-thru partner means a partnership, estate, trust, S corporation, nominee, or other similar person through whom other persons hold an interest in the partnership. [52]

The issue that arises in this context is whether a DRE that is a partner of a partnership is disregarded when determining whether the small partnership exception to TEFRA applies. The IRS has looked at this issue on at least two different occasions and, in both cases, treated an SMLLC as a separate entity. That is, the IRS determined that the SMLLC—not its individual sole member—was the partner in applying the small partnership exception to the TEFRA audit rules. [53] Because the SMLLC was treated as the partner and was a "pass-thru partner," as defined in Section 6231(a)(9), the small partnership exception did not apply in either case.

In CCA 200250012, IRS Chief Counsel reasoned that the statutory language indicated that Congress intended that the small partnership exception to TEFRA would not apply whenever, as a factual matter, ownership in the partnership is held through another person, regardless of the legal classification of that person. Rev. Rul. 2004-88 reached the same result, but the IRS reasoned there that state law dictated the holding. The IRS based its holding on the fact that the sole member of the SMLLC partner was not a partner of the partnership under state law; rather, the IRS found that the sole member held his partnership interest in the partnership indirectly through the SMLLC (i.e., was an indirect partner via the "pass-thru partner").

Sharing of Partnership Liabilities under Code Section 752.

Another relatively recent variance from the treatment of DREs as "tax nothings" can be found in the Section 752 regulations, which deal with the allocation of partner-level tax basis arising from partnership-level debt. Under these complex rules, partnership debt is generally allocated to the partner or partners, if any, that bear the ultimate "economic risk of loss" for the debt. For example, where a partnership debt is guaranteed by a partner, that partner generally would be allocated the debt's entire associated tax basis. In determining which partner bears the economic risk of loss, the rules provide a general assumption that a partner is financially able to perform under any guarantee agreement irrespective of the partner's actual net worth, unless the facts and circumstances indicate a plan to circumvent or avoid the obligation. [54] As a result, tax planners were able to insert virtually valueless DREs as guarantors of partnership debt to secure the associated debt basis for use by the ultimate owners of the entities.

Final regulations published on 10/11/06 significantly modified this approach for all partners holding partnership interests through a DRE. [55] Under Reg. 1.752-2(k)(1), where a partner holds his partnership interest through a DRE, the DRE's obligations are taken into account when determining the partner's economic risk of loss for the partnership-level liability only to the extent of the net value of the DRE as of the date on which the partnership determines the partner's share of partnership liabilities. [56] In the event that one or more DREs have payment obligations with respect to one or more liabilities of a partnership, the partnership must allocate the net value of each DRE among the liabilities in a reasonable and consistent manner, taking into account the relative priorities of those liabilities. [57]

This special treatment of DREs in this context has been criticized by some commentators in that it uniquely singles out DREs when, in fact, any pass-through entity that limits the liability of its owners can be used to accomplish similar results without a similar net value limitation. [58] Nonetheless, the special treatment exists and represents another danger in simply ignoring a DRE as nonexistent during the course of tax planning.

State Tax Treatment of DREs.

Despite the fact that almost every state generally respects the federal classification of an SMLLC as a DRE for income tax purposes, several states impose an entity-level tax or fee on LLCs, including SMLLCs. [59] The types of taxes or fees imposed, and the SMLLCs subject to the tax, vary widely from state-to-state. Practitioners should inquire into a state's entity-level tax on SMLLCs, and possibly other DREs, before proceeding with planning opportunities in that state.

Unlike the general conformity with federal law classification for income tax purposes, most states treat LLCs, including SMLLCs, as separate legal entities with respect to registration fees, sales and use taxes, employment taxes, and property taxes. As a result, LLCs are generally subject to liability for these taxes and fees. Additionally, most states require an SMLLC to file its own separate sales and use tax return, notwithstanding the fact that for state income tax purposes the SMLLC is disregarded. [60] On the other hand, many states allow an SMLLC and its owner to elect to file a consolidated sales and use tax return, if certain conditions are met. [61] Consequently, practitioners should analyze a DRE's tax and filing obligations state by state, so that they can fully apprise their clients of all potential taxes and fees a particular state may impose.

Grantor Trust Considerations

As mentioned briefly above, opinions differ as to whether a wholly grantor trust is considered a disregarded entity. In *Rothstein*, [62] the Second Circuit Court of Appeals implicitly held that a wholly grantor trust was not disregarded for all income tax purposes, because the grantor received a cost basis for assets purchased from the trust. In Rev. Rul. 85-13, 1985-1 CB 184,

however, the IRS reached the opposite result on facts similar to those in *Rothstein.* That is, the IRS held that the acquisition of the trust's property by the grantor in exchange for a note could not be a sale because the grantor was both the maker and owner of the note. As a result, the grantor did not receive a new cost basis in the stock purchased from the trust.

The IRS has explicitly stated that it will not follow the Second Circuit's decision in *Rothstein.* Indeed, many estate planners rely heavily on Rev. Rul. 85-13's conclusions for a variety of estate planning techniques involving sales to grantor trusts. Consequently, the lasting impact of the *Rothstein* decision may prove negligible.

Even if disregarded for federal income tax purposes, states may not disregard a wholly grantor trust for certain purposes. For example, Pennsylvania varies from federal law regarding grantor trusts and imposes state income tax on grantor trusts according to the same personal income tax rules that apply to irrevocable trusts, unless the grantor trust is a revocable trust. [63] For some non-income tax purposes (e.g., sales tax), a wholly grantor trust that is disregarded for federal income tax purposes may be respected as the owner of the trust's corpus by some states. In New York, for instance, a sale between a grantor and his grantor trust could be subject to sales tax, because for sales tax purposes New York generally respects the separate existence of distinct legal entities, even though the distinction may be disregarded for federal and state income tax purposes. [64]

Foreign Tax Planning Considerations

Practitioners should be aware that foreign countries may not treat U.S. grantor trusts as disregarded entities. As noted below, a wholly grantor trust is treated as a separate entity for Canadian tax purposes. Various planning opportunities may arise as a result of such divergent treatment.

Conduit Financing.

Treasury has proposed respecting DREs in an attempt to combat perceived tax avoidance achieved through the use of multiple-party financing transactions. [65] In general, a financing arrangement is a series of transactions in which one person advances money or other property or grants rights to use property and another person receives money or other property or rights to use property, the advance and receipt are effected through one or more other persons, and financing transactions link all of the entities. [66] Examples of a financing transaction include debt and any lease or license. [67]

Since 1995, regulations have allowed the IRS to ignore intermediate entities participating in a financing arrangement where the intermediate entities are acting as conduit entities and to recharacterize the financing arrangement as a transaction directly between the remaining parties for purposes of imposing tax under Sections 871 and 881 and withholding obligations under Sections 1441 and 1442. [68]

In December 2008, the IRS issued proposed regulations under Section 881. [69] Under Prop. Reg. 1.881-3(a)(2)(i)(C), any transaction entered into by a DRE will be taken into account for purposes of determining whether a conduit financing arrangement exists. The proposed regulation accomplishes this by stating that, for purposes of the regulations under Section 881, the term "person" includes a business entity that is disregarded as an entity separate from its single member owner under the check-the-box regulations. [70]

Currently, this change to the regulation remains only proposed. The proposed regulation states that it is not effective until the date it is adopted as a final regulation. [71] It is interesting to note,

however, that the Preamble to the proposed regulation states that the proposed regulations "*clarify* that a disregarded entity is a person for purposes of Regulation 1.881-3," implying that the IRS does not need the proposed regulation's change to effect this result. [72] Consequently, practitioners practicing in this area should employ caution both before and after the proposed regulation becomes final.

Dual Consolidated Losses.

The dual consolidated loss (DCL) rules are generally intended to prevent companies with tax residency in two different jurisdictions from using the same losses to obtain tax benefits in both jurisdictions. The provisions in Section 1503(d), and the consolidated return regulations that disallow the use of a DCL, generally treat a DRE as a separate entity. [73] An example of a DRE to which the DCL rules may apply is the so-called "hybrid entity," which is an entity that is disregarded for U.S. tax purposes but is subject to an entity-level income tax by a foreign country. [74] The purpose of the DCL provisions, as applied to a domestic corporation that owns a hybrid entity, is to prevent a single net operating loss (NOL) generated by a DRE from being used in both the U.S. and in a foreign jurisdiction. [75]

The DCL rules apply only to a dual resident corporation (DRC). A DRC is a domestic corporation or a separate unit of the domestic corporation (e.g., a hybrid entity that is a DRE for U.S. tax purposes) that is subject to U.S. tax on its worldwide income and a foreign jurisdiction's tax on its worldwide income or with respect to its separate unit's worldwide income. [76] Without the general disallowance of the DCL to the DRC, use of the DCL could occur in both the U.S. and the foreign jurisdiction because the DRC could offset its own income with the NOL generated by the DRE for U.S. tax purposes, and that NOL might also be used for foreign tax purposes against income that may not be subject to U.S. tax. [77]

In general, the DCL rules forbid a DRC from reducing the taxable income of any other member of its affiliated group by the amount of the DRE's DCL unless, as provided in the regulations, the loss does not offset the income of any foreign corporation. [78] For purposes of determining the DCL, the DRE is treated as a separate entity and its income, deductions, gain, and loss are computed on a "stand alone" basis from the DRC that owns the DRE. [79] In that respect, the DRE is not treated as a disregarded entity.

Treatment by Foreign Countries

Practitioners should also be aware of the treatment of DREs by foreign countries. Canada, for example, generally does not disregard U.S. SMLLCs; rather, it treats them as corporations. Also, a grantor trust that is disregarded in the U.S. is respected as a trust in Canada. Some income tax treaties between the U.S. and foreign countries specifically address the treatment of disregarded entities (also called "fiscally transparent" entities by some treaties).

In addition to some countries treating DREs differently than the U.S., the Code contains some provisions that create special rules for certain DREs (or "fiscally transparent" entities). Section 894 generally operates to deny certain treaty benefits to a "hybrid entity" (i.e., an entity treated as fiscally transparent for U.S. income tax purposes but recognized as a separate entity for purposes of the tax law of the foreign country). Under that section, income derived by a foreign person through a fiscally transparent entity is denied the benefit of a reduced rate of withholding tax that an income tax treaty may provide if certain conditions are met. For instance, if a U.S. company makes an interest payment to an LLC that is wholly owned by a Canadian company, the payment is generally subject to the full 30% withholding rate imposed by Code section 1442(a) and is not entitled to the benefits of a reduced rate of withholding that the U.S./Canada income tax treaty would otherwise permit.

Practitioners should be cognizant of the treatment of DREs by other countries.[80] Not only can the different treatment by a foreign country present traps for the unwary, but they can also produce significant planning opportunities for U.S. individuals and businesses.

Obama Proposal.

The Obama administration recently released its 2010 budget proposals, which included a proposal that would make a regulatory change to the check-the-box regulations requiring some foreign subsidiaries to be treated as separate corporations for U.S. federal tax purposes.[81] The proposal is designed to prohibit the shifting of income from one foreign subsidiary to another in a tax-haven country.[82]

Under the proposal, a foreign eligible entity with a single owner that is organized or created in a country other than that of its single owner would be treated as a corporation for all federal tax purposes.[83] Existing eligible entities would undergo a deemed conversion into a corporation under the proposal, resulting in the entities incurring the usual tax consequences related to a conversion (e.g., triggering of dual-consolidated losses). Except in cases of U.S. tax avoidance, the proposal generally would not apply to a first-tier foreign eligible entity wholly owned by a U.S. person.[84]

If adopted, the proposal would not take effect until 2011.[85] Given the Obama Administration's heightened scrutiny of offshore tax havens and international tax abuses, this proposal is one to monitor closely.

Conclusion

There are now several instances in which DREs are not really disregarded for tax purposes. In addition, various proposals would increase the number of exceptions/modifications to the general rule that a DRE is a "tax nothing." It is important for practitioners to keep this assortment of disclaimers in mind in advising clients with respect to tax planning using DREs. The erosion of the check-the-box regulations and other DRE provisions continues to be a trap for the unwary.

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Rev. Rul. 2004-77, 2004-2 CB 119 (holding that where a domestic corporation and its wholly owned LLC were the only two partners in a limited partnership, the limited partnership could not be classified as a partnership for federal tax purposes, and therefore, would be disregarded for federal tax purposes, absent an election to be treated as a corporation).

2

See Sections 671 through 679.

3

See generally Section 671.

4

Section 671.

5

Id.

6

See Rothstein, 54 AFTR 2d 84-5072, 735 F2d 704, 84-1 USTC ¶9505 (CA-2, 1984) (discussed below). But see Rev. Rul. 85-13, 1985-1 CB 184.

7

The Kintner Regulations, promulgated in 1960, were derived from the case of Kintner, 46 AFTR 995, 216 F2d 418, 54-2 USTC ¶9626 (CA-9, 1954).

8

TD 8697, 12/17/96.

9

Reg. 301.7701-3(a). A business entity is any entity that is not a trust. See Reg. 301.7701-2(a).

10

Reg. 301-7701-3(b)(1).

11

Reg. 301-7701-3(b)(2)(i).

12

Reg. 301-7701-3(b)(2)(ii).

13

Reg. 301.7701-3(a).

14

Reg. 301-7701-2(a).

15

Section 1361(b)(3)(B). Certain types of corporations are not eligible to make a QSub election (e.g., insurance companies subject to tax under Subchapter L of the Code). See Section 1361(b)(2).

16

Reg. 1.1361-4(a)(2).

17

Reg. 1.1361-4(a)(1)(i).

18

Reg. 1.1361-4(a)(1)(ii).

19

Sections 856(a) and (c), and 857(a)(1).

20

See Section 857(c)(2); see also S. Rep't. No. 106-201, 106th Cong., 1st Sess. 55 (1999).

21

Sections 856(i)(2) and (l)(1).

22

Section 856(i)(1).

23

1999-1 CB 321. The Notice did not specifically mention grantor trusts or QRSs, but its stated purpose was to address issues related to entities "disregarded as entities separate from their owners for federal tax purposes." While it was clearly intended to respond to the then recently enacted check-the-box regulations and QSub rules, the Notice should also have applied to grantor trusts and QRSs—but it would be unusual for a grantor trust or QRS to have employees.

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[24]

Id.

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[25]

REG-114371-05, 10/18/05.

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[26]

TD 9356, 8/15/07. The issuance of the final regulations made Notice 99-6 obsolete as of 1/1/09.

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[27]

Reg. 301.7701-2(a) references these special employment and excise tax rules.

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[28]

Reg. 301.7701-2(c)(2)(iv)(C), Example ii.

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[29]

Reg. 301.7701-2(c)(2)(iv)(A).

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[30]

Reg. 301.7701-2(e)(5).

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[31]

IRS Publication 15, *Employer's Tax Guide* (3/09).

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[32]

Reg. 301.7701-2(c)(2)(v).

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[33]

See Reg. 301.7701-2(c)(2)(v) for a list of relevant excise taxes and associated exceptions.

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[34]

Reg. 301.7701-2(e)(6).

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[35]

Regs. 1.1361-4(a)(7) and (8).

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[36]

Id.

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[37]

Regs. 1.1361-4(a)(7)(ii) and (8)(ii).

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[38]

Regs. 301.7701-2(c)(2)(iii)(A), 1.1361-4(a)(6), and 1.856-9. Grantor trusts are not covered by these provisions.

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[39]

Regs. 301.7701-2(e)(2), 1.1361-4(a)(6)(iii), and 1.856-9(c).

40

See Reg. 301.7701-2(c)(2)(iii)(B), Example 1.

41

See Regs. 1.1361-4(a)(6)(ii), Example 3, and 1.856-9(b), Example 3.

42

See Reg. 301.7701-2(c)(2)(iii)(B), Example 2.

43

Id.

44

See Regs. 1.1361-4(a)(6)(ii), Example 2, and 1.856-9(b), Example 2.

45

See *id*.

46

CCA 199930013.

47

Id.

48

See also CCA 200235023.

49

Id.

50

TEFRA (codified as Sections 6221 through 6234).

51

Reg. 301.6231(a)(1)-1(a)(2).

52

Section 6231(a)(9).

53

CCA 200250012; Rev. Rul. 2004-88, 2004-2 CB 165.

54

Reg. 1.752-2(b)(6).

55

TD 9289, 10/11/06**.** These disregarded entity rules apply to liabilities incurred or assumed by a partnership on or after 10/11/06, other than liabilities incurred or assumed pursuant to a binding written contract in effect prior to that date. See Reg. 1.752-2(l).

56

These rules do not apply to an obligation of a DRE to the extent that its owner is otherwise required to make a payment with regard to the obligation of the DRE. See Reg. 1.752-2(l). In addition, the specific DREs cited in the applicable Regulations do not expressly include grantor trusts.

57

Reg. 1.752-2(k)(3).

58

See, e.g., McKee, Nelson & Whitmire, *Federal Taxation of Partnerships and Partners* (WG&L, 2009), ¶ 8.02[8].

59

Fenwick, McLoughlin, Salmon, Smith, Tilley, and Wood, *State Taxation of Pass-Through Entities and Their Owners* (WG&L, 2009), Appendix, Tables 8 and 9. Alabama, California, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Texas are a few of the states that impose various entity-level taxes or fees on LLCs.

60

Fenwick, McLoughlin, Salmon, Smith, Tilley, and Wood, *State Taxation of Pass-Through Entities and Their Owners* (WG&L, 2009), ¶18.03.

61

Id.

62

54 AFTR 2d 84-5072, 735 F2d 704, 84-1 USTC ¶9505 (CA-2, 1984).

63

Pennsylvania Personal Income Tax Guide (03/06).

64

See e.g., Cleveland Browns Transportation LLC, TSB-A-06(8)S, 03/06/06 (sales of transportation services to an operating entity by its wholly owned and income tax disregarded LLC were recognized for sales tax purposes).

65

REG-113462-08, 12/22/08.

66

Reg. 1.881-3(a)(2)(i)(A).

67

Reg. 1.881-3(a)(2)(ii)(A).

68

Reg. 1.881-3(a)(1).

69

Supra note 65.

70

Prop. Reg. 1.881-3(a)(2)(i)(C). The proposed regulation does not expressly apply to any DREs not within the ambit of the check-the-box regulations.

71

Id.

72

Supra note 65.

[73]

See Reg. 1.1503(d).

[74]

Reg. 1.1503(d)-1(b)(3).

[75]

TD 9315, 3/16/07.

[76]

Reg. 1.1503(d)-1(b)(2).

[77]

TD 9315, 3/16/07.

[78]

Id.; Section 1503(d)(1). The DCL rules also specifically speak about situations involving "transparent entities," which are uniquely defined for purposes of the DCL rules.

[79]

See generally Reg. 1.1503(d)-5.

[80]

There are also other narrow areas where the IRS has indicated it will treat a DRE as separate from its sole owner, such as the foreign exchange rules under Section 987 in the case of certain DREs that are qualified business units and have a different functional currency than their U.S. parent.

[81]

See Dept. of Treasury, General Explanations of the Administration's Fiscal Year 2010 Revenue Proposals (May 2009).

[82]

President Obama announced the proposal during his 5/4/09 news conference regarding combating tax havens.

[83]

See *supra* footnote 77.

[84]

Id.

[85]

Id.

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latimes.com/entertainment/arts/culture/la-et-cm-secretary-of-culture-notebook-20130120,0,162825.story

latimes.com

The case for naming a U.S. secretary of Culture

Music critic Mark Swed says it's time we have someone in the Cabinet who can speak to our common identity: Arts and the humanities help us figure out who we are.

By Mark Swed, Los Angeles Times Music Critic

6:00 AM PST, January 19, 2013

advertisement

Along with adding the finishing touches to his inaugural address on Monday, President Obama has plenty on his plate. He is consumed by the responsibilities of selecting new Cabinet members and preparing strategies to get them confirmed. He already had his fair share of critics, and the last thing he needs is a *music* critic telling him how to run the country.

So I'm sorry to have to be the one to remind you, Mr. President, that you've left someone out. Secretary of Culture. It's time.

Despite a troubling international reduction of government support for the arts thanks to the world economic crises, most countries still manage to maintain ministries of culture, and not just seats of Western civilization such as France, Italy, Spain, Great Britain and Greece but also in Albania, Brazil, Haiti, Ethiopia, Cambodia and about 50 other countries. We, instead, have the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

PHOTOS: Arts and culture in pictures by The Times

I'm a great supporter of these institutions, but I'm calling for their removal and the creation of a new Cabinet-level agency for culture. The NEA, to which I've been closest in my career, is a wonderful organization, doing what it can to support institutions (if no longer individual artists) large and small. But it is also a political football and it is always going to be one.

One of the calls to abolish the NEA, for instance, came from Mitt Romney in last year's campaign, as part of his proposal to balance the budget. But during the debates Obama failed to note that investment in the arts is a more reliable jobs creator than in nearly all industries, nor is it easily outsourced. That has been an *idèe fixe* of the Obama-appointed outgoing NEA head, Rocco

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026598

Landesman. Even so, Landesman's budget got slashed 13% for fiscal 2012 to an embarrassing $146 million.

As arts supporters love to point out, that is less than half of the budget the Pentagon provides for military bands alone. In cash-strapped France, on the other hand, Minister of Culture and Communication Aurélie Filippetti was enraged when President François Hollande cut the 2013 budget of her department 4.3% to 7.363 billion euros, which is just under $10 billion. According to Landesman, the U.S. remains the weakest funder of arts in the developed world.

From the start, Obama had seemed a good prospect for becoming an arts president, and four years ago, as he was about to assume office, 76,000 people signed a petition, instigated by Quincy Jones, begging the new president to create a Cabinet-level cultural ministry patterned after France's. He has stepped out to arts events and invited artists from many genres to the White House. But he's kept that pretty low profile. The arts can be a lightning rod among populist politicians, and Washington is divided enough as it is. Clearly Obama has had other preoccupations than cabinetizing culture. But that divisiveness is precisely why we need a Cabinet-level spokesperson for culture. We have come to see ourselves as a country of opposites. The allocation of public funds for just about anything is viewed as a war between the rich and the poor. We color our states red or blue. Some of us love guns; some of us hate them. Go down the line, and there appears to be less and less on which we agree.

One thing we do have in common is our identity. Wherever we are on whatever spectrum, we see ourselves as Americans. It is that culture that makes everything else matter. The arts and the humanities help us figure out who we are.

A Department of Culture, into which the current NEA and NEH might be folded, may not be protected from budgetary vulnerability, but it would at least have more prestige and perhaps more stability. It would also empower a public spokesperson for culture.

Maybe even more essential is the influence a secretary of Culture could have in a way-too-wonky Washington. I know there aren't regular Cabinet meetings anymore where all the secretaries gather around a big table and hash out all the issues of the country. Imagine, though, a perfect White House, where Cabinet officials did often collect, and among them sat a political outsider, a generalist who could offer rich historical insight from the humanities and visionary thinking from the arts.

PHOTOS: Arts and culture in pictures by The Times

Ideally, a secretary of Culture should be a political outsider, able to function as a moral conscience for all decision making. He or she would further serve as someone able to ask the hard questions, to see the world from possibly unexpected angles and help prompt new solutions to old problems. As artists know and politicians refuse to acknowledge, all you have to do to create change is change your mind.

So whom could we get? Who could speak in such a way that the right and left would listen? Who from the arts or the humanities could possibly win the respect of expert wonks? Who could inspire a divided nation?

I've saved my suggestions for last because you're going to think them outlandish. They're not.

First, I nominate Peter Sellars. Stop laughing. How is an L.A.-based theater, opera and festival director who sports spiky hair, strings his own beads, buys his clothes at thrift shops and regularly

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courts controversy ever going to become a national spokesperson, to say nothing of a Washington official?

Sellars, however, happens to be one of the most persuasive and inspirational public figures we have. He exhibits a bottomless empathy and spirituality with broad reach. Yes, some of his productions have been left-leaning, but he can, one on one, reach just about everyone. He is politically motivated and sophisticated. He thinks profoundly about social issues.

He also has a way with politicians. A few years ago he was asked to speak at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, about nuclear proliferation — something he became highly knowledgeable about when he and composer John Adams put on "Doctor Atomic," an opera about the creation of the atomic bomb. Sellars held heads of state in awe.

My second nomination is Leon Botstein, president of Bard College in New York state. He is one of our few remaining public intellectuals and a renaissance man, which means he is a conductor, educator and scholar. He too is unusually persuasive when speaking on any number of issues to any kind of audience.

Yes, he's also a liberal, one who as a young man could hold his brilliant own against William F. Buckley on "Firing Line." But he is just as brilliant an administrator who, in his nearly 40-year tenure at Bard, has made the school into one of the most progressive and prominent humanities colleges in the country by appealing to donors on all sides of the political spectrum. He's an egghead who goes on "The Colbert Report."

Botstein makes things happen, and he makes them happen by persuading people to look beyond their preconceptions, to view society in broad and grand terms. He is someone politicians and the people could listen to.

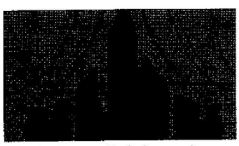
So what is the likelihood that Obama will announce on the steps of the Capitol on Monday that over these next four years he wants to make the arts a national priority and for that reason he is now nominating Sellars or Botstein to the newly created post of secretary of Culture? Zero. He's not crazy.

Still, if Albania can have one, why can't we?

mark.swed@latimes.com

MORE

INTERACTIVE: Christopher Hawthorne's On the Boulevards



Depictions of violence in theater and more

PHOTOS: Arts and culture in pictures

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From: Skip Rimer [redacted]
Sent: 4/25/2013 4:20:39 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: [redacted]
Subject: A message to Global Conference 2013 Attendees

Importance: High

Dear Global Conference Registrant:

We look forward to seeing you in a few days at the 16th annual Milken Institute Global Conference. It's a full and exciting program with a record 620 speakers on 140+ sessions addressing the major economic and policy issues of the day. In addition, we have many other events in store that we hope will make your time with us that much more valuable and enjoyable, including a first-time Tuesday night wine tasting and shopping event in the heart of Beverly Hills.

We've made a number of other changes to this year's program, including the addition of three late-afternoon plenary sessions – featuring **Congressman and Majority Leader Eric Cantor** together with **Sen. Harry Reid, Majority Leader** (Monday); **former Vice President Al Gore** (Tuesday); and a special session focused on Africa's brightening future (Wednesday), described below.

We have also added a larger stage in the Global Conference Pavilion, allowing for a variety of more innovative sessions and audience involvement.

Please note two important program/speaker updates:

- We've saved one of the best for last. The Global Conference closes on Wednesday with "Investing in African Prosperity," featuring **Rwandan President Paul Kagame**, **former British Prime Minister Tony Blair**, **philanthropist Bill Gates**, and **Rhonda Zygocki of Chevron**, moderated by **Institute Chairman Mike Milken**.

- Wednesday's lunch program brings together some of America's most important health leaders, including **Nancy Brown, CEO of the American Heart Association**; **Francis Collins, Director of the National Institutes of Health; Thomas Frieden, Director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention**; and **Andrew von Eschenbach, former Commissioner of the Food and Drug Administration**, to talk about the scientific revolution that promises to change lives and society.

We may have moved some panels since you set your schedule, so I encourage you to visit www.globalconference.org for the latest speakers and program.

Within the next 24 hours, you will be receiving your Global Conference confirmation email. Be sure to bring the confirmation email and a photo ID with you to registration.

We look forward to seeing you. I hope you take advantage of everything the Global Conference has to offer. Most important, have a great time.

Sincerely,

Skip Rimer
Executive Director of Programs and Communications
Milken Institute

From: Darren Indyke[redacted]
Sent: 10/23/2014 5:09:04 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Google Alert - Jeffrey Epstein

Importance: High

DARREN K. INDYKE
DARREN K. INDYKE, PLLC
575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, New York 10022
Telephone: [redacted]
Telecopier: [redacted]
Mobile: [redacted]
email: [redacted]

****
The information contained in this communication is confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, and is intended only for the use of the addressee. It is the property of Darren K. Indyke, PLLC. Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by return e-mail, and destroy this communication and all copies thereof, including all attachments.
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****

Begin forwarded message:

From: Google Alerts <googlealerts-noreply@google.com>
Subject: Google Alert - Jeffrey Epstein
Date: October 23, 2014 at 2:51:00 AM EDT
To: [redacted]

Jeffrey Epstein
As-it-happens update · October 23, 2014

NEWS

Clinton's Pardons for Pedophiles

FrontPage Magazine

Jeffrey Epstein, a top Clinton pal, had sexually abused a large number of children, including three 12-year-old girls. He had boasted of "buying" ...

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From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 10/24/2014 6:25:22 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Story on you

Importance: High

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: "Pickler, Nedra" <[redacted]>
Date: Oct 24, 2014 2:23 PM
Subject: Story on you
To: "Kathy Ruemmler" <[redacted]>
Cc:

Slug:	BC-US--Obama-Attorney General,2nd Ld-Writethru
Headline:	Former Obama lawyer nixes attorney general offer
Extended Headline:	Former White House counsel turns down chance to succeed Eric Holder as attorney general
Byline:	By NEDRA PICKLER
Bytitle:	Associated Press

WASHINGTON (AP) — Former White House counsel Kathryn Ruemmler has told President Barack Obama she doesn't want to be nominated for attorney general, after he asked her to consider succeeding Eric Holder, people familiar with the discussions told The Associated Press on Friday.

Ruemmler was concerned that her experience as a close adviser to the president would have led to a difficult confirmation process in the current highly charged partisan environment, the sources said, speaking on a condition of anonymity because they were not authorized to discuss private discussions. They say Ruemmler, a top official at the Justice Department before moving to the White House, was also concerned that could ignite political attacks against Obama.

Ruemmler's withdrawal, in a phone call to the president Wednesday, leaves no obvious front-runner to replace Holder, who announced a month ago that he would step down once a replacement was confirmed. Ruemmler brought the law enforcement bonafides of a former prosecutor in the Bush administration who won convictions against Enron's executives and the national security expertise of a top White House official.

Other candidates that administration officials have said have been considered include Solicitor General Don Verrilli; Labor Secretary Tom Perez; Loretta Lynch, U.S. attorney for the Eastern District of New York; Preet Bharara, U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York; Jenny Durkan, who resigned as U.S. attorney in Washington state last month; former Homeland Security Secretary Janet Napolitano; Tony West, who recently resigned as the No. 3 official at the Justice Department and has taken a job at Pepsico; and Deputy Homeland Security Secretary Alejandro Mayorkas.

Ruemmler, now a partner at Latham & Watkins specializing in government investigations, had the closest relationship of the attorney general candidates to the president after serving as his legal gatekeeper at the White House. But that relationship also would have brought tough scrutiny, with Republicans likely to question her handling of controversies involving the IRS, Benghazi and the investigation of a White House volunteer in a prostitution scandal.

Obama's aides say he has not yet made up his mind on whom to nominate and won't announce a choice until after the Nov. 4 elections, in part to avoid making the nominee into a political issue facing embattled Democratic candidates. They say he also hasn't decided whether to seek confirmation in the Senate's lame duck session later this year or to wait until the new year, when Republicans are expected to pick up seats if not win outright control.

White House chief of staff Denis McDonough said in a statement, "Kathy is someone who always tells it like it is, is a world class lawyer and remains a trusted adviser to the president. Anyone who knows Kathy knows she has impeccable judgment, extraordinary foresight and is a formidable force. But she is also as selfless as they come, and the president is proud to call her a close friend."

___

Follow Nedra Pickler on Twitter at https://twitter.com/nedrapickler

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[IP_US_DISC]

msk dccc60c6d2c3a6438f0cf467d9a4938

From: Darren Indyke [redacted]
Sent: 11/8/2014 1:20:15 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Breaking News: Obama to Nominate Loretta Lynch as U.S. Attorney General

Importance: High

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: NYTimes.com News Alert <nytdirect@nytimes.com>
Date: November 7, 2014 at 6:06:16 PM EST
To: [redacted]
Subject: Breaking News: Obama to Nominate Loretta Lynch as U.S. Attorney General

To ensure delivery to your inbox, please add nytdirect@nytimes.com to your address book.

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BREAKING NEWS Friday, November 7, 2014 6:04 PM EST

Obama to Nominate Loretta Lynch as U.S. Attorney General

President Obama will nominate Loretta E. Lynch, the top federal prosecutor in Brooklyn, to succeed Eric H. Holder Jr. as attorney general, people close to the process said Friday.

If confirmed, she would be the first African-American woman to serve as the nation's top law enforcement official. She would also be a rare instance of Mr. Obama's reaching outside his inner circle to fill a crucial post.

READ MORE »

http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/08/us/politics/loretta-lynch-eric-holder-attorney-general.html?emc=edit_na_20141107

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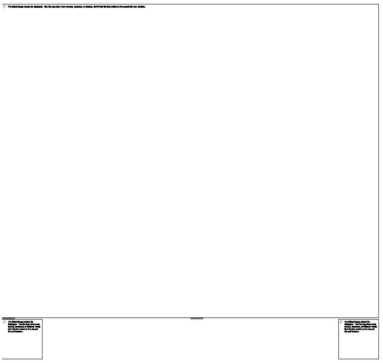

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Date:	Saturday, January 24 2015 05:22 AM
Subject:	Fwd: January 23, 2015
From:	jeffreyepsteinorg@gmail.com
To:	Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>;
Attachments:	photo_1(2).jpg; photo2.jpg; photo2.jpg; WP_20150123_005.jpg; 19th Century Medici Lions.png; Florence.png

---------- Forwarded message ---------
From: <[redacted]>
Date: Fri, Jan 23, 2015 at 5:36 PM
Subject: January 23, 2015
To: jeffrey@jeffreyepstein.org

Dear Mr Epstein,

Further to emails of January 21, I crossed an image of a rare 17th Century Marble Bust of Roman Emperor Vitellius you purchased from me during the second half of the 90's.

I recalled upon many occasions you visiting Bennison, Pimlico Road and being extremely respectful and courteous, as Miss Maxwell was on each occasion.

From recent media reports about you and our Prince Andrew, I do not believe you, Miss Maxwell and Prince Andrew would undermine your conduct the way reports are suggesting.

I feel for you all and hope this episode clears so you can concentrate on your professional activities that do positive things for our countries.

You may have heard a report an interesting report conducted by a genius Lawyer Michael Shrimpton - Michael Shrimpton youtube - Exposes Ted Heath (and others)

The report is shocking and is not a hair-line what you are wrongly accused of (based upon our many meetings).

Further David Dicke reports on the USA former President George W. Bush Senior which again is shocking, unbelievable, unacceptable...

Mr Michael Shrimpton & Mr David Dicke are worth watching if you haven't yet crossed their researching of public figures that have (literally by reports) got away with murder.

Please find attached an image of Vitellius, pair of 19th Century Medici Lions (that are perfect for one of your estates), emperor Vespasian and a pair of Piranesi Engravings for your consideration.

Do not hesitate to contact me should you require more details.

Warm regards,

Yours sincerely,

Mark Green.

Cel. [redacted]

BEST WISHES TO THE THREE OF YOU!!!

----Original Message----
From: mcgreenantiques <[redacted]>
To: jeffrey <jeffrey@jeffreyepstein.org>
Sent: Wed, 21 Jan 2015 19:04
Subject: January 21: A Pair of 19th Century Carved Sicilian Marble Figures of the Medici Style Lions -

Dear Mr Epstein,

Hope you are well!

Please find attached images of:

A POWERFUL AND IMPORTANT PAIR OF 19TH CENTURY FINELY CARVED SICILIAN MARBLE FIGURES OF LIONS

IN THE MANNER OF THE MEDICI LIONS

DIMENSIONS: HEIGHT 77" - 196 CMS (INCLUDING PLINTH BASES) x LENGTH 39" - 99 CMS x WIDTH 16" - 41 CMS

£160,000= RETAIL

£120,000= TRADE Plus 5% Commission

THE LIONS REPRESENT 'GRAND TOUR SOUVENIR' WORKS OF ART AND WOULD HAVE BEEN COMMISSIONED TO DECORATE THE GROUNDS OF AN HISTORICAL HOUSE

The original figures were commissioned by 'Ferdinando I de'Medici' and were excuted by Giovanni di Scherano Fancelli in c.1598, and accompanied by a mirror-image version by contemporary sculptor Flaminio Vacca (1538-1605).

The original pair remained in Rome until 1789, before being moved to Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence, where they can still be seen today. The two sculptures were hugely influential in eighteenth-century Europe: copies and versions can be found from landscape gardens to mantlepieces

The figures are museum quality.

The lots are currently located in Barnwell Manor, Barnwell, near Oundle, Peterborough, PE8 5PJ.

They are the finest examples of 19th Century 'Grand Tour Souvenir' works of art of 16th Century sculpture outside of a museum.

Should you require more details please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely,

Mark Green.

Cel. [redacted]

--

Jeffrey Epstein VI Foundation
Christina@jeffreyepstein.org

From: [redacted]
Sent: 3/29/2015 2:22:23 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Fwd: Do you know this Guy? You should
Attachments: MailAttachment.jpeg; MailAttachment.jpeg; MailAttachment.jpeg; MailAttachment.jpeg

Importance: High

From: [redacted]
To: [redacted]
Sent: 3/28/2015 5:59:43 P.M. Eastern Daylight Time
Subj: Fwd: Do you know this Guy? You should

-----Original Message-----
From: Sample, Elizabeth [redacted]
To: Norman D. Rau [redacted]
Sent: Sat, Mar 28, 2015 5:24 pm
Subject: Fwd: Do you know this Guy? You should

Elizabeth Lee Sample
Senior Global Real Estate Advisor/Associate Broker
Sotheby's International Realty
38 East 61st Street
New York, NY 10065
[redacted]

http://www.samplepowers.com/
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Karlie Jamison
Licensed Salesperson/Executive Administrator
[redacted]

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Fitz Corr" < [redacted]n>
Date: March 27, 2015 at 5:24:21 PM EDT
To: "Fitz Corr" < [redacted]
Subject: Do you know this Guy? You should

Subject: Do you know this Guy? You should

Do You Know This Guy?

He is Edward "Ed" Mezvinsky, born January 17, 1937. And so who is Ed Mezvinsky?

Well, he is a former Democrat congressman who represented Iowa's 1st congressional district in the United States House of Representatives for two terms, from 1973 to 1977.

He sat on the House Judiciary Committee that decided the fate of Richard Nixon.

He was outspoken saying that Nixon was a crook and a disgrace to politics and the nation and should be impeached.

He and the Clintons were friends and very politically intertwined for many years.

Ed Mezvinsky had an affair with NBC News reporter Marjorie Sue Margolies and later married her after his wife divorced him.

In 1993, Marjorie Margolies-Mezvinsky, then a freshman Democrat in Congress, cast the deciding vote that got President Bill Clinton's controversial tax package through the House of Representatives.

In March 2001, Mezvinsky was indicted and later pleaded guilty to 31 of 69 counts of federal criminal bank fraud, mail fraud, and wire fraud.

Ed Mezvinsky embezzled more than $10 million dollars from people via both a Ponzi scheme and the notorious Nigerian e-mail scams.

He was found guilty and sentenced to 80 months in federal prison.

After serving less than five years in federal prison, he was released in April 2008 and remains on federal probation.

To this day, he still owes $9.4 million in restitution to his many victims.

About now you are saying, "So what!"

Well, this is Marc and Chelsea Mezvinsky.

That's right; Ed Mezvinsky is Chelsea Clinton's father-in law.

Now Marc and Chelsea are in their early thirties and purchased a $10.5 million NYC apartment.

Has anyone heard mention of any of this in any of the media?

If this guy was Jenna or Barbara Bush's, or better yet, Sarah Palin's daughter's father-in- law, the news would be an everyday headline and every detail would be reported over and over and over.

And yet liberals say there are no double standards in political reporting.

And people are already talking about Hillary as our next President!

And then there is possibly Chelsea for president in our future!

The cycle never ends!

Lying and corruption seem to make Democrat candidates more popular.

WAKE UP AMERICA

--

I have removed all previous addresses before sending this to you as well as sending it to you as a "blind copy". Please remove my address before forwarding.

From: Ehud Barak [redacted]]
Sent: 4/23/2015 3:31:35 PM
To: Epstein Jeffrey [Jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Bill Clinton on Virtues of North Korean Nuclear Deal - History Repeats Itself

Importance: High

Hi Jeff

Subject: Bill Clinton on Virtues of North Korean Nuclear Deal - History Repeats Itself

Fyi
Best
EB

Check out this video on YouTube:

http://youtu.be/6TcbU5jAavw

Sent from my iPhone

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 7/23/2015 7:39:58 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: trump interview with anderson cooper

Importance: High

he is a character..

http://www.realclearpolitics.com/video/2015/07/22/trump_to_anderson_cooper_during_interview_the_people_dont_trust_you_and_the_media.html

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
tel [redacted]
fax [redacted]
cel [redacted]

From: [redacted]
Sent: 8/4/2015 10:23:22 PM
To: Allen West [redacted]; Rafael Bardaji [redacted]; Philip Kafka [redacted]; Herb goodman [redacted]; Grant Seeger [redacted]; Lisa albert [redacted]; janet kafka [redacted]; James Ramsey [redacted] ACT for America [redacted]; john zouzelka-cell [redacted]; Joel Dunn [redacted]; [redacted]; Nate mcclain [redacted]; [redacted]; Bennet Greenwald [redacted]; taal safdie [redacted]; uri fouzailov [redacted] Neil anderson [redacted] nate white [redacted] rita hortenstine [redacted] Henry hortenstine [redacted] Gary Gross [redacted]; Forrest Miller - adj kearsarge house [redacted]; Bennett Schmidt [redacted] Val sherman [redacted] Marcie brown [redacted]; Mark epstein [redacted]; jeff epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]; Michael Stechel [redacted]; michael buchholtz [redacted]; Michael horowitz [redacted] Marshall Funk [redacted]
Subject: Fw: The Iran Nuclear Deal

Importance: High

Pls spent 2 minutes and watch this dennis prager video on iran deal. And then forward it if you agree. If not, I understand and just delete. Respectfully, terry
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: Mike Cohen [redacted]>
Date: Tue, 4 Aug 2015 22:00:42 +0000
To: Terry Kafka ([redacted]>
Subject: FW: The Iran Nuclear Deal

From: Mike Cohen
Sent: Monday, August 03, 2015 7:16 PM
Subject: FW: The Iran Nuclear Deal

Dear Friends,

PLEASE watch this very important short and incredibly clear video regarding the Iran deal.

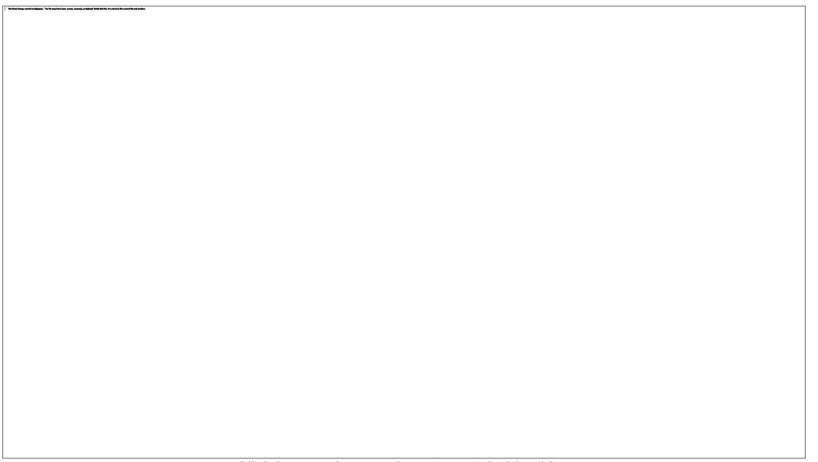
If you have not yet called your congressmen and asked other friends and relatives to do so, PLEASE do that as well. The wellbeing of your children and grandchildren depend upon it!

Mike

The Iran Nuclear Deal

Dear Friend,

This week, our featured video is as urgent as it gets. Just days after President Obama and Secretary of State John Kerry announced the nuclear deal with Iran, Dennis Prager was in studio recording a video explaining why the deal is so dangerous, and how it parallels what happened in 1938 between Great Britain and Nazi Germany. This is the fastest turn-around time on any video we've released in PragerU's history, but what's at stake is so monumentally important, we knew we couldn't waste any time. So please take five minutes to watch the video. Forward it to your family, friends, and the offices of your Congressional representatives. We all have an obligation to do whatever is in our power to impact as many people on this topic as we can.



Click image above or here to watch this video

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 9/23/2016 3:03:49 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Trump is headed for a win, says professor who has predicted 30 years of presidential outcomes correctly

Importance: High

https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2016/09/23/trump-is-headed-for-a-win-says-professor-whos-predicted-30-years-of-presidential-outcomes-correctly/

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
tel [redacted]
fax [redacted]
cell [redacted]

****
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Begin forwarded message:

From: Darren Indyke <[redacted]>
Subject: **Donald Trump Rape Lawsuit Refiled With New Witness | Law News**
Date: October 1, 2016 at 4:40:32 PM EDT
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

http://lawnewz.com/high-profile/trump-team-fires-back-after-jane-doe-refiles-rape-lawsuit-with-new-witness/

Sent from my iPhone

From: Darren Indyke [redacted]]
Sent: 10/18/2016 8:20:31 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Rigging the Election - Video I: Clinton Campaign and DNC Incite Violence at Trump Rallies - YouTube
Attachments: WebPage.pdf; Untitled attachment 405057.htm

Importance: High

Hysterical.

DARREN K. INDYKE
DARREN K. INDYKE, PLLC
575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, New York 10022
Telephone: [redacted]
Telecopier: [redacted]
Mobile: [redacted]
email: [redacted]

****
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****

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5IuJGHuIkzY

From: Zubair Khan [redacted]]
Sent: 10/25/2016 9:07:53 AM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: US Presidential Election Update
Attachments: US_Report3.pdf; Untitled attachment 406272.htm

Importance: High

Hi Jeffrey,

Please find attached report of InsightsPod generated after third US Presidential debate. Trump's popularity has increased after third debate.

Regards,
Zubair

US Election Debate 19 Oct, 2016

Since the 3rd US Presidential Election debate stated till now, we have captured **4.4 Million** tweets.

Here is the performance of candidates:

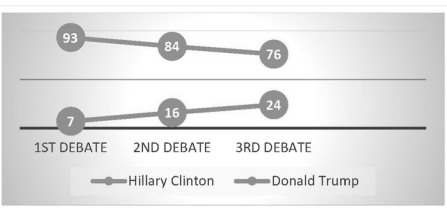
1.	Donald Trump	Positive – 22.89%	Neutral – 14.38%	Negative – 62.73%
2.	Hillary Clinton	Positive – 34.18%	Neutral – 16.02%	Negative – 49.80%

Winning Chances

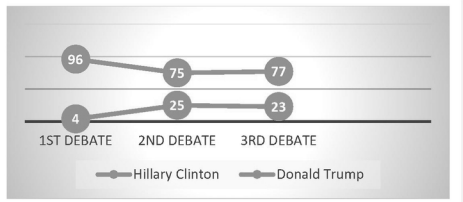
Clinton: 59% – Trump: 41%

Winning chances in US States

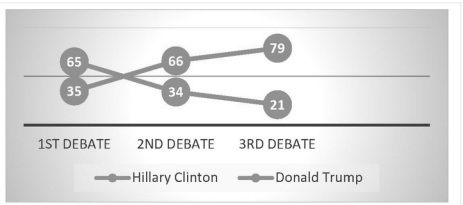
New York Trump 24% - Clinton 76%



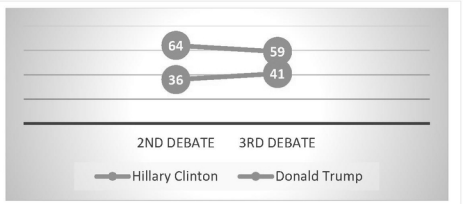
California Trump 23% - Clinton 77%



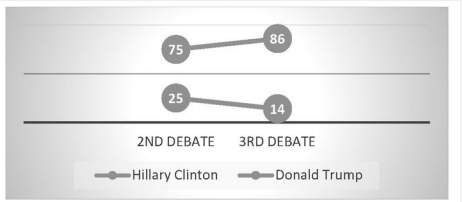
Texas Trump 79% - Clinton 21%



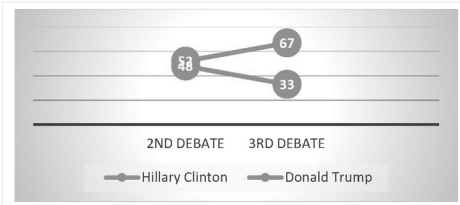
North Carolina Trump 41% - Clinton 59%



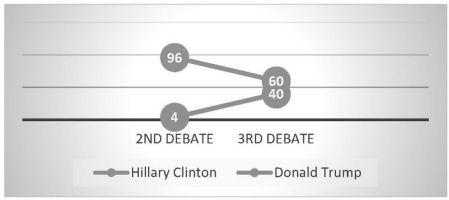
Florida Trump 14% - Clinton 86%



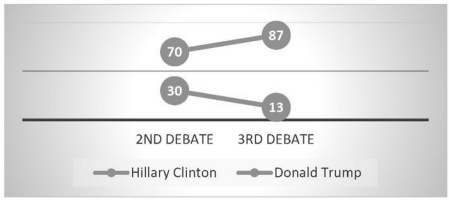
Washington Trump 33% - Clinton 67%



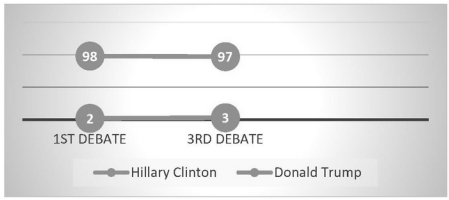
Ohio Trump 40% - Clinton 60%



New Jersey Trump 13% - Clinton 87%



Michigan Trump 3% - Clinton 97%



From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 10/28/2016 12:34:36 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Trump will win the election and is more popular than Obama in 2008, AI system finds

Importance: High

http://www.cnbc.com/2016/10/28/donald-trump-will-win-the-election-and-is-more-popular-than-obama-in-2008-ai-system-finds.html

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
[redacted]

From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/30/2016 4:40:14 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: contacts

Importance: High

edelman, set martin, tata, susskind, strominger, rynolds. kosslyn, krause, gardner. bill thiel. hoffman, sinofsky, nathan feigenbaum, ramachandrain , demsaio, christakis, dennet, sheldrake, fewick, gellman, west kaufman, seligman, kurzweill ben goertzel, gould, saks mandelbrot, hopkins, mitchell kerry, clinton , richardosn, mapp , leahy, spitzer, shcumer, pruseven waheed mandelson, ehud, lang churkin, sergey, . jagland, andrew, woody blaine, boris, larry summers.

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 11/1/2016 6:45:15 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: contacts

Importance: High

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **jeffrey E.** <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Sun, Oct 30, 2016 at 5:40 PM
Subject: contacts
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

edelman, set martin, tata, susskind, strominger, rynolds. kosslyn, krause, gardner. bill thiel. hoffman, sinofsky, nathan feigenbaum, ramachandrain , demsaio, christakis, dennet, sheldrake, fewick, gellman, west kaufman, seligman, kurzweill ben goertzel, gould, saks mandelbrot, hopkins, mitchell kerry, clinton , richardosn, mapp , leahy, spitzer, shcumer, pruseven waheed mandelson, ehud, lang churkin, sergey, . jagland, andrew, woody blaine, boris, larry summers.

dersh reummler, marty, roy, ken, jay, lilly jack, rhinehart. chet tonja, lefcourt, moscowitz. raafat, sultan hamad jabor . karim, outarra, mohmaaed. , pastrana, cas gtro,

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We recently met with Apollo's management

We recently met with Apollo Co-Founder Josh Harris and CFO Martin Kelly, who were optimistic about the growth opportunities for the firm and the recurring fee outlook, although they expect meaningful upside in DE (distributable earnings) to take time given seasoning of funds. While it is too early to have a clear view on the potential tax impact to APO and the sector from a tax overhaul, management is keeping a close eye on all potential scenarios (carried interest tax rate, C-corp vs. PTP with lower corp tax, and interest deductibility). While we are raising our PO to $21 and continue to see attractive growth for APO, given valuation and muted DE levels, we maintain our Neutral rating.

Post-election outlook for their business

Management sees the election outcome (Trump and Republican Congress) to be likely favorable for GDP growth (portfolio company EBITDA trends), with the potential for rising rates and inflation to eventually create some volatility and uncertainty on multiples. In addition, potential de-regulation could create more competition in some areas that the alternative asset managers have expanded into over the last few years, although the team still sees ample opportunity for growth.

Potential tax changes a mixed bag

There are three primary tax items that could potentially impact APO and the industry. First, the tax rate on carried interest could go higher, which would increase the tax rate on carry for employees and on a portion of the distribution for some unitholders (this has generally been expected at some point, given bi-partisan support). Second, if the corporate tax rate is reduced to 15-20%, this could create an incentive for firms to shift from a partnership structure to a c-corp structure, which would simplify the tax issues and entertain a larger investor base (including possible index inclusion). Finally, if the corporate tax rate is lowered, it has to be funded with an offset to have enough support and, as of now, the primary item being considered is the loss of corporate interest tax deductibility, which would be a significant negative for the sector. Given the pros and cons and it being very early in the process, there is no clear cut view, but tax reform will be an important item for the industry moving forward.

Attractive growth and FRE outlook ahead

Management sees the growth outlook as attractive, particularly in Credit. Apollo has multiple areas to drive double-digit growth, including Athene, Mid-Cap Financial, AAME (Apollo Asset Management Europe) and Total Return. Rising interest rates could be a near-term risk to credit valuations, but APO's overall duration is low or matched, and higher interest rates could benefit yields and make it easier to achieve hurdles in certain products. Longer term, the team wants Real Estate to be more significant. Importantly, with Apollo starting the process for PE Fund IX, the combination of this fund with growth in Credit bodes well for the FRE (fee-related earnings) outlook into 2017-18.

DE will take a bit of time, but Fund VIII looks attractive

The outlook for DE is favorable with rising FRE, but the real lift will be driven by carried interest over time. The key fund to drive meaningfully higher DE is Fund VIII and, while still early in its life cycle, given its strong performance, the outlook into 2018-20 is attractive. We estimate that Fund VIII could return more than $2.0B of cash carry for unitholders, or around $5 per share, assuming a 2.0x MOIC and typical compensation.

Michael Carrier, CFA

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 11/29/2016 3:37:46 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Tax Planning Under Trump

Importance: High

not sure your thoughts on likelihood of his plan (with very little details) passing
my concern and thoughts are that if itemized deductions are capped at 200,000 you will be impacted by Trump plan
your itemized deductions on the last 2 years returns were as follows:

2015 1,721,474
2014 739,139

the two biggest items on your itemized are RE Taxes of approximately 600,000 per year and investment interest expense from STC K-1 with the majority coming from boothbay

i thought that 2016 may be a good year to contribute appreciated stock to gratitude or enhanced for three reasons:

a) potential cap on itemized per trump
b) very low EDC income this year so your effective tax rate is higher
c) if itemized stays however tax rates go down charitable deduction is worth more in 2016

Gratitude & Enhanced Summary
Cash 4,738,854
Equities 3,792,177
Fixed Income 2,199,792

Total Value as of 10-31-2016 10,730,823

Although calculation below does not factor in growth i ran summaries how long foundations can continue to make annual contributions at the following levels:

600,000 17.88 years
700,000 15.33 years
800,000 13.41 years
900,000 11.92 years
1,000,000 10.73 years

http://smolin.com/tax-planning-trump/?utm_medium=email&_hsenc=p2ANqtz-9cVvrtlu7t-PS2aTSDot_MfPqLyf5nz-HEqoO0HZ2p1m4IPpx2ofWoKVEtA4VNoa5V7IKOjpCBUneb1DWflemNH1V25wqIpsR66ZSueRTahNjres8&_hsmi=38093530&utm_content=38093530&utm_source=hs_email&hsCtaTracking=04192ff7-d8f4-4bdc-ac61-36ac99f6aa45%7C515b98b3-dbce-47cd-87ad-20d95c646158

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
tel [redacted]
fax [redacted]
cell [redacted]

From: Thomas Jr., Landon[redacted]
Sent: 11/29/2016 6:33:42 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: My Thoughts on Currencies

Importance: High

The smartest/most amusing piece of research I have read so far on Trump/global economy. You should pass on to DJT brain trust on economy/markets
---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Eurizon SLJ Capital Limited** <research@research.sljmacro.com>
Date: Tue, Nov 29, 2016 at 10:51 AM
Subject: My Thoughts on Currencies
To: [redacted]

This email is intended for the addressee. Please do not forward this note outside your institution. Thank you for your cooperation. If you would like to refer our research to a friend, please contact us at Research@eurizonsljcapital.com.
Click here to view online

www.eurizonsljcapital.com

My Thoughts on Currencies

Stephen L Jen (London)

November 29, 2016

Bottom line. Some retracement in the market trends we've seen since November 8 makes sense, in light of the magnitudes of the moves as well as the upcoming event risks (Italian referendum, OPEC meeting, and the FOMC meeting). But I think none of these events will likely surprise the markets, and President-Elect Trump will likely continue to drive the markets, extending the recent trends. By the way, he has left the US Treasury Secretary post last to be filled, and it is the most important appointment for the markets as it will both reflect and influence key policies

on trade, tax cuts, and infrastructure spending. (1) The doves at the Fed have been silenced as, under President Trump, the US policy mix will likely be less lop-sided and the emphasis will be on Arrow 3, with Arrow 1 being downgraded. I think the effective demotion of the Fed has just begun. Its independence will likely be challenged, as it should be, in my personal view. November 8 marked the beginning of the end of the financial repression in the US. (2) Generating outsized economic growth will be key to settling several important inconsistencies in macro. I will elaborate on this point below. But the market trends witnessed since November 8 will not be sustained unless Mr Trump's policies indeed lead to significantly higher nominal GDP growth. (3) The mainstream media remain negative on Mr Trump, but this will keep the hurdle low, and in turn pressure President Trump to deliver early in 2017 and thus for him to impress favourably. A shift away from identity politics, in my view, based on my personal experience from Taiwan, should lead to positive economic progress. Investors won't need to wait long for there to be more concrete announcements on the various parts of Arrow 3, including both the content of the policies as well as their sequencing. (4) FWIW, my two policy recommendations to the reformers are (i) design an effective global taxation scheme to properly tax multi-national corporations and (ii) adopt industrial policies to help countries focus on their comparative advantages. The US, UK, Japan, and Italy are all prime candidates to do (ii). (5) The dollar is already moderately over-valued, but this will not prevent it from strengthening further, especially against the EM currencies. Think in terms of 'growth alpha' and 'growth beta.' Much of EM, including China since February of this year, have not possessed 'growth alpha' and have continued to rely on 'growth beta' vis-à-vis the rest of the world. I struggle to think of key reforms that EM countries have embarked on in recent years: even countries like France and Italy have undertaken more reforms than most EM countries. Squeezed by (i) a more hawkish Fed, (ii) a China that will continue to soft land, and (iii) a potentially more inward-looking US, EM will struggle without 'growth alpha.' I think we may be entering into a period of differentiation among the EM markets: those that have 'growth alpha' will be rewarded while those that continue to rely on 'growth beta' will not. (6) The world according to Trump will be more Darwinian for countries and less Darwinian for US citizens.This notion applies to investing in EM, to countries' growth prospects, and to international competition – (potentially) very different from the last few years, when 'the Fed was the only game in town' and everyone and everything floated higher by central bank liquidity… In any case, the dollar should be in a good position to thrive, I think.

Economic Olympics. The markets are no longer driven only by the Fed and central bank policies, but by forward-looking policy inclinations. The 'false economy' that central banks have nurtured will gradually be replaced by real

economies. In my view, Mr Trump's victory will have many social, geopolitical, and economic consequences, but for investors I think he will start a period of 'Economic Olympics', whereby the federal governments around the world will take more responsibility and be more proactive to help their 'national teams' to become more competitive in this globalised world. (1) Free trade is in theory good for economic growth. But there are other policies (such as well-directed R&D, efficient investment, an effective educational system) that are also extremely important for long-term growth, but have been ignored in the past 15 years because of the globalisation fad. A slowdown in trade globalisation might not be bad for the global economy, if policy makers replace this engine of growth with other structural improvements. But while globalisation is more about 'growth beta', other types of structural reforms are about 'growth alpha' and federal/central governments around the world will need to make a greater effort at leading the economies to prevent them from falling behind. This is like a government-led program to win Olympic medals, without doping by central banks. (2) A client kindly brought to my attention an interesting report done by the Harvard Business School that touches on the idea mentioned above ('Problems Unsolved and a Nation Divided: the State of US Competitiveness 2016'). In it, several sensible and consequential points were made: '*The pressing need for a national economic strategy… Given the significant challenges facing the American economy, the U.S. needs a national economic strategy more than at any other time in recent history. A strategy is an integrated set of priorities that builds on strengths while acknowledging and tackling weaknesses… The U.S. lacks an economic strategy, especially at the federal level. The implicit strategy has been to trust the Federal Reserve to solve our problems through monetary policy… A national economic strategy for the U.S. will require action by business, state and local governments, and the federal government. All three levels have a crucial role to play in restoring competitiveness… Taking leadership in improving U.S. competitiveness is a pressing imperative for business leaders. Many companies have failed to invest enough in improving the business environments in the regions in which they operate…*' This report from the HBS also reiterates some recommendations they made in 2012: '*[Our] Eight-Point Plan consists of the following policy recommendations: simplify the corporate tax code with lower statutory rates and no loopholes; move to a territorial tax system like all other leading nations'; ease the immigration of highly-skilled individuals; aggressively address distortions and abuses in the international trading system; improve logistics, communications, and energy infrastructure; simplify and streamline regulation; create a sustainable federal budget, including reform of entitlements; and responsibly develop America's unconventional energy advantage.*' Interestingly, Mr Trump has discussed many of the same points. I personally think that, so far, identity politics has distracted from his

message on economic reform. It is likely, I believe, that the focus of the general public will be moved to these critical economic reforms. (3) I repeat a point I've made in the past, that because the mainstream media and most scholars are still so skeptical of Mr Trump's policies, the hurdle for him to clear and impress positively is very low. Ironically, such general hostility will probably work in favour of the Trump Administration. 5 days after the surprise election victory, the press declared that Mr Trump's transition plan was in hopeless disarray, only for Mr Trump to announce one cabinet appointment every day – ahead of the schedule of Presidents Obama and Bill Clinton when they got elected. (4) We will likely see a less radical President Trump. We have already seen this on various issues (the Wall, prosecuting Ms Clinton), and my guess is that the trade policy will be more restrictive, but the changes will be nuanced at the same time. The appointment of the next Treasury Secretary will convey an important message. (5) I personally think that various countries will likely adopt industrial policies, as a substitute for slower trade globalization. Already, the UK's PM May announced an ambitious industrial strategy, with a focus on technology. The government is committed to investing in R&D through the Industrial Strategy Challenge Fund. Regular readers of our work should also know that that is what I would recommend for Japan to consider. I just came back from a trip to Singapore, and understand that the government there is also struggling to find the best strategy to deal with the next phase of economic development, now that the growth model based on trade and finance may be coming to an end. I think the US should also contemplate its own industrial policy. The title of this section is 'economic Olympics' to convey the notion that the world is in competition, not just along the axes of cheapness of labour and technology. There are different disciplines (analogous to the various sports in Olympics) in which any country can excel, if the efforts are appropriately focused. Instead of being mediocre in many events, countries should seek to win the gold medal in their best events…

5%-plus nominal GDP growth in the US in 2017? There are several inconsistencies in the market trends: (1) a strong dollar and strong US equities; (2) protectionism and a strong dollar (Mexico, for example, has gotten 10% cheaper so far this month, and China is also cheaper. The greater the threats of protectionism against these countries, the cheaper are their costs of production…); (3) higher yields and strong equities; (4) Mr Trump does not like Chair Yellen or the Fed but he still needs and prefers low interest rates. The only variable that can address these inconsistencies is 3-4% real economic growth and 5%-plus nominal GDP growth in the US. While it is unlikely that 5% nominal GDP growth is sustained over time, the atmospherics will stop the talk about 'r-star' and help support interest rates in the US. 2017 may very well see 5%-plus nominal GDP

growth, and, in the event, the 10Y UST yield at 2.34% would not seem too high.

The dollar will continue to smile. Previously, we made the suggestion that the US dollar is on the right side of the Dollar Smile against the majors, but it is on the left side of the Dollar Smile against the EM currencies. Reaganomics-Lite should be positive for the dollar, even if the US' twin deficits could widen. 'America First' means that there will be a bifurcation in economic prosperity, that economic strength in the US will no longer translate, with the same elasticities as before, into prosperity in many parts of EM. (1) The dollar has begun a consolidation phase this week. But my guess is that it will be temporary and shallow, partly because the data (ISM and NFPRs) will be sufficiently strong to justify another Fed rate hike on December 14. The weekly claims data remain extraordinarily strong, while the second derivatives in the data in much of EM have ceased to be positive. (2) Further advances in the dollar, however, will of course depend on the policy announcements and delivery by the Trump Administration, as well as an apparent lack of an economic strategy in other countries. (3) Yield differentials have helped the dollar advance vis-à-vis the JPY and the EUR. However, I should note that the EMU economies are not doing that badly, though credit demand remains weak. PMI remains well above 50 and inflation has bounced away from zero. The main factor – other than yield differentials - weighing on the EUR is the risk that we will see more political uncertainty in Europe. (4) I came across an editorial arguing that Mr Trump's protectionist policies would hurt the dollar's international standing. While this may be a popular view – that the US, as a savings deficit nation, needs a globalised world to finance its external balance –I contest this conclusion. I think it will be extremely difficult for the international status of the dollar to be supplanted, even with Mr Trump as the President. The dollar losing its hegemonic status has been a popular thesis by many academics over the last twenty years – precisely the period when the dollar's international and reserve currency status has *risen*. In many ways, the sturdiness of the dollar's global status has surprised some people, because globalisation is supposed to lead to a multi-polar world where the US loses its dominance. That is certainly true for the real economy, but exactly the opposite has happened for the dollar. This is a point I've tried hard to make over the years, that financial globalisation is uni-polar, even though trade globalisation is multi-polar. Look at how the rise in the dollar is hurting, disproportionately, the high-yield and EM currencies. Further, which currencies might replace the dollar? The EUR itself is still in an existential crisis; nothing needs to be said about the JPY; China could not even dare opening up its capital account. In fact, Beijing has just issued even more 'strict controls' on overseas investment, after experiencing some USD207 billion in outflows in Q3 2016. Just because President Trump's prospective trade policy may not be politically correct

does not imply that there will be a demise of the dollar, or that fewer people in the world would speak English in protest. If anything, I'm worried that a sharp rally in the dollar could trigger another financial crisis in EM… Don't get me wrong, I do not believe the dominance of the dollar is good for the global financial/monetary system. But it is a trend that is difficult to reverse, unless the structural integrity of the EUR is enhanced, and the foundations of the RMB market are improved. Increasing returns to scale have made English/dollar popular, and it will be increasingly difficult to challenge their roles as the world internationalizes. (5) The BIS recently published an interesting and important paper ('The Dollar, Bank Leverage and the Deviation from Covered Interest Parity,' by H.S. Shin et al., BIS WP 592) on how a stronger dollar could lead to a tightening in lending conditions in the rest of the world, including EM. *'[T]he value of the dollar plays the role of a barometer of risk-taking capacity in capital markets. In particular, it is the spot exchange rate of the dollar which plays a crucial role… [T]he strength of the dollar is a key determinant of bank leverage… Our results point to the financial channel of exchange rates, through which fluctuations in the strength of the dollar set in motion changes in capital market intermediation spreads that respond at a high frequency… [I]t is when the domestic currency appreciates, financial conditions in that country loosen, and CIP deviations narrow… [A] strengthening of US dollar has adverse impacts on bank balance sheets, which, in turn, reduces banks' risk bearing capacity.'* The findings of this paper are consistent with two of the points made above, that we may re-enter a phase that is not that positive for EM currencies and that the dominance of the dollar as an international currency is having unintended consequences for the rest of the world, out of line with the local fundamentals.

Trump and Europe. Political and social pressures have returned to Europe, and could continue to accentuate the centrifugal forces in the region. There are many risk events on the horizon, including the Austrian Presidential election on December 4 (the worry here is a victory for Mr Norbert Hofer of the far right party), the Italian referendum on Constitutional reform on December 4 (while a 'no' outcome is largely priced-in, an actual 'no' outcome may trigger a series of events in Italy that might pose some downside risks to Italian banks and in turn other European banks), the Dutch parliamentary election on March 15, 2017 (the worry here is further advances by the far right party led by Geert Wilders), the first round of the French presidential election on April 23 and the second round on May 7, UK local elections on May 4 (this will be the first major electoral test for PM May), and finally German regional elections on May 7 and 14 and the parliamentary election in September. (1) I don't think the direction of causality runs from Trump to Europe, but that the underlying forces propelling both Brexit and Trump are the same forces that are pushing the political centre of mass to the right in Europe. This direction of causality is

important to appreciate, I think, because if one believed that the direction of causality is the opposite, that Trump *causes* other changes that would have been avoidable if Ms Clinton had won, one would come up with the wrong conclusions on what to do to stop the global shift in sentiment. (2) *The Economist* had a special edition last week on the rising nationalism in the developed West, as if it's an unfounded, random and sinister event that needs to be suppressed by all means necessary. For various reasons, the political left is in decline in the developed West. Look at the UK's Labour Party and the US' Democratic Party. In France, only 1 out of 20 people approves of Hollande's performance. (3) The Presidential race in France is now between the Centre Right (Mr Fillon from the Republican Party) and the Far Right (Ms Le Pen from National Front). The pendulum in Europe, in my view, will swing to the right, and possibly overshoot, as pendulums tend to do… which is not good, but an unavoidable consequence of the pendulum having overshot to the left in the past… In any case, with the Republican primary being out of the way, the campaign will start in earnest, with the first round of the Presidential elections to take place in April and the second round in May. FWIW, Mr Fillon looks like a stronger candidate than Mr Sarkozy to challenge Ms Le Pen. France, under Mr Fillon, could very well enter a period of economic reform and rejuvenation, I am guessing. In short, Mr Fillon's victory last weekend could be a major positive for France, I think.

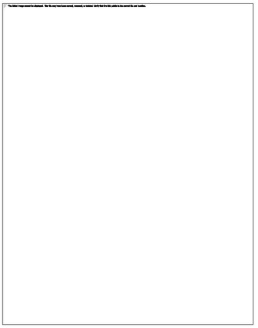
The trouble with macroeconomics. The rebellion against the establishment has also begun in the nerdy field of macro economics, led in part by Prof Paul Romer of the Stern School of Business. He, of course, has made enemies in the field with his view – a view I share: '*For more than three decades, macroeconomics has gone backwards. The treatment of identification now is no more credible than in the early 1970s but escapes challenge because it is so much more opaque. Macroeconomic theorists dismiss mere facts by feigning an obtuse ignorance about such simple assertions as "tight monetary policy can cause a recession." Their models attribute fluctuations in aggregate variables to imaginary causal forces that are not influenced by the action that any person takes. A parallel with string theory from physics hints at a general failure mode of science that is triggered when respect for highly regarded leaders evolves into a deference to authority that displaces objective fact from its position as the ultimate determinant of scientific truth.*' Group think has become a serious impediment to advances and renewals in this important field. Misguided policies have also had significant consequences for people's lives around the world.

Trade globalization. There will likely be a shift from unconditional, uncontrolled, and unmanaged trade globalisation, i.e. 'free trade', to 'fair trade,'. Trade globalisation of the type that we have just experienced

exchanged rising economic and political inequality for overall prosperity. We have simply reached a point where this rising inequality is no longer sustainable in democracies. This is not too different from what Beijing has been struggling with – to slow down the headline economic growth rate in exchange for more balance in various parts of the economy, in order to allow its development to be more sustainable. The parallels in the West seem quite clear to me. Fighting against this shift in the West, as most mainstream media seem to be doing, is tantamount to those in China who are fighting against the economic slowdown. (1) TPP is effectively dead, even though there are some who are urging that TPP goes ahead without the US. But I think multilateral trade pacts are in jeopardy. The Trump Administration still wants to have trade arrangements, but they will be bilateral and done with countries deemed friendly to the US. (2) The UK is in a great position to deal with the Trump Administration because all the UK needs is a bilateral trade arrangement that won't take as long to work out, compared to a multilateral trade arrangement. The UK just went from the 'back of the queue' (which was an insulting declaration by President Obama, conspicuously using the word 'queue' to make sure the Brits understood him) to the 'front of the line.' (3) China was never a part of the TPP discussions. In fact, TPP was designed from day one to marginalise China, to replace the current trade arrangement based on WTO rules to something that puts China at a disadvantage. This is why Beijing is not unhappy with the Trump Administration's desire to terminate the TPP discussions. (4) 'America First' does not only mean 'world second,' that the US will take actions to benefit the US even if these policies come at the expense of the rest of the world. It also means that policies will be aimed at addressing the inequality and inequity in the US, even if it means that the overall effects on the US may be negative. (5) In sum, I don't think trade globalisation will reverse. But it will slow down dramatically and be substituted with a different web of bilateral arrangements. I think this is a positive development, as the previous model of global growth was unsustainable, even if it generated the biggest aggregate prosperity for the world. (6) The next US Treasury Secretary will likely be instructed by President Trump to label China as a currency manipulator. While this would be a verdict without basis, in my view, such a finding could be used as an excuse to escalate the talks of protectionism.

Some musings… (1) President Obama just awarded his last round of Presidential Medals of Freedom (America's highest civilian honour) to Michael Jordan, Ellen DeGeneres, Robert de Niro, and others. Many of these award recipients were vocal critics of Mr Trump. My views on politics really don't matter… But for what it is worth, the reason why I have been more vocal than I should have been about Brexit and the US Elections is related to my own personal experience. I have witnessed how a previous harmonious society could very quickly degenerate into a permanent state of

ethnic hatred, *through identity politics*. This happened in Taiwan, where I grew up. When I was a child, I was fluent in Mandarin and Taiwanese, as most of the children I was friends with were not recent immigrants from Mainland China like my family was. There were no social conflicts, as far as I recall, until the pro-independence movement riled up those who considered themselves 'Taiwanese' against the 'Mainlanders' like myself. Some of my Taiwanese childhood friends are no longer on speaking terms with me, simply because I'm a 'Mainlander.' Taiwan's economic development came to a sudden halt, as people were in a constant state of feeling mistreated by the other group. The pendulum would swing from one side (green) to the other (blue), each time a President is found to have committed blatant and large-scale corruption. The politicians won, but the people lost. This is one reason why I deeply resent identity politics and fear that the proponents don't truly understand how dangerous this game really can be. In contrast to the prevalent view, I believe indentity politics are themselves divisive. Economic cycles and political cycles come and go, but people can hate each other for generations. Look around the world; I think we can find plenty examples of irrational hatred between ethnic groups, ironically because one group felt they were wronged by another and the political discussions got hijacked by overly zealous politicians. (2) I love Michael Jordan and have nothing against Ellen DeGeneres, but think Robert de Niro made a fool of himself in that video. While this may not interest President Obama, Mr Joe Sutter just passed away: he was the 'Father of the Boeing 747', the lead engineer that designed and built the first B-747 in 1969. Maybe one day someone will do a movie about him, and the actor playing him could win the Presidential Medal of Freedom… (3) An artist in China made a sculpture of a black swan (see the photo below), which was placed in a shopping mall in Beijing on the other side of the street from the headquarters of CSRC (China Securities Regulatory Commission) – the government agency in charge of the securities markets and the agency that intervened to support the Chinese equity markets. This sculpture was quickly removed by government agents, within 3 hours of it being placed there. Months earlier, there were two sculptures of bears (mama bear and a baby bear) that were placed outside the same mall, and they were also removed quickly… Maybe I was wrong for belittling artists and entertainers: they may have the power to bring down the USD9 trillion equity markets in China with a small sculpture…



slj

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Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times

[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/t/landon_jr_thomas/index.html

Saudi Arabia lobbies to amend JASTA law which allows 9/11 victims to sue the Gulf state

Following an extended trip to the United States, Adel al-Jubeir told reporters on Sunday he has been trying "*to persuade [US lawmakers] that there needs to be an amendment of the law,*" the Justice Against Sponsors of Terrorism Act (JASTA), that legitimizes lawsuits by Americans regarding terrorist attacks committed on US soil.

US House adopts 'Sue the Saudis' 9/11 bill

"*We believe the law, that curtails sovereign immunities, represents a grave danger to the international system,*" Jubeir said at a joint press conference with visiting US Secretary of State John Kerry, as cited by AFP news agency. Saudi Arabia has repeatedly expressed these views since the US Congress passed the legislation in September, overriding US President Barack Obama's veto of JASTA. This time, however, negotiations on the matter have already been held, the Saudi minister said.

"*The question now becomes how do you go about amending the law,*" he said.

Fifteen out of the 19 hijackers involved in the 9/11 attacks that killed nearly 3,000 people were Saudi

subjects. The kingdom, however, has denied any ties to the hijackers.

The JASTA law allows attack survivors and relatives of attack victims to file lawsuits against foreign countries for acts of terrorism that kill Americans on US soil. Also known as House Resolution 3815, it creates an exception to the sovereign immunity law introduced in 1976, allowing US citizens to sue foreign governments in US federal court and demand compensation if those governments are proven to bear some responsibility for attacks within the US.

This exception drew concern from many countries – both in the Gulf and globally – that the legislation will erode sovereign immunity, considered one of the founding principles of international relations.

Saudis reject US 9/11 act as threat to sovereignty, Russia says it damages international law

Some British, French, and Dutch lawmakers have threatened retaliatory legislation to allow their courts to pursue US officials, which is why outgoing President Obama vetoed JASTA in the first place, explaining that it would harm American interests as it opens the United States up to private lawsuits over its military missions abroad.

"*The United States is, by eroding [the sovereign immunity] principle, opening the door for other countries to take similar steps and then before you know it international order becomes governed by the law of the jungle,*" the Saudi foreign minister said.

Saudi Arabia recently warned it would pull its money out of the US economy, selling up to $750 billion in US treasury securities and other assets, before lawsuits demanding compensation start pouring in and put these assets in jeopardy. However, responding to a question on whether Saudi Arabia was still reconsidering its investment strategy on Sunday, Jubeir assured reporters that it plans to continue with its investments and does not plan to decrease them.

"*[The Kingdom] has tremendous investments in the United States and we review those investments on a regular basis. There are issues associated with risk, but our objective is to increase those investments. We won't decrease them,*" he said, as cited by Reuters. The US Treasury Department said that the kingdom owned $116.8 billion in securities in the US as of March this year.

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 1/19/2017 11:12:21 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]

Importance: High

Private equity has direct line to new administration

Jan. 19, 2017 12:05 PM ET|By: Stephen Alpher, SA News Editor

There's not just Wilbur Ross who will serve as Commerce Secretary, but also Blackstone (NYSE:BX) CEO Steve Schwarzman who will chair the President's Strategic and Policy Forum, and attorney Jay Clayton - who has advised on numerous major P-E deals - to lead the SEC.

Aside from those official posts, the president-elect has met with the heads of Carlyle Group (NASDAQ:CG) and KKR since his election.

"There seems to be more interest in the advice of real-world practitioners than in the past," says the head of the P-E industry's D.C. lobbying group. "This is encouraging."

Indeed. Among P-E's top priorities is carried interest - one of the few things Trump and Clinton agreed on during the campaign. Carried interest is currently taxed at 23.8% vs. the top ordinary income tax rate of 39.6%. Like Clinton, Trump wanted carried interest taxed as ordinary income, though Trump would lower the top rate to 33%. Other tax law changes Trump is proposing could cut the effective tax rate further - perhaps to as low as 25%, or just marginally higher than currently.

Another big priority is retaining the tax deductibility of interest. Trump wants to give companies the ability to either keep that deduction or pass and gain the ability to immediately expense capital investment. A plan by House Republicans might not be as favorable.

Other players: OAK, APO, FIG, ARES

From: [redacted]]
Sent: 1/23/2017 12:38:34 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Trump

Importance: High

The inauguration was amazing! And in one day, Trump got more fat women walking than Michelle did in 8 years 😬...

Sent from my Windows 10 phone

From: Kathy Ruemmler [[redacted]
Sent: 1/24/2017 4:21:55 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Press: Heatstreat- 'Shady' Israeli Mogul Hires Ex-White House Counsel To Represent Employee Arrested in Inauguration Day Riot, Raising Questions
Attachments: image001.jpg; image005.jpg; image004.jpg; image003.jpg; image007.jpg; image008.jpg; image002.jpg; image006.jpg

Importance: High

Look at this craziness.

Begin forwarded message:

From: <[redacted]>
Date: January 24, 2017 at 10:54:59 AM EST
To: <[redacted]>
Subject: FW: Press: Heatstreat- 'Shady' Israeli Mogul Hires Ex-White House Counsel To Represent Employee Arrested in Inauguration Day Riot, Raising Questions

From: Zuieback, Jamie (DC) <[redacted]
Date: Tuesday, Jan 24, 2017, 10:37 AM
To: Ruemmler, Kathy (DC) <[redacted]>>
Subject: RE: Press: Heatstreat- 'Shady' Israeli Mogul Hires Ex-White House Counsel To Represent Employee Arrested in Inauguration Day Riot, Raising Questions

I'm dying to hear about your weekend. I can't take credit, but I heard someone say that you handling this was like asking your buddies if they had anyone who could fill in for a pick-up game, and somebody sends over LeBron.

From: Ruemmler, Kathy (DC)
Sent: Tuesday, January 24, 2017 10:24 AM
To: Glick, Jamie (DC); Kurlander, Stuart (DC)
Cc: Zuieback, Jamie (DC); Alexander, Kimberly (DC)
Subject: RE: Press: Heatstreat- 'Shady' Israeli Mogul Hires Ex-White House Counsel To Represent Employee Arrested in Inauguration Day Riot, Raising Questions

Gotta love the conspiracy theorists

From: Glick, Jamie (DC) <[redacted]>>
Date: Tuesday, Jan 24, 2017, 10:04 AM
To: Ruemmler, Kathy (DC) <[redacted]>, Kurlander, Stuart (DC) <[redacted]>>
Cc: Zuieback, Jamie (DC) <[redacted]>>, Alexander, Kimberly (DC) <[redacted]>>

Subject: Press: Heatstreat- 'Shady' Israeli Mogul Hires Ex-White House Counsel To Represent Employee Arrested in Inauguration Day Riot, Raising Questions

Hi Kathy and Stuart,

You may have already seen this article, but sharing it just in case you haven't. Please let us know if we can be of any help coordinating with the client's PR firm, which Stuart mentioned that you were doing yesterday.

According to Wikipedia, "Heat Street is a libertarian conservative news, opinion and commentary website. Launched in February 2016, the website is headed by U.S. based British writer and former politician Louise Mensch. It is owned by News Corp under Dow Jones & Company."
Thanks,
Jamie
'Shady' Israeli Mogul Hires Ex-White House Counsel To Represent Employee Arrested in Inauguration Day Riot, Raising Questions<http://heatst.com/politics/shady-israeli-mogul-hires-ex-white-house-counsel-to-represent-employee-arrested-in-inauguration-day-riot-raising-questions/>
By Heat Street Staff| 6:36 pm, January 23, 2017

The mystery surrounding a would-be media magnate — who owns surveillance and security firms working for repressive regimes — is growing.

The questions about Matania (Mati) Kochavi were sparked again this weekend when Kathryn Ruemmler, who until recently was President Obama's White House Counsel, showed up on Saturday morning in local Washington DC court to represent one of the 217 people arrested for rioting on Inauguration Day. [http://heatst.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/ruemmler-obama.jpg?w=300]Kathryn Ruemmler and client.

Ms. Ruemmler said she was there to represent a journalist, on assignment for the media company Vocativ<http://www.vocativ.com/>, who'd gotten swept up with the protesters in the arrests.

Vocativ is owned by Kochavi. Reporters at the courthouse asked why a big gun like Ruemmler, who has long been a specialist in corporate crime, would show up for what would seem to be a misunderstanding involving a journalist doing his job.

Ms. Ruemmler told Buzzfeed that Vocativ is a client of her firm,<https://www.buzzfeed.com/zoetillman/prosecutors-pursue-rioting-charges-over-inauguration-day-pro?utm_term=.gtPej4zon#.cgvzaBvG2> Latham & Watkins. The firm is one of the most prestigious law shops in New York and Washington with partners such as Ruemmler<https://www.lw.com/people/kathrynruemmler> charging thousands of dollars an hour.

She did look somewhat out of place among the lawyers there to defend anarchists and other alleged troublemakers who are charged with rioting, burning a limo and smashing up stores on the streets of the capital. "The individuals charged were generally brought in front of the judge in groups of 10 and were represented by a cadre of public defenders and other court-appointed lawyers," according to Buzzfeed. That was not the case when it came to Vocativ.

Based in New York and Tel Aviv, Vocativ publishes mostly reprints of health studies, aggregated videos for Facebook, and female focused feature pieces. The company which employs a large team of US journalists and ex-Israeli intelligence operatives, claims to use technology from the intelligence world to source its stories. Indeed its founder, Kochavi, has a background in Israeli intelligence, having made his fortune providing security and military grade public safety solutions to the superrich Emirate of Abu Dhabi through an entity called AGT.
[http://heatst.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/abu-dhabi-mosque.jpg?w=300]The Grand Mosque of Abu

Dhabi

AGT was responsible for installing a "unique civil surveillance network in Abu Dhabi that means 'every person is monitored from the moment they leave their doorstep to the moment they return to it,'" according to the noted security publication MiddleEastEye.<http://www.middleeasteye.net/news/uae-israel-surveillance-2104952769> The invasive system is dubbed "Falcon Eye".

Kochavi also owns Israeli security and private intelligence firms 3iMind and Logic Industries. Like Vocativ, 3iMind claims to use "the deep web" to mine information, though in 3iMind's case it provides spy services, not journalistic ones. 3iMind even advertises online that it will spy on "the planning and execution of violent civil unrest" for clients.<https://www.3i-mind.com/use_cases/political-social-unrest/>

The website for Kochavi's mother company<https://www.agtinternational.com/about/>, AGT, claims its current business is using "Internet of Things" technology for entertainment and "fashion" applications in partnership with the giant talent agency WME-IMG … though it's unclear what any of these applications really are<http://www.euroleague.net/final-four/berlin-2016/news/i/6vokoibj5fsgqg4q/heed-the-event-platform-based-joint-venture-between-wme-img-and-agt-international-makes-first-official-foray-into-sports>, and certainly what value they provide for entertainment. Security experts say Internet of Things type sensors could be tied together to monitor crowds for security purposes.

According to Israeli and U.S. Jewish publications, the lines within Kochavi's companies can blur, with Vocativ employees doing work for 3iMind and Logic, and vice versa. So who was this "journalist" arrested amid the unrest on Inauguration Day? Was he actually doing journalism? Or, as some journalists around town have been asking, could he also have been doing surveillance of anti-Trump demonstrators on behalf of an Arab or Israeli client, possibly a foreign government?
[http://heatst.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/aaeaaqaaaaaaaaq5aaaajdq3mjuxmgu2ltg5njmtndi1mc1hzmrhltllyjkynze5zjljmg.jpg?w=300]Kochavi employee Evan Engel (LinkedIn)

A call to Ruemmler was returned by someone identifying himself as a Vocativ spokesperson. He told Heat Street that the arrested employee, Evan Engel, was doing purely journalistic work at the time he was detained.

"The arrest, detainment and rioting charge against journalist Evan Engel who was covering the protests for Vocativ are an affront to the First Amendment and journalistic freedom," the spokesperson said. "Vocativ will vigorously contest this unfounded and outrageous charge."

Kochavi has taken pains to put a different face, unrelated to spying and surveillance, on his American activities. Vocativ acts like a news organization, though it's made little splash (and gets remarkably little web traffic<http://www.alexa.com/siteinfo/vocativ.com>) for an operation so large and expensive.

Kochavi has also shown little hesitation to pay top dollar for access to the most powerful figures in America to provide legitimacy for his American activities. Last fall's Wikipedia data dump revealed that he and his longtime business partner, New York rainmaking lawyer Mary Edelman, offered Bill Clinton millions of dollars to serve as honorary chairman of the company that would become Vocativ. <http://heatst.com/biz/wikileaks-bill-clinton-turned-down-8-million-to-be-honorary-chairman-of-news-site-vocativ/> Clinton turned them down, perhaps nervous about Kochavi who's been described as "a mysterious even somewhat shady character" and the Israeli "version of the old-fashioned arms dealer with a suit and an MBA" by the progressive Jewish blog Tikkun Olam.<https://www.richardsilverstein.com/2014/12/04/israeli-cyber-security-merchant-peddles-wares-secretly-in-united-arab-emirates/>
[http://heatst.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/akochavivivian.jpg?w=260]Matania Kochavi (C) shown with Vivian Schiller (L) chair of Vocativ's executive committee and Danna Rabin (R) AGT's chief operations officer.

And now Kochavi has purchased the services of President Obama's former White House counsel, Ruemmler, whose name was once on the shortlist<http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-ruemmler-attorney-general-nixed-20141024-story.html> for US attorney general. It's a fair question to ask: why was Ruemmler really down in local DC court on a Saturday morning? Why was getting this Vocativ employee off the hook such a high priority? And what, if any, other services has Ruemmler, the corporate crime expert, been providing to Kochavi and his various intelligence operations around the world?

Ruemmler herself has not returned requests for comment.

From: Glick, Jamie (DC)
Sent: Monday, January 23, 2017 6:03 PM
To: Ruemmler, Kathy (DC)
Subject: Press: Buzzfeed and NY Post- Prosecutors Charge Protesters With Rioting Over Inauguration Day Protests

Hi Kathy,

In case you haven't seen, below are a couple of articles and tweets which mention your representation of a journalist employed by Vocativ.

Thanks,
Jamie

Jamie C. Glick
Public Relations Specialist

LATHAM & WATKINS LLP
555 Eleventh Street, NW
Suite 1000
Washington, D.C. 20004-1304
Direct Dial: +[redacted]
Fax: +[redacted]
Email:[redacted]

Prosecutors Charge Protesters With Rioting Over Inauguration Day Protests<https://www.buzzfeed.com/zoetillman/prosecutors-pursue-rioting-charges-over-inauguration-day-pro?utm_term=.mxL7rr54B2#.ygykppRw0v>

More than 200 people are being charged with felony rioting — a charge that carries a maximum sentence of 10 years in jail — after they were arrested during anti-Trump demonstrations on Inauguration Day in DC.
posted on Jan. 21, 2017, at 8:33 p.m.
[Zoe Tillman]<https://www.buzzfeed.com/zoetillman?language=en>
Zoe Tillman<https://www.buzzfeed.com/zoetillman?language=en>
BuzzFeed News Reporter
[https://img.buzzfeed.com/buzzfeed-static/static/2017-01/21/10/asset/buzzfeed-prod-web-09/sub-buzz-24787-1485014343-1.jpg?resize=990:806]

A man arrested during protests in DC on Jan. 20 waits to board a police van. Zoe Tillman / BuzzFeed News

WASHINGTON — As hundreds of thousands of demonstrators gathered<https://www.buzzfeed.com/buzzfeednews/womens-march?utm_term=.wra9MGEmBj#.gtOrQXPW34> on the National Mall to protest President Trump on Saturday, people arrested<https://www.buzzfeed.com/zoetillman/rioters-and-police-are-clash-during-trumps-inauguration> the day before during anti-Trump protests in downtown Washington, DC, made their first appearance in court.

Prosecutors are pursuing charges against all of the 230 people arrested on Friday for rioting, according to the US attorney's office in DC. Although anti-Trump demonstrations on inauguration day were largely peaceful, some turned violent, with participants breaking storefront windows, throwing bricks at police, and running through streets and parks downtown as they were chased by police.

The arraignment hearing at DC Superior Court began on Saturday around 1 p.m. and was still going six hours later. As of 7 p.m., 80 people arrested and charged with felony rioting had come before a judge. The court was expected to continue the hearing through the night until everyone arrested on Friday came through.

The defendants processed so far were released until their next court dates, with the condition that they not be arrested again in DC in the meantime.

Felony rioting is a crime under DC law that carries a maximum penalty of 10 years in jail and a fine of up to $25,000. According to police, six officers were injured in confrontations with demonstrators on Jan. 20, and three of those officers sustained minor head injuries after objects were thrown at them. The DC law defines felony rioting as a group of at least five people who, "by tumultuous and violent conduct and the threat thereof," cause "serious bodily harm" or property damage valued at more than $5,000.

A 21-year-old Texas man was also charged with pointing a laser at at US Park Police helicopter during the protests on Friday. He was arraigned in Superior Court but the case is being moved to federal court.

The individuals charged with rioting were generally brought in front of the judge in groups of 10 and were represented by a cadre of public defenders and other court-appointed lawyers. One exception came early in the hearing, when former White House counsel Kathryn Ruemmler entered an appearance for one of the defendants. Ruemmler said her client was a journalist on assignment filming the demonstrations who was swept up in the arrests.

Ruemmler served as President Obama's White House counsel for three years before going to the law firm Latham & Watkins. Ruemmler told reporters outside of the courtroom that her firm represents Vocativ, the media company that employed her client, which is how she got involved.

Dozens of people came to the courthouse on Saturday to support the arrestees. They cheered as defendants left the courtroom; some of the defendants were walking slowly to keep their shoes on because they had to remove their shoelaces after being arrested. The defendants were held by police overnight. [https://img.buzzfeed.com/buzzfeed-static/static/2017-01/21/20/asset/buzzfeed-prod-web-15/sub-buzz-1449-1485047203-1.jpg?resize=990:743]

Zoe Tillman / BuzzFeed News

By Saturday night, a crowd had gathered outside the courthouse to greet the arrestees, cheering and applauding as they came out. A line of police formed in between the group and the courthouse entrance, and police were

screening people trying to go inside.

Several lawyers offered a preview of their defense strategy during the hearing, arguing that the rioting charge should be dismissed because prosecutors hadn't shown that each defendant was specifically involved in the rioting described in charging documents. Although the defendants were brought out in groups before the judge, they're individually charged.

One lawyer argued that the US attorney's office should recuse from prosecuting the cases because the defendants were charged with participating in anti-Trump riots and Trump was now in charge of the US Department of Justice.

"I appreciate all the creative arguments," Magistrate Judge Rainey Brandt said in response, but she said that at this early stage of the case she only had to find that the government had shown probable cause to move the cases forward.

The defendants are due back in court on various dates in February and March.

1. [https://pbs.twimg.com/profile_images/1849163545/Zoe_Tillman_photo1_bigger.jpg] Zoe Tillman @ZoeTillman <https://twitter.com/ZoeTillman> Jan 21<https://twitter.com/ZoeTillman/status/822908408475095049> Ruemmler told reporters that her law firm Latham & Watkins has done work for the news outlet, Vocativ, which is how she got involved 1 reply 5 retweets 3 likes
2.
3. [https://pbs.twimg.com/profile_images/1849163545/Zoe_Tillman_photo1_bigger.jpg] Zoe Tillman @ZoeTillman <https://twitter.com/ZoeTillman> Jan 21<https://twitter.com/ZoeTillman/status/822908213557415938> One journalist arraigned, lawyer says he was arrested while filming. He's represented by former White House counsel Kathryn Ruemmler 0 replies 19 retweets 36 likes

Inauguration Day protesters may face felony rioting charges<http://nypost.com/2017/01/22/inauguration-day-protesters-may-face-felony-rioting-charges/>

By Sophia Rosenbaum<http://nypost.com/author/sophia-rosenbaum/>
New York Post

January 22, 2017 | 12:55pm

Officials in the nation's capital are throwing the book at anti-Trump protesters —threatening the people who were arrested <http://nypost.com/2017/01/20/dozens-arrested-as-anti-trump-protesters-clash-with-police/> with massive fines and up to 10 years in jail.

The U.S. attorney's office will seek to charge all 230 of the protesters who took to the streets on Inauguration Day — some damaging storefronts and clashing with police — with felony rioting.

As of Saturday evening, 80 people had already been slapped with the heavy charges, which include fines of up to $25,000 and up to 10 years in jail, according to Buzzfeed.<https://www.buzzfeed.com/zoetillman/prosecutors-pursue-rioting-charges-over-inauguration-day-pro?utm_term=.dw6wmWlb#.ahOrz1yD>

Felony rioting is defined in D.C. law by at least five people who use “tumultuous and violent conduct of the threat thereof” to cause “serious bodily harm” and instigate more than $5,000 in property damage.

Six local officers were injured by protesters during Trump’s big day. The glass windows of several businesses were shattered in downtown D.C. including Bank of America, McDonald’s and Starbucks.

All of the people who have already been charged were released on their own recognizance and given their next court appearance dates.

At least one of those arrested was a Vocativ journalist covering the protests, and he was defended by heavy-hitter and former White House attorney Kathryn Ruemmler, Buzzfeed reported.

This email may contain material that is confidential, privileged and/or attorney work product for the sole use of the intended recipient. Any review, reliance or distribution by others or forwarding without express permission is strictly prohibited. If you are not the intended recipient, please contact the sender and delete all copies.

Latham & Watkins LLP

From: Barbro Ehnbom[redacted]]
Sent: 1/24/2017 9:56:23 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Do a good deed today...
Attachments: Don't make America sick again.docx

Importance: High

Easy enough! :-)

-----Original Message-----
From: [redacted]>
To: Barbro Ehnbom <[redacted]
Sent: Tue, Jan 24, 2017 4:45 pm
Subject: Fwd: Do a good deed today...

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From:[redacted] <[redacted]>
Date: January 24, 2017 at 4:17:59 PM EST
To: [redacted]>
Subject: Do a good deed today...

Here's something simple we all can do today...

Diana Chapman Walsh was president of Wellesley College 8 years ago. She recently emailed her former colleagues the following idea:

Listen Up! The Republicans need to get the message from the majority of Americans that we value and need the benefits of Obamacare. Here's how we do that.

On January 23rd, everyone who feels that way (our numbers are legion) sends a note to Donald Trump with a simple message:

"Don't make America sick again. Improve Obamacare. Don't repeal it."

One envelope for every ACA supporter in your household…even if they are under 18 years old.

Just that simple message. Put it in an envelope, and put a stamp on it.

On January 23rd, mail it to:

Pres. Donald Trump

1600 Pennsylvania Ave NW,

Washington, DC 20500

Can you imagine the picture of 53 MILLION letters arriving at the White House by January 26th? It will be a mountain. That image might help deter the Republicans from killing the most substantial improvement to American healthcare since the discovery of Penicillin.

Do it today! Drop it into a mailbox near you on Monday, January 23rd.

Please send this email to 20 (or more) of your friends, neighbors ann fellow Americans. Ask them to do the same.

This also helps out the US Postal Service, with about $20 Million of stamp sales.

Don't send emails to Trump…they don't photograph well.

I attached a document with the text so you can just print it and put it in the envelope

[redacted]
cell: [redacted]
email: [redacted]

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 1/25/2017 3:23:20 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Peter Thiel, Trump Adviser, Has a Backup Country: New Zealand

Importance: High

https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/25/technology/peter-thiel-new-zealand-citizenship.html

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
tel [redacted]
fax
cell [redacted]

From: Robert Lawrence Kuhn [redacted]
Sent: 2/13/2017 11:08:13 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Kuhn
Attachments: TSC Shanghai Program Update.pdf; Untitled attachment 431541.htm

Importance: High

Great talking. Covered lots. All fun!

Attached is the Shanghai Science of Consciousness program (Stuart Hameroff put together; I advised).

Gregory Chaitin on Closer To Truth - https://www.closertotruth.com/contributor/gregory-chaitin/profile (scroll down for videos).

My Bloomberg TV on Trump/China (Feb. 1, pre Trump-Xi call)
- https://www.dropbox.com/s/o06wvejllmsi917/Dr%20Kuhn%20Bloomberg%20Daybreak%20-%20Asia.mov?dl=0 -

Appreciate discussing "Science of Sleep & Dreams" - I'll pull together significance of recent research/discoveries yielding inflection point, such that timing is propitious for the definitive TV series benchmarking the field and making impact.

Warmest, Robert

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 2/15/2017 7:04:23 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Alert - TIC Form SHC Deadline Approaching

Importance: High

not sure if this applies to Leon

The reporting threshold for Schedule 2 is $200 million in total fair value of all foreign securities owned by the SHC Reporter and not held with a U.S.-resident custodian

REGULATORY & COMPLIANCE ALERT FEBRUARY 15, 2017

TIC Form SHC Deadline Approaching - Form Deadline is March 3, 2017

The U.S. Department of the Treasury recently released a revised Form SHC. Form SHC, which is part of the Treasury International Capital ("TIC") data reporting system, is the mandatory five-year benchmark survey of the ownership of foreign securities by U.S. residents. Absent an announcement of a delay from the Trump administration, the report is due to the Federal Reserve Board of NY ("FRBNY") by March 3, 2017 for data reportable as of December 31, 2016.

All U.S. resident custodians and end-investors with holdings of foreign portfolio securities above the reporting thresholds must report. In addition, all U.S.-resident custodians and end-investors that are notified by the FRBNY are required to file a report.

The reporting threshold for Schedule 2 is $200 million in total fair value of all foreign securities owned by the SHC Reporter and not held with a U.S.-resident custodian. The reporting threshold for Schedule 3 is $200 million in total fair value of foreign securities held with any one unaffiliated U.S.-resident custodian that is not a central securities depository.

Custodians are all organizations that hold securities in safekeeping for other organizations. Most U.S.-resident custodians also invest in foreign securities for their own account. U.S.-resident custodians should report both the foreign portfolio securities held in safekeeping for other U.S. residents and their own foreign portfolio securities.

End-investors are U.S.-resident organizations that invest in foreign securities for their own portfolios or invest on behalf of others, such as investment managers/fund sponsors. This includes securities that are held-for-trading, available-for-sale, or held-to-maturity. U.S.-resident end-investors include, but are not limited to:

- Financial and non-financial organizations
- Managers of private and public pension funds
- Managers/sponsors of funds, country funds, unit-investment funds, exchange-traded funds, collective-investment trusts, hedge funds or any other similarly pooled, commingled funds. Also managers/sponsors of private equity companies, venture capital companies, hedge funds and other private investment vehicles
- Insurance companies
- Foundations
- Institutions of higher learning
- Trusts and estates
- Funds and similar entities that own shares or units of, or other portfolio equity interests in, a foreign related or non-related entity

Form SHC is comprised of three schedules:

Schedule 1 - Must be filed by all entities that 1) receive a copy of the SHC forms and instructions from the FRBNY, or 2) are notified by the FRBNY that they are required to file the SHC report. Schedule 1 requests information that identifies the reporter. It also provides contact information, indicates the reporting status, and summarizes the data, if any, reported on Schedule 2 and/or Schedule 3.

Schedule 2 - Used to report detailed information on foreign securities owned by U.S.-resident investors (1) that the reporter safe-keeps for itself or for its U.S.-resident clients or (2) for which the reporter directly employs foreign-resident sub-custodians or U.S.-resident or foreign-resident central securities depositories (CSDs) to manage the safekeeping of those securities (Foreign securities in safekeeping with U.S.-resident CSDs are reportable on Schedule 2.) or (3) that are instruments of the type that there is no U.S. custodian to manage the safekeeping of those securities.

Schedule 3 - Used to report summary amounts for all foreign securities entrusted to the safekeeping of a U.S.-resident custodian, excluding those entrusted to a U.S. - resident CSD.

Completed reports may be submitted to the FRBNY on paper or electronically through the Federal Reserve Reporting Central System. Additional information and a copy of the Form SCH are available here.

If you have any questions regarding this *Alert*, please contact Dan Viola at dviola@sglawyers.com.

Sadis & Goldberg LLP

Please feel free to discuss any aspect of this *Alert* with your regular Sadis & Goldberg contact whose names and contact information are provided below.

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Sent by sgalert@sglawyers.com

BOOTHBAY
FUND MANAGEMENT, LLC

February 16, 2017

In the fourth quarter of 2016, Boothbay Absolute Return Strategies, LP (the "Fund") earned a net return of approximately +**0.04%.**[1,2]

	October	November	December	2016	ITD	Sharpe ITD*	Sortino ITD*
Boothbay Absolute Return Strategies, L.P	-0.14%	-0.05%	0.23%	3.84%	16.09%	2.25	6.37
S&P 500	**-1.94%**	**3.42%**	**1.82%**	**9.54%**	**14.21%**	**0.51**	**0.93**
HFRX : Equity Market Neutral	**-0.13%**	**-0.04%**	**-1.07%**	**-5.08%**	**2.51%**	**0.23**	**0.48**
HFRX : Absolute Return	**-0.39%**	**-0.16%**	**0.20%**	**0.31%**	**2.13%**	**0.36**	**0.98**
HFRX : Global Hedge Fund	**-0.57%**	**0.87%**	**0.86%**	**2.50%**	**-3.50%**	**-0.42**	**-0.43**

** For Sharpe/Sortino Ratio calculations, 1-Month LIBOR is set as the risk free rate.*

Since the Fund opened on July 1, 2014, it has returned **16.10**%.[1,2] In that period, the Fund's largest month-to-month drawdown has been -1.4%, versus -8.9% for the S&P 500, -1.5% for the HFRX Absolute Return Index, -8.9% for the HFRX Global Hedge Fund Index and -5.3% for the HFRX Market Neutral Index.

Performance and Commentary

We ended 2016 with a slightly positive quarter, bringing net performance for the year to +3.84%. Consistent with the trend seen earlier in the year, 2016 has been described by investors and financial media as among the worst years for multi-manager multi-strategy firms, on both an absolute and risk-adjusted return basis. While we consider earning +3.84% to be disappointing for our strategy on an absolute return basis, doing so with a maximum drawdown of 1.4%, and in what was a challenging environment for low-net exposure relative value strategies, leaves us viewing 2016 as a "good" bad year.

For a second consecutive year, the Fund generated positive net returns overall on the days when the S&P 500 Index was negative. The S&P had 121 losing days in 2016 (producing losses of over -66% in total)[3] and on those days, we were positive approximately 55% of the time, and generated almost half of our total net returns for the year. Given that we aim to be a protector of capital in markets that most managers will lose capital, this sampling is especially gratifying. As we look forward, we remain as encouraged as ever that our combination of unique "niche" strategies and strategies with structural edge, alongside our allocations to low-beta alpha-generating stock pickers and quantitative portfolio managers, will deliver strong risk-adjusted returns over various market cycles.

Before going into the performance attribution for Q4 and 2016 overall, we want to re-visit a topic discussed in our Q1 2016 letter related to hedge fund crowding, which investors have continued to ask us about the past several months. The question raised is typically some variation of the following: Given that Boothbay allocates to low-net equity focused managers, who may have similar strategies to those that comprise other multi-manager platforms, why has Boothbay been less-exposed to deleveraging and hedge fund crowding

[1] Assumes Boothbay Absolute Return Strategies, LP, Onshore Accelerator Share Class 1A (2-year lock and 14% incentive allocation).
[2] Performance figures reported herein are shown unaudited, net of fees/allocations and expenses; include the reinvestment of dividends, capital gains, and other earnings; and may be subject to adjustment.
[3] S&P 500 negative-return analysis calculated using Bloomberg closing prices for SPX Index.

effects, which seem to impact other multi-manager funds in a greater way?

Platform Beta

Equity market performance is a large predictor of returns for many long/short equity hedge funds, due to the large equity beta exposure with which many funds run.[4] At Boothbay, we generally run with limited net equity market exposure (on average 6-8% historically) and have maintained low correlation to market indices. While the sources of our returns will generally be idiosyncratic, there is no question that the tremendous amount of capital that has flown into the low-net multi-manager, i.e. "platform", category, has created an even greater risk of exposure to "Platform Beta" for some of our managers, even while avoiding broader equity market beta.

Platform Beta is a term we have heard used to describe the overlap of long and short positions, across some of the largest market-neutral, multi-manager hedge fund managers. While these overlapping names may be viewed as "smart money" positioning in some sense, there is also meaningful risk associated with being in crowded longs and shorts due to the viciousness of the cascading effects when these portfolios are being liquidated, or re-sized quickly, as we observed in Q1 2016. For a variety of reasons, we believe that Platform Beta has a true positive expectancy over time and with much less risk than other traditional factor risks, especially ones taken on by long-only or long-biased investors. While we consider it to be an obvious goal to avoid material exposure to all known market risk factors, we also attempt to reduce our more difficult to measure Platform Beta exposure when possible. Despite the positive return expectation of Platform Beta, we do not think a large or concentrated exposure to this factor is beneficial. Perhaps even more importantly, we do not believe that all alpha is created equally, and we are trying to provide the most uncorrelated alpha as possible to our investors.

So how do we minimize overexposure to Platform Beta? We can monitor data that imperfectly points to crowded names or themes, but the most direct way we seek to avoid crowded names is through our overall portfolio construction and manager-selection process. This is demonstrated in our continued focus on "First Loss" allocations as well as investments in the strategy category we call "Other", which is comprised of niche strategies outside our more traditional long/short fundamental and quantitative strategies. These alternative categories have served as a valuable source of alpha as well as diversification away from Platform Beta. Additionally, even in our more traditional strategies, we focus on allocating to smaller managers who can have larger parts of their portfolios in smaller capitalization companies, which tend to be less trafficked by the larger funds, and therefore are also less subject to the effects of large industry deleveraging. We cannot avoid all of the dangers of hedge fund deleveraging but our conscious attempts to target differentiated strategies, and to limit concentration, has allowed us to be less impacted by these flows than several other multi-manager platforms.

Portfolio Attribution and Risk

Within our Multi-Strategy platform, the "Other" category was the largest contributor for both Q4 and 2016 overall, contributing gross returns of +0.82% in Q4 and +2.19% YTD. The remaining quarterly and full-year gross return attribution within the Multi-Strategy platform were: "Fundamental L/S" at -0.86% in Q4 and +1.16% YTD, and "Quantitative" at 0.29% in Q4 and -1.53% YTD. Our First Loss platform allocations contributed gross-returns of +0.72% in Q4 and +6.60% YTD.[5]

The Fund averaged approximately 0.39% daily Value at Risk during Q4 vs. 0.41% in Q3 (95% Confidence Interval, excluding First-Loss allocations). As stated in last quarter's letter, we expect to see an increase in our VaR during Q1 2017 primarily through a combination of new manager allocations and a pick-up in overall market volatility due to macro events on the horizon. We expect the Trump Presidency, additional

[4] For example, Goldman Sachs Prime Services reported hedge fund net exposure to be between 50% and 67% throughout 2016. (Goldman Sachs Securities Division: Prime Services Weekly 12.22.2016)

[5] Performance Attribution figures reported herein are shown unaudited, gross of fees/allocations and expenses; include the reinvestment of dividends, capital gains, and other earnings; and may be subject to adjustment.

interest rate hikes by the Fed, and global geopolitical catalysts (e.g. elections, referendums) in 2017 to contribute to a rise in market volatility. These factors should help us to approach our target daily VaR of 0.80%, and also provide an attractive environment for many of our strategies to generate alpha. While having more risk on the balance sheet does imply that our return volatility and drawdowns will be larger, it is reasonable to expect that any positive returns would increase as well.

Manager Attribution:

- For the fourth quarter of 2016, 42% of "Fundamental L/S," 45% of "Quantitative," and 67% of "Other" managers were profitable.

- The top five performing managers contributed 38% of the quarterly total positive return, with the largest single manager positively contributing 9%. The bottom five performing managers made up 56% of negative returns, with the largest single manager negatively contributing 17%.

- While 2015 was a stronger year for our strategy overall compared to 2016, we were pleased to see a continual diversification of return attribution across our managers in 2016. The below statistics compare 2016 with 2015 and present a similar picture of limited return concentration.

		Positive Attribution	**Negative Attribution**
2016	Total	15.94%	-7.42%
	Top 5 Contributors	6.48%	-2.54%
	Largest Contribution	2.25%	-0.67%

2015	Total	22.77%	-6.92%
	Top 5 Contributors	7.31%	-3.55%
	Largest Contribution	1.82%	-1.03%

- As of December 2016, the Multi-Strategy platform had 28 Fundamental L/S Equity managers, 23 Quantitative managers, 10 "Other" managers (these Multi-Strategy platform figures include 9 Hybrid allocations[6]), and 13 First-Loss managers.

Assets Under Management

As of January 1, 2017, Boothbay's total AUM was approximately **$190 million** ($230 million including capital from First-Loss share class).

As always, I am available to answer all investment and business inquiries. Peter Bremberg and Daniel Bloom are available to answer any questions related to financial operations.

Sincerely,

Ari Glass
Managing Member
Boothbay Fund Management LLC

[6] "Hybrid allocations" refers to accounts for which we have both a First-Loss and Multi-Strategy investment.

IMPORTANT DISCLOSURES

The information presented herein is confidential and proprietary, and may not be (i) used by, or on behalf of, you for any purpose other than evaluating an initial or continued investment in Boothbay Absolute Return Strategies, LP (the "Fund"), or (ii) disclosed by, or on behalf of, you to any third party, in each case except with the prior written consent of Boothbay Fund Management, LLC ("Boothbay"). This communication is for information purposes only and is not intended as an offer or solicitation with respect to the purchase or sale of any security.

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Performance figures (which include the reinvestment of dividends, capital gains and other earnings) included herein are based on unaudited information, may be subject to adjustment and are shown net of fees/allocations and expenses. Results for individual investors may vary based on, among other things, the timing of capital contributions and withdrawals.

An investment in the Fund is speculative and involves a high degree of risk. Past performance is not necessarily indicative of future results. There can be no assurances that the Fund will continue to have a similar return on invested capital because, among other reasons, there may be differences in economic and market conditions, regulatory and political climate, portfolio size, investment opportunities, expenses and structure. Accordingly, when deciding to make an investment, potential investors are urged to review carefully all disclosure documentation, including the Fund's confidential private offering memorandum, and consult with their counsel and advisers.

This material is not intended to represent the rendering of accounting, tax, legal or regulatory advice. A change in the facts or circumstances of any transaction could materially affect the accounting, tax, legal or regulatory treatment for that transaction. Nothing herein should be interpreted to represent concentration limits, exit strategies or sector allocation guidelines, all of which are subject to change without notice.

References to the S&P500 and any other benchmark(s) referred to herein are for illustrative purposes only. Any such benchmarks are included merely to show general trends in the markets in the periods indicated and are not intended to imply that the Fund's portfolio is similar to any such benchmarks either in composition or risk. Comparisons to benchmarks have limitations because natural characteristics of such benchmarks, such as volatility, among other things, are likely to differ from those of the Fund. Boothbay does not attempt to track a benchmark and there is no guarantee that the Fund will meet or exceed any such benchmark.

From: Thomas Jr., Landon [redacted]
Sent: 3/17/2017 4:29:23 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Did you see that Trump retweeted my story?

Importance: High

I think my wife is going to change the lock on the door tonight.
https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/842739155230740481

--
Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/t/landon_jr_thomas/index.html

From: Thorbjøn Jagland [redacted]]
Sent: 4/16/2017 3:23:31 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

You should feel well for having done so much for us
søn. 16. apr. 2017 kl. 11.12 skrev jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>:

> I'll be better I feel terrible having to cut your stay short . There is much going on . Many investigations will begin
>
> On Sun, Apr 16, 2017 at 11:04 AM Thorbjøn Jagland <[redacted] wrote:
>
> > Hope you recover quickly. We have had wonderful days. Tell me when you are coming to Paris so that we can talk. I really don't understand Trump. Today I have to deal with the referendum in Turkey. Endogan is another difficult to understand
> > T
>
> --
>
> please note
> The information contained in this communication is confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may constitute inside information, and is intended only for the use of the addressee. It is the property of
> JEE
> Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited and may be unlawful. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and destroy this communication and all copies thereof, including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: David Stern [redacted]
Sent: 4/22/2017 5:46:37 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Plus: my senior Chinese friends tell me the top gave Trump the go ahead to take on North Korea.
No idea if it's real.

On 22 Apr 2017, at 18:23, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

[redacted]

On Sat, Apr 22, 2017 at 11:00 AM David Stern <[redacted]> wrote:
When can I call you ?
--
please note
The information contained in this communication is
confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may
constitute inside information, and is intended only for
the use of the addressee. It is the property of
JEE
Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this
communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited
and may be unlawful. If you have received this
communication in error, please notify us immediately by
return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
Sent: 6/23/2017 9:48:45 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: long time, no talk...

Importance: High

fyi

From: Greg Farrell (BLOOMBERG/ NEWSROOM:) [redacted]
Sent: Friday, June 23, 2017 11:32 AM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: RE: long time, no talk...

It's about you: I'm told on good authority that Jared wants you as his atty. That's worth a story, if true...

Greg Farrell
Bloomberg News
office: [redacted]
cell: [redacted]

From: [redacted] At: 06/23/17 11:28:26
To: GREG FARRELL (BLOOMBERG/ NEWSROOM:)
Subject: RE: long time, no talk...

Yup.....like, respect and trust you and ain 't saying sh to anyone on or off the record about Russia/trump/comey etc....hard line....if I can help you on anything completely unrelated will

---

From: Greg Farrell (BLOOMBERG/ NEWSROOM:) [redacted]
Sent: Friday, June 23, 2017 11:25 AM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject: Re: long time, no talk...

So Oetken moved it to 506, instead of 706....

Anyway....got a quick moment to talk today?

Greg Farrell
Bloomberg News
office: [redacted]
cell: [redacted]

From: [redacted] At: 06/20/17 18:18:54

To: GREG FARRELL (BLOOMBERG/ NEWSROOM:)
Subject: Re: long time, no talk...

In trial in sdny

Sent from my BlackBerry 10 smartphone.

From: Greg Farrell (BLOOMBERG/ NEWSROOM:)
Sent: Tuesday, June 20, 2017 11:54 AM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Reply To: Greg Farrell
Subject: long time, no talk...

Hi Reid,

per my vm, I'm chasing a few DC-related legal stories and was hoping you might be able to help me out.

Got any time in the next few days?

Thanks,

Greg

p.s. Any word from Bernie E? Given Skilling's reduction, Bernie certainly deserves a second look, no?

Greg Farrell
Bloomberg News
office: [redacted]
cell: [redacted]

From: soon yi previn [redacted]
Sent: 6/30/2017 2:23:16 AM
To: soon yi previn [[redacted]]
Subject: Funny dog video of a dog gnawing at Donald Trump's hair.
Attachments: IMG_0642.MP4.mov; ATT00001.txt

Importance: High

Document Produced in Native Format

Invesco Global Sovereign Asset Management Study 2017

This study is not intended for members of the public or retail investors.
Full audience information is available inside the front cover.

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Cover
Aerial view of Midtown South, New York

Introduction

We published our first report on the sovereign asset management industry in 2013 following interviews with 43 sovereign investors. This year marks our fifth annual study with evidence-based findings based predominantly on face-to-face interviews with 97 leading sovereign wealth funds, state pension funds and central banks with assets in excess of US$12 trillion.

Over the past five years we've noted a number of factors influencing sovereigns such as low interest rates, the falling oil price and reduced funding. This year however we note geopolitical shocks in developed markets are shaping decision making. When coupled with uncertainty over the end of quantitative easing, the commencement of quantitative tightening and ongoing volatility in currencies and commodities it's clear sovereign investors are faced with a challenging macroeconomic and therefore investment environment.

The first theme in this year's report addresses the aforementioned factors and notes a continuing return gap between target and actual returns with asset deployment challenges limiting the ability for sovereigns to match strategic asset allocation targets. We note sovereigns are increasingly looking to evolve their business models through internalisation or investment partnerships to reduce management costs and improve placement efficiency.

Geopolitical risks have led to an increased concentration on perceived 'safe haven' international markets such as the US, India and Germany as well as an increasing focus on home market allocations in an effort to reduce foreign currency exposure.

We focus on real estate in our third theme, highlighting accelerated growth in the asset class. We examine the drivers for these allocations as well as setting out how and where assets are being deployed.

Despite sovereigns being well placed to implement Environmental, social and governance (ESG) strategies due to their size and long-term orientation, the uptake of ESG practices by sovereigns appears to have varying success. We highlight sovereigns' polarised perspectives on ESG investing across various regions.

We conclude with a theme focused on central banks. This year we have expanded and segmented our central bank sample to understand differences in strategy and pace of change with respect to investment tranches across developed and emerging markets.

We hope the unique, evidence-based findings in this year's report provide a valuable insight into a fascinating and important group of investors.

Key themes

Shift from investment strategy to business model
The gap between target and actual portfolio returns along with declines in investment commitments are reshaping sovereigns' strategic agendas.

Increasing appeal of perceived 'safe haven' markets
Geopolitical uncertainty is leading to a focus on perceived 'safe haven' international markets and home markets.

Attraction to real estate for matching and flexible participation
Sovereigns are increasing allocations to high-quality direct real estate given perceived return, matching and flexibility attributes.

Environmental, social and governance (ESG) growth dependent on performance data
Perspectives on ESG are polarised with supporters moving to further embed and integrate ESG in investment processes while non-supporters wait for evidence of investment implications.

Central bank risk appetite driven by financial market exposure
Central bank investment priorities and risk appetite vary according to the size of the country's reserves and to the level of exposure to financial market shocks.

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+44 1491 416180

igsams.invesco.com
to view more content on this year's themes

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026681

Sovereign segmentation is crucial to understanding attitudes and responses to external themes
Economic challenges affect sovereigns differently, according to their liabilities, risk appetites, funding dynamics and other factors. We use the framework in figure 1 to categorise sovereign investors. We will explore the unique implications of the themes in this report for each of these segments.

Investment sovereigns
Investment sovereigns do not have any liabilities, allowing for long time horizons and high exposure to illiquid asset classes. Due to this investment freedom, return targets are high – investment sovereigns have responded to falling returns by targeting greater illiquid asset exposure (to generate higher returns) and developing internal management capability (to capture more of the value chain), however many funds are reaching limits on these allocations.

Liability sovereigns
Liability sovereigns are split into funds with existing outflows (current liability sovereigns) and funds with future liabilities (partial liability sovereigns). While partial liability sovereigns have similar strategies to investment sovereigns (due to their long time horizons), matching outflows is a key concern for funds with current liabilities. The return gap is therefore of particular significance to liability sovereigns and many funds expect their target rates to eventually increase as they update models to lower 'risk free' rates and increasing life expectancy. To manage these concerns, many current liability sovereigns are seeking greater exposure to high-yielding asset classes.

Fig 1. Sovereign profile segmentation

	Sovereigns and central banks	
Primary objective	Investment only	Investment & liability
Global sovereign profile	Investment sovereigns (INV)	Liability sovereigns (LIA)
Sovereign investors	←	

[1]Central banks have secondary liquidity objectives as well as primary capital preservation objectives. They are distinct from sovereigns through their role in local market money supply and their regulatory function.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026682

Liquidity sovereigns
Liquidity sovereigns manage assets to stimulate economies that are highly dependent on commodity prices during a market shock. Due to the unpredictable and sudden nature of outflows, liquidity sovereigns have extremely short time horizons and prioritise portfolio liquidity above investment returns. Despite low yields of government bonds, liquidity sovereigns are unable to seek higher returns from alternative asset classes due to the inherent liquidity risk.

Development sovereigns
The asset and geographic allocation of development sovereigns is driven by the requirement to encourage local economic growth (rather than investment return). Development sovereigns take large (often controlling) stakes in companies of economic significance in order to grow their presence in the local market. While other sovereigns adjust allocations to maximise their asset growth and yield, development sovereigns consider their success in economic metrics such as GDP growth and job creation, working closely with their investments to grow long-term strategic assets. This means that development funds are relatively unreactive to return shortfalls and asset allocation trends.

Central banks
Central banks are 'lenders of last resort' – managers of a large foreign reserves portfolio to bail out financial institutions of public importance. Due to the importance of maintaining reserves to sufficiently cover such requirements, preservation of capital is of greatest importance. Central banks also have high levels of public accountability and disclosure, encouraging risk aversion through short time horizons and highly liquid investments. While other sovereigns invest in home market assets, central bank reserve managers hold the majority of their assets in foreign securities, increasing the importance of currency exposure relative to other sovereigns.

Unlike sovereign investors, central banks have objectives outside of reserves management, including local market liquidity management and maintenance of currency pegs. Since these external factors have influence over the foreign reserves, in this study we consider central banks separately from sovereign investors. However, as many government bonds have negative yields, certain central banks have looked to invest in non-traditional asset classes (e.g. equities) to preserve their capital, closer aligning their foreign reserves investment strategy to that of sovereign wealth funds.

Funding challenges and the low return environment have unique implications for each sovereign segment.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026683

Shift from investment strategy to business model
The gap between target and actual portfolio returns along with declines in investment commitments are reshaping sovereigns' strategic agendas.

1

Worlds highest and longest glass Bridge as of 2016 in Zhangjiajie, China

The outlook for macro policy and for the geopolitical environment remains uncertain

Our fifth annual cycle of interviews took place between January and March 2017. In speaking with leading sovereign investors and central banks (with assets in excess of US$12 trillion) we identified a number of critical themes that shaped interview responses. Unsurprisingly, we noted that the outlook for macro policy and the potential for further geopolitical shocks dominated discussions.

- Sovereigns see the end of QE (Quantitative Easing) without a clear indication as to the form or timeframe for further QT (Quantitative Tightening). While the US has begun to raise interest rates, the Federal Reserve is engaged in parallel measures that may reduce the quantum and pace of further increases; and there is uncertainty whether and when other major markets will follow suit
- The bifurcation of the US and other developed markets (notably the UK, Germany and Japan) had significant implications for currency rates, challenging sovereign geographic allocations
- Political change in developed markets (notably Brexit and the US election) created volatility in sovereign portfolios, challenging the robustness of sovereign risk models. As policy changes are worked through governments (e.g. the terms of Brexit and US corporate tax reform), there will be wider implications for long-term geographic and asset allocation
- Emerging markets face various macro challenges, with commodity prices recovering slowly (e.g. oil, natural gas and copper) and an increasingly unstable political outlook in Brazil and South Africa

Sovereigns face a continuing 'return gap'

These dynamics suggest a continuation of the 'lower rates, lower return' environment over at least the next 24 months. While the lower return environment has been a consistent theme in past years, in 2017 the implications are compounded, with low interest rates the factor of greatest importance to both strategic and tactical asset allocations in figure 2. Risk asset valuations have inflated over a number of years, while the near-uniform tilt to alternatives such as infrastructure has resulted in supply challenges and delays.

In 2016, all sovereign profiles displayed a return gap (figure 3), driven by the low interest rate environment, however this shortfall was greatest among investment sovereigns. Traditionally, liability sovereigns have hedged fixed income against inflation (due to the focus on matching outflows to beneficiaries), while investment sovereigns have left their inflation exposure open. This has led to investment sovereigns having the greatest return gaps, as developed economies return to growth and inflation rises. While liquidity and development sovereigns are also suffering from low interest rates, respondents noted that investment returns were of secondary importance, relative to liquidity and development objectives. Furthermore, liquidity sovereigns noted that their long-duration fixed income assets had increased in value as rates fell.

Against this, sovereigns are challenged by fixed return targets, which are typically set to match potential liabilities and do not adjust to market conditions. Despite return challenges, we do not see a concurrent shift in investment activity year-on-year (as we go on to explore).

The challenges of the return gap are most severe among investment sovereigns.

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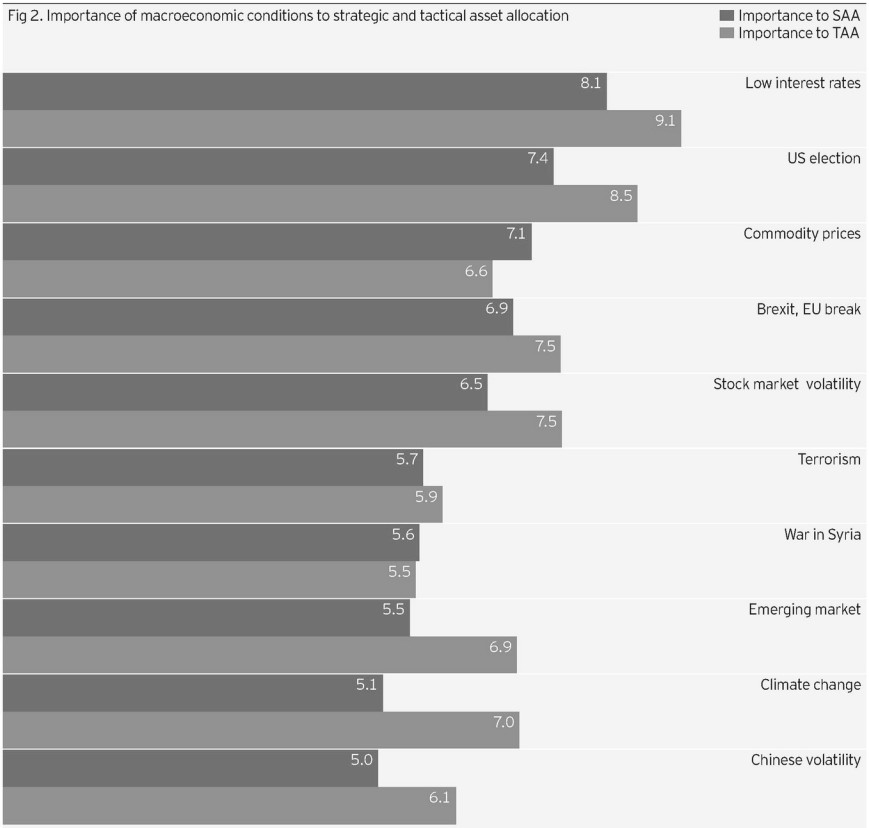
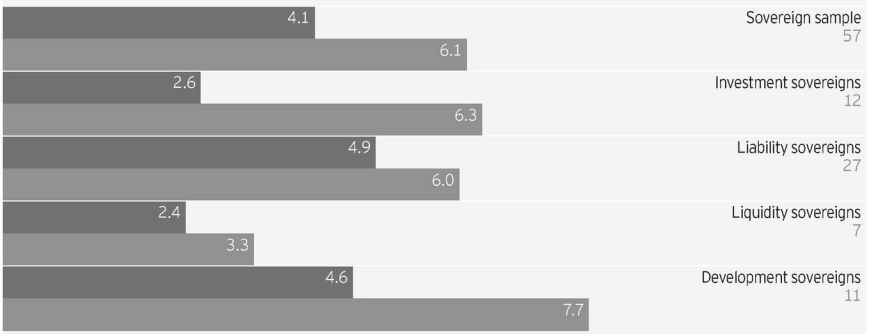
Fig 2. Importance of macroeconomic conditions to strategic and tactical asset allocation



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks. SAA=Strategic Asset Allocation. TAA=Tactical Asset Allocation. Sample=20.

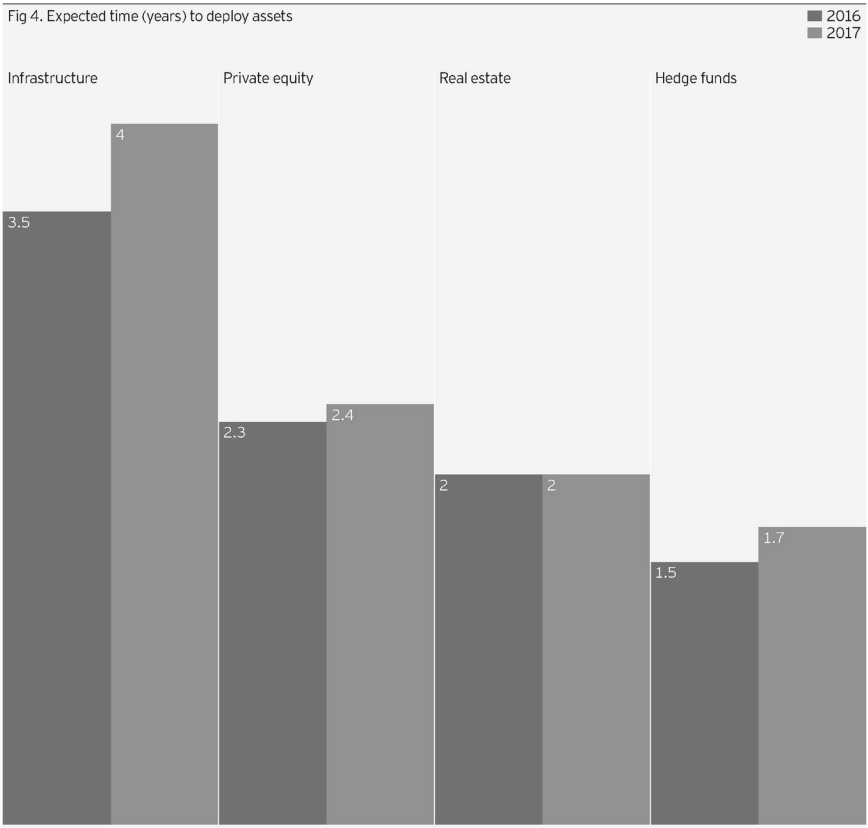
Fig 3. Past year returns and target returns (% AUM)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks. Sample size shown in grey. Data is not weighted by AUM.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026687

Fig 4. Expected time (years) to deploy assets



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks.
Sample: 2016=21, 2017=35.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026688

Deployment challenges are limiting sovereign ability to match targets

In previous reports, we observed sovereigns' return gaps, driven by low interest rates and challenging targets for fixed income allocations. We have also noted how appetite for alternatives has grown as sovereigns seek greater returns from private markets. In last year's report, we demonstrated that high levels of competition in infrastructure and private equity were causing sovereigns to shift deployment of real assets towards real estate.

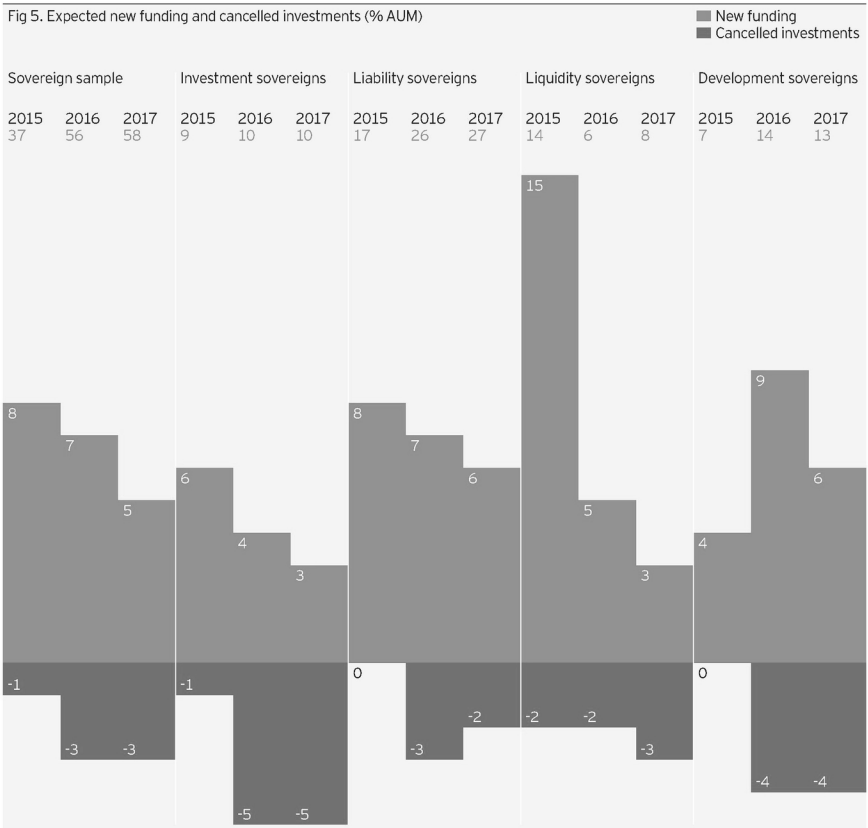
Competition for infrastructure and private equity deals has accelerated in 2016, with deployment times increasing across alternative asset classes (figure 4). While the growth in these times is small, it is significant: sovereigns are increasingly dependent on their alternative investments to generate yields, however, growing levels of undeployed capital for alternative investments are being held in cash and money market funds, so that sovereigns can respond quickly when real asset opportunities arise. These highly liquid investments offer limited returns, particularly in comparison to sovereign targets for real asset investments, causing further growth in the return gap.

Risk of fund withdrawals is slowing further illiquid asset investment

The ability of sovereigns to respond to the return gap is being limited by the increasing likelihood of withdrawals. Over the past three years, governments have responded to economic volatility by reducing new funding to sovereigns and, in some cases, drawing down from sovereign reserves, as seen in figure 5.

While previously only liability sovereigns experienced regular drawdown of funds (in the form of outflows to beneficiaries), an increasing propensity for government withdrawals is encouraging investment and liquidity sovereigns to consider the liquidity of their portfolio. Liquidity sovereigns were comfortable in their ability to withdraw from their portfolio at short notice, however, many sovereigns stated that liquidity management was an entirely new objective, with certain investment sovereigns responding by creating tactical allocations to cash and money market funds. This has led to conflicting liquidity requirements: sovereigns have to manage withdrawal risks by shortening time horizons while simultaneously seeking to access illiquidity premia to generate greater returns.

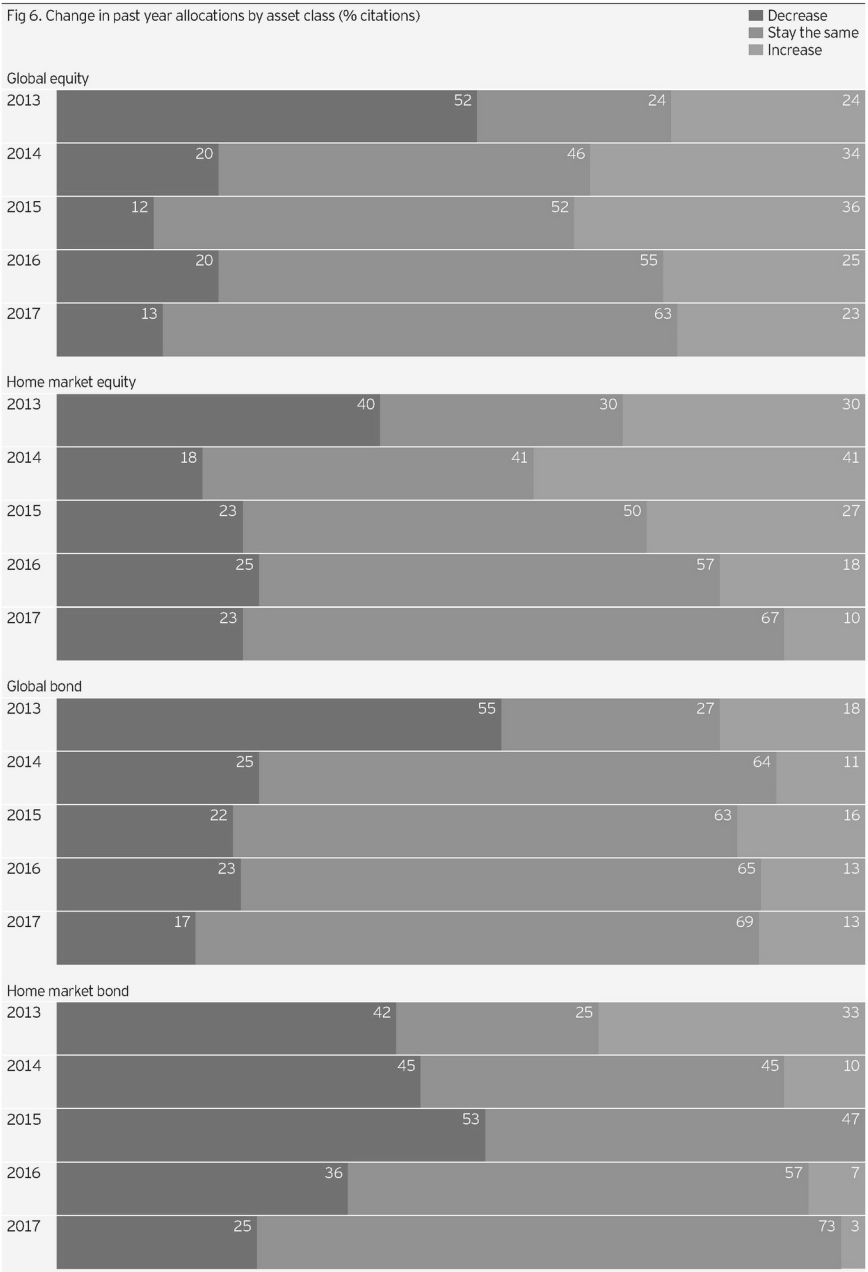
Fig 5. Expected new funding and cancelled investments (% AUM)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks. Sample sizes shown in grey. Data is not weighted by AUM. Periods shown reflect past year new funding/cancellations.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026689

Fig 6. Change in past year allocations by asset class (% citations)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks.
Sample: 2013=22, 2014=36, 2015=33, 2016=44, 2017=60.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026690

Uncertain market direction has challenged response to return gaps through asset allocation
Political change across developed markets challenges high conviction geographic allocations outside a small number of perceived 'safe haven' markets. Similarly, the staggered shift to QT is creating uncertainty over sovereign forecasts for asset class performance. Additionally, in many cases allocations to illiquid assets were approaching restrictions put in place by investment boards, with little room to further tilt to risk classes.

Such uncertainty over investment strategy means that very few sovereigns are willing to adjust strategic asset allocations, and internal restrictions are a challenge to those that are seeking to change. This can be seen in figure 6, in which an increasing number of sovereigns state they have 'frozen' asset allocations to traditional asset classes.

A focus on business model to drive implementation efficiency and liquidity premium capture
As willingness to take active positions in geographic and asset allocation decreases, the effects of the return gap are compounded. Sovereigns are unable to respond to growing shortfalls through asset allocation alone, and are instead looking at how to evolve their business models to drive more efficient realisation against portfolio objectives, notably through internalisation or investment partnerships to reduce management cost and improve placement efficiency.

However, sovereigns acknowledged that any changes to business models carried trade-offs against execution and investment risk:

- Many respondents have struggled to reach target alternative allocations and the shift to internalise or move to co-investment or operating partnerships may create further constraints
- Over-investing in privately listed assets puts sovereigns at risk of future valuation adjustments while utilisation of alternative deployment models (working directly with operating partners) has implications for governance processes and disclosure
- Reducing intermediation while potentially improving line-of-sight to placement also reduces external objective inputs to asset selection and valuation
- Finally, the tilt to internalisation may not be consistent with geographic diversification objectives, and there is some evidence of an increasing 'home market' bias despite stated objectives to the contrary

While the motivation for business model changes is clear and aligned, there is an acknowledgement amongst participants that not all sovereigns will be successful in executing, with the potential for risk or investment shocks where execution is unsuccessful. As willingness to take active positions in geographic and asset allocations slows, sovereigns must engage with investment boards to include consideration of market conditions (as well as potential outflows) in their return targets to continue to work towards their long-term objectives.

With limited scope to act through allocation sovereigns are focused on alternative levers.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026691

Increasing appeal of perceived 'safe haven' markets
Geopolitical uncertainty is leading to a focus on perceived 'safe haven' international markets and home markets.

2

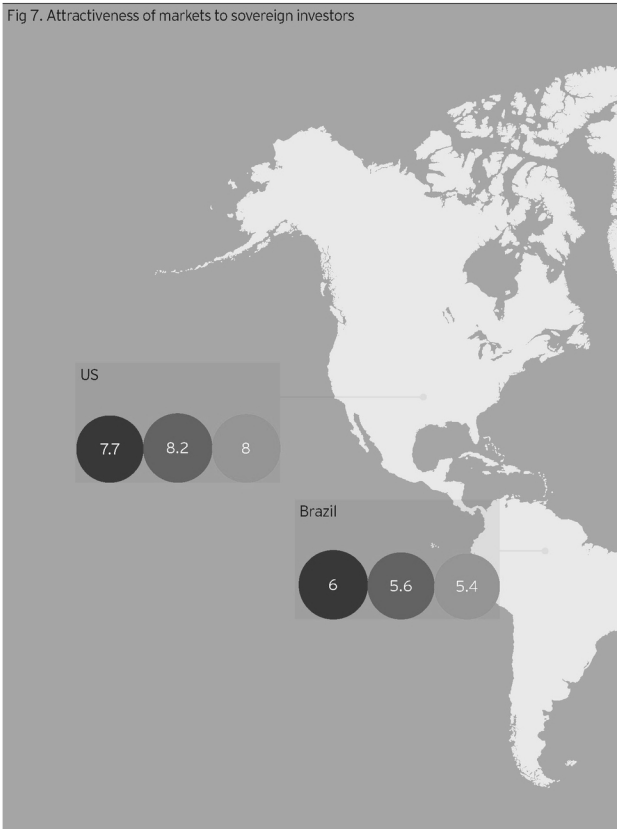
Construction of subway system extension, New York

Sovereigns are targeting markets offering security and growth

Traditionally sovereigns have grouped countries by economic development or geographic region to form their overall geographic allocations. Indeed, last year, we highlighted increased allocations to North America, based on perceptions of the US as a 'safe haven' for sovereign assets, driven by the strength of its currency and positive tax changes for international investors.

While at a high level, sovereigns have been unwilling to adjust regional allocations (as outlined in theme 1), idiosyncratic geopolitical risks are causing sovereigns to reweight to countries within these allocation bands. In developed markets, uncertainty over global interest rates is shifting this focus to identifying markets to shelter assets (as shown by the increased attractiveness of the US and Germany in figure 7), with Brexit and the US election cited as the factors of fastest growing importance to asset allocation (growing importance cited by 82% and 68% of sovereigns respectively). Similarly, emerging markets sovereigns are identifying countries with the greatest potential for long-term economic growth.

Fig 7. Attractiveness of markets to sovereign investors



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks.
Rating on a scale from 1 to 10 where 10 is the most attractive. Rating scored as of Q1 of the given year.
Sample: 2015=26, 2016=44, 2017=58.

Sovereigns are seeking greater exposure to perceived 'safe havens' within each key region.

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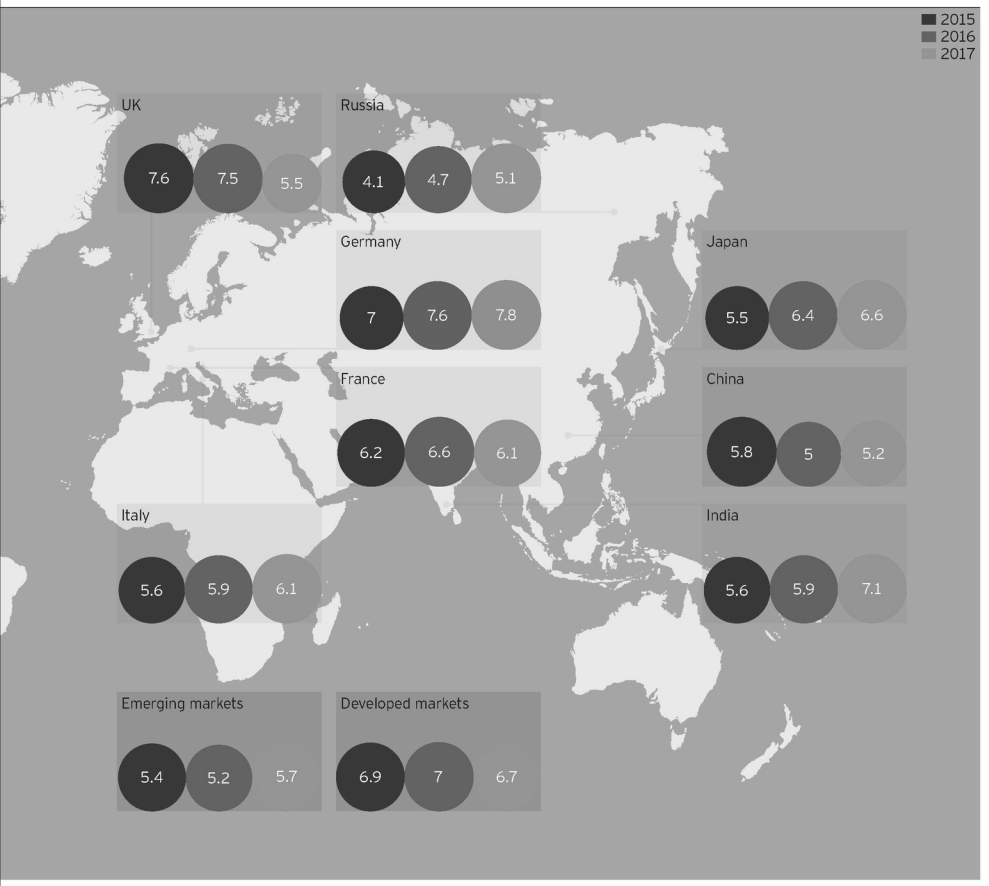

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Growth of the US for both returns and protection
The attractiveness of the US has been driven by interest rate rises (with expectations for further raises this year) and bond yields lagging in other developed markets (figure 8). There is also market confidence of a 'pro-business' corporate tax regime following Trump taking office in January 2017, causing sovereigns to note the growth potential of US equity markets (with 40% of sovereigns expecting to increase North American allocations in 2017), as other developed market stocks remain flat. Currency strength underlies this optimism (USD up 3% against EUR and 20% against GBP in 2016[1]), with some sovereigns deliberately targeting dollar exposure through their international investments. Liability sovereigns noted the dual benefit of the open currency position, both eliminating hedging costs and generating additional returns relative to home market currency.

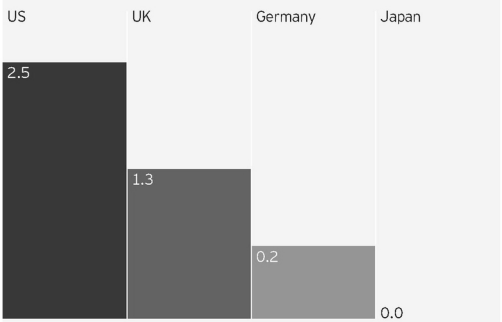
In our 2015 sovereign study, we highlighted the attractiveness of real estate investments in developed markets. Under FIRPTA (Foreign Investment in Real Property Tax Act), sovereign appetite for real estate investment in the US has further grown. Most notable, however, is the growing optimism around the potential for new infrastructure deals in the US following political campaigning suggesting an investment opportunity of US$1 trillion.

Despite positivity, sovereigns in Europe and Asia noted that successful US real estate investments gave no guarantee of similar opportunities within infrastructure. Many respondents were concerned about growing protectionism in the US, questioning if it might both limit access to infrastructure and real estate investments for foreign sovereigns and would have long-term economic implications as foreign relations are strained.

[1]Source: XE currency data. Data from 01 January 2016-01 January 2017.

Currency strength underlies optimism for the US.

Fig 8. 10-year government bond yields



Source: US - US Treasury Resource Center, UK - Bank of England Data, Germany - Bundesbank Statistics, Japan - Ministry of Finance Interest Rate Index. Data taken as daily average yield on 30 December 2016.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026696

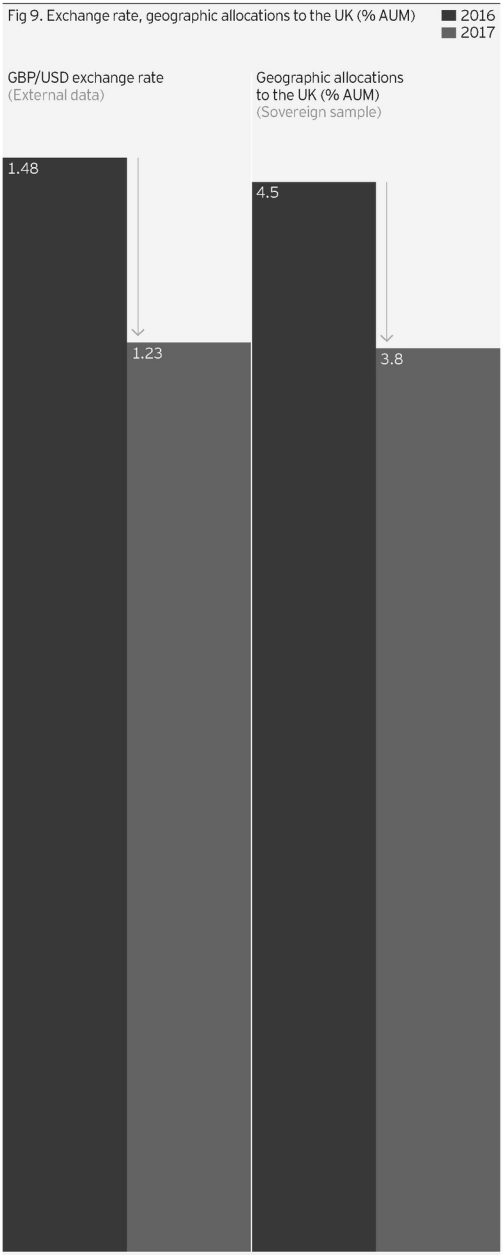
UK challenges centred on currency, but future role as European hub is unclear

While the UK has faced short-term challenges over low interest rates (relative to the US), the Brexit decision poses a threat to the long-term attractiveness of the UK. Brexit is seen as a significant negative for UK investment, and investment sovereigns with European interests questioned the future of the UK as an 'investment hub' for Europe, given uncertainty over taxes on imports and market access. Liquidity sovereigns also noted their concern that demand for UK government bonds would drop, challenging the liquidity of their holdings.

Despite this negative sentiment, UK allocations remain relatively stable with stated declines likely linked to currency fluctuations rather than withdrawal, as demonstrated in figure 9. Furthermore, the fall in value of the pound has led to a rally in UK stocks as export-linked businesses benefit from more competitive pricing. The low value of the pound also allows UK asset managers to offer their services at a discount to international competitors. This low entry price into the UK represents an opportunity for UK managers who can demonstrate local market expertise and robust currency hedging processes to international sovereign investors.

There has also been a demonstration of ongoing sovereign commitment to long-term alternative investments in the UK. Many sovereigns noted that they were unlikely to cancel UK real estate assets in the near future and there have been several high-profile statements of renewed commitment to UK infrastructure investments following the Brexit decision, including Thames Water and Heathrow Airport. However, respondents noted that these are long-term investments which are unlikely to move until the outlook of the UK as a preferred investment destination (comparable to the US or Germany) becomes clearer.

Fig 9. Exchange rate, geographic allocations to the UK (% AUM)



LHS: Source - XE currency data. Data as of beginning of given year. RHS: Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks. Data is not weighted by AUM.
Sample: 2016=55, 2017=57.

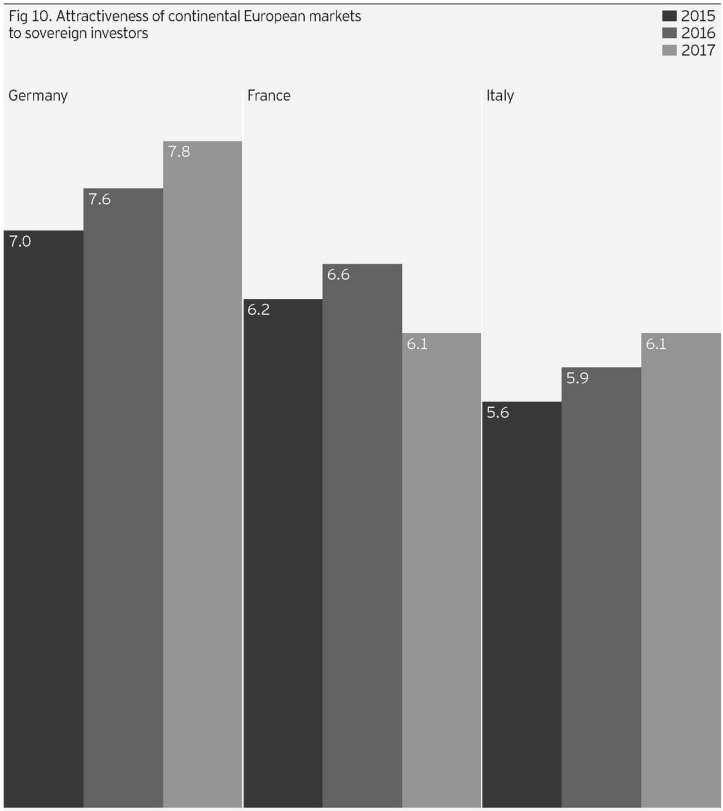
HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026697

Positivity towards Germany amidst concerns for Continental Europe

Brexit has raised awareness of the related threat of wider EU disbandment, although this has had a relatively small effect on Continental European allocations on the whole (from 12.8% of AUM in 2016 to 11.2% in 2017). Instead, it has caused sovereigns to focus on the more stable countries within the EU.

Sovereign investments in Germany have increased based on its economic strength (with its attractiveness increasing year-on-year in figure 10), and many respondents attribute this to Germany's industrial sector (an estimated 30.3% of GDP relative to 19.2% in the UK, 19.4% in France and 23.9% in Italy). However, investment sovereigns identified German financial markets as an area of potential growth post-Brexit, offering a stable platform for investments across Europe. Furthermore, liability sovereigns explained that if the eurozone were to disband, Germany's role as the financial hub of Europe would have significant upside for the German currency, with many funds building currency hedging strategies to take this into account.

Fig 10. Attractiveness of continental European markets to sovereign investors



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks.
Rating on a scale from 1 to 10 where 10 is the most attractive. Rating scored as of Q1 of the given years.
Sample: 2015=26, 2016=44, 2017=58.

Germany is seen as a stable platform for investments across Europe.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026698

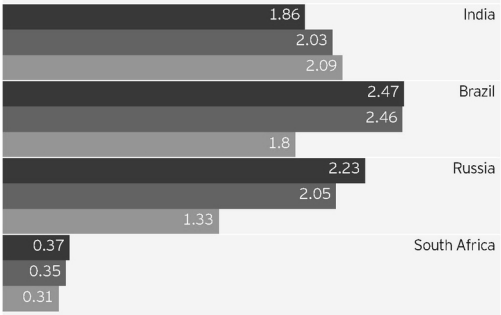
Sovereigns see potential in Indian private markets
Despite tactical switching between developed markets, increasing investment into emerging markets remains a long-term strategic objective for many sovereigns (as stated in our 2016 report). Stock markets have relatively small coverage of emerging market economies, driving greater emphasis on illiquid real asset categories. In fact, many sovereigns use infrastructure deals to manage near-term macro and geopolitical risk, as outlined in our 2015 study. However, challenging placement dynamics and uncertainty over commodity prices mean sovereigns are being more selective in their emerging market investments, focusing on the identification of high-growth markets.

While many emerging markets have struggled with slow commodity price recovery and political instability, India has experienced consistent growth in GDP (figure 11). However, India's economic structure is complex and publicly listed investments have relatively low coverage of the wider economy (with stock market capitalisation 65% of GDP in India, relative to 146% in the US and 112% in the UK). Indeed, many sovereigns are focusing on opportunities within Indian private equity (as seen in India's increasing private sector attractiveness in figure 12), seeking returns from its rapid urbanisation.

Typically, in emerging markets sovereigns have faced considerable regulatory and governance challenges to direct private equity investment, leading them to seek assistance from external managers. However, in 2016 India introduced reforms to foreign direct investment, loosening government restrictions on investment in certain sectors, with wider reform expected in 2017. This has enabled large investment and liability sovereigns to invest heavily in Indian private equity, and many funds are developing internal management expertise based in India to have greater access and control over private equity investments.

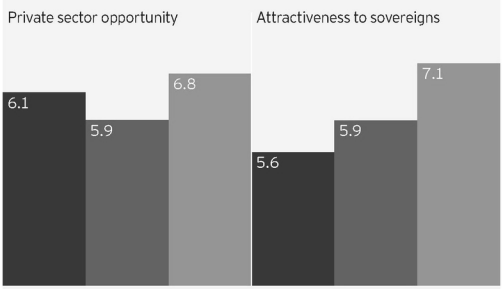
Despite sovereign desire to invest directly in Indian private equity, the development of local management capability is often complex and deployment of assets to meet targets will be lengthy. While concerns remain over governance and liquidity of private equity investments in emerging markets, sovereigns note that local management teams are best equipped to deal with these concerns.

Fig 11. Gross domestic product of emerging markets (US$, trillions)



Source: World Bank Data - GDP (Current US$) data as at 17 April 2017.

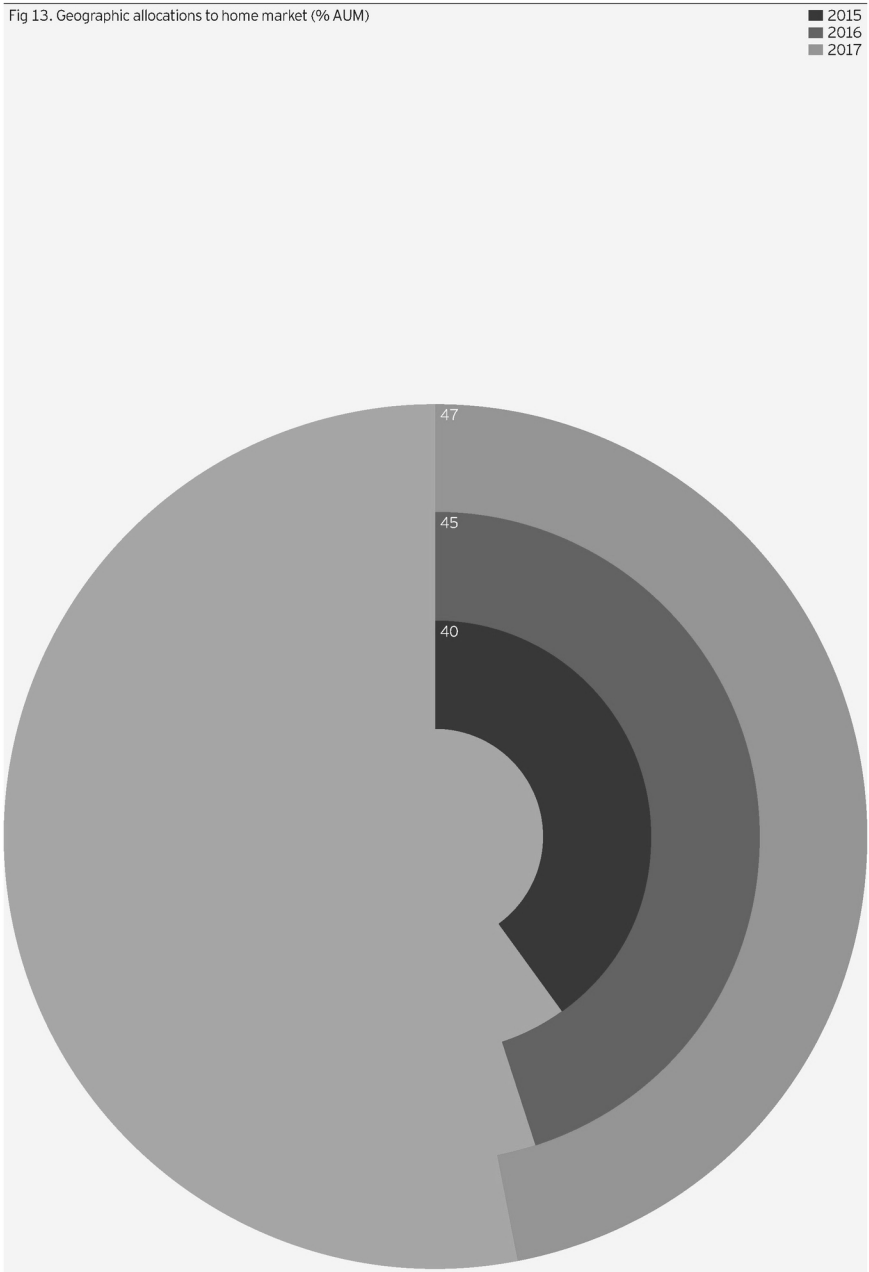
Fig 12. Opportunity of Indian private sector and attractiveness of India to sovereign investors



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks.
Rating on a scale from 1 to 10 where 10 is the most opportunistic/attractive. Rating scored as of Q1 of the given years.
Sample: 2015=26, 2016=44, 2017=58.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026699

Fig 13. Geographic allocations to home market (% AUM)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks. Data is not weighted by AUM.
Sample: 2015=39, 2016=55, 2017=57.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026700

Home market investment allows for greater internalisation and reduced hedging costs
Given recent increases in the likelihood of outflows, figure 13 shows how sovereigns are growing their focus on home market allocations to reduce foreign currency exposure. While home market investment aligns to greater internalisation, it also grows correlations between sovereign portfolio performance and local economic performance. Since sovereign funding is also heavily dependent on the local market, sovereigns are at risk of increasing cashflow strains (from both investment returns and new funding) when the local economy underperforms.

Sovereigns may need to revert to greater geographic diversification, at the cost of short-term returns
The combination of continuing home market tilts, along with a concentration in a small number of 'safe havens', threatens to squeeze allocations to markets that lack clear growth or stability attributes. As the granularity of geopolitical risk models increases, sovereigns are at risk of being overly selective in their geographic investments and becoming dependent on single markets within geographic regions.

However, many of the driving forces behind concentrated geographic allocations are unlikely to last. Interest rate disparity in developed markets is expected to reduce if European and Japanese quantitative tightening begins, suggesting that increased fixed income allocations to the US are tactical. Similarly, while growing emerging market allocations is a strategic initiative, India has been targeted due to its recent economic growth, relative to other major emerging markets.

While sovereigns are willing to be overweight individual countries to capture additional returns (either through short-term tactical allocations or greater internalisation), they may shift their focus back to managing risk across diverse geographic allocations, fulfilling their aim to make government reserves independent of local economic performance.

These is an inherent risk in overcommitting to individual markets.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026701

Attraction to real estate for matching and flexible participation

Sovereigns are increasing allocations to high-quality direct real estate given perceived return, matching and flexibility attributes.

3

Trains arriving at Liège-Guillemins train Station by Santiago Calatrava, Belgium

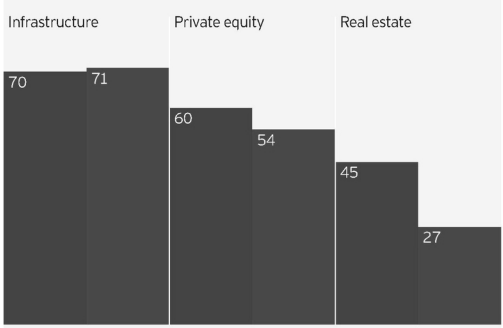
Real estate is perceived as attractive based on supply of investment opportunities

In last year's report, we monitored sovereign investment in real estate, with its perceived superior supply-side dynamics relative to other real asset and alternative categories. While asset allocation shifts have slowed this year, the trend towards real estate has accelerated, driven by capacity for sovereign investment. For example, it is noted that while relatively few countries offer private investors access to a wide range of investment-grade infrastructure investments, there is broad access to commercial and office sectors across major developed and emerging markets, causing sovereigns to cite real estate as the asset class with the fewest execution challenges (figure 14).

Furthermore, investment sovereigns with large internal teams noted that real estate was unique in its scope for greenfield investment. Sovereigns continue to develop internal asset management capability in real estate (figure 15 highlights the high levels on internal management within real estate), enabling them to generate investment opportunities themselves, rather than source and compete for real estate deals with other investors. In an environment where challenges executing against target real asset and alternative allocations drag on investment returns, supply depth is a key differentiator for real estate.

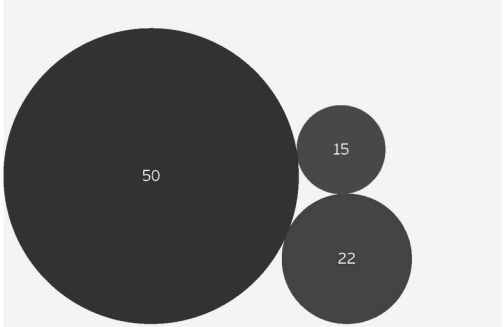
Target illiquid alternative allocations have increased, despite deployment challenges.

Fig 14. Underweight asset classes due to execution challenges (% citations)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks.
Sample: 2016=20, 2017=41.

Fig 15. Internal management of international illiquid alternatives (% AUM)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks. Data is not weighted by AUM.
Sample: Real estate=31, Private equity=26 Infrastructure=24.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026704

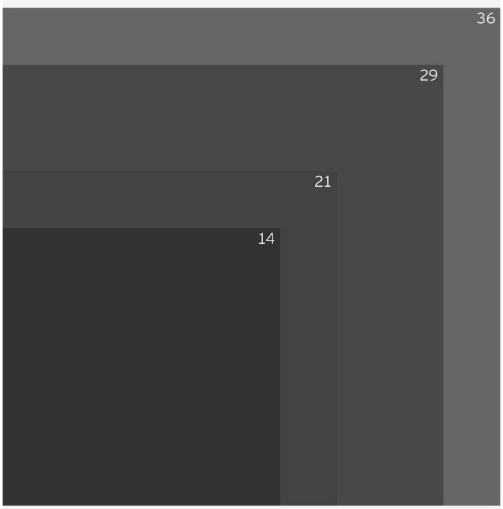
Real estate offers income generation and access optionality

This year, sovereigns cited a range of reasons for increasing target real estate allocations, including the scope to capture liquidity alpha, the potential to generate income matching mid- to long-term liabilities and the potential for internalisation and control. With lower interest rates, lower funding commitments to sovereigns and a lack of appetite to vary asset allocations, the potential for leveraged participation in real estate (equity and debt) appeals to sovereigns seeking alternative means of scaling 'frozen' asset allocation to match liabilities.

In addition, while there are few alternatives to third-party management and fee structures across infrastructure and private equity (with co-investment in many cases challenged by fund governance and risk appetite), sovereigns have a broad range of options to participate in the development, acquisition and management of real estate. Indeed, there was no consensus among sovereigns on the best placed real estate manager, with internal and external managers, developers and operators cited as preferred real estate partners in figure 16. Sovereigns are also attracted to the flexibility of real estate value chain participation as it reduces upfront funding commitments and allows for a gradual internalisation of expertise and resource.

Low fixed income yields means sovereigns are beginning to view property as a reliable source of income.

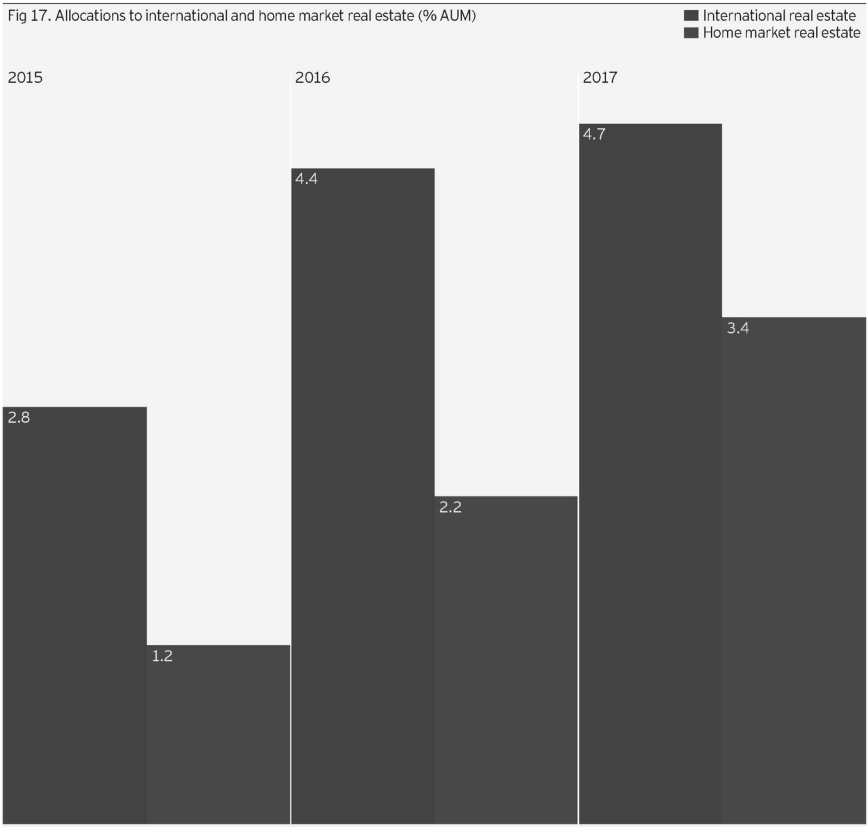
Fig 16. Preferred manager for real estate investments (% citations)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks. Sample=28.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026705

Fig 17. Allocations to international and home market real estate (% AUM)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks. Data is not weighted by AUM.
Sample: 2015=44, 2016=57, 2017=62.

Fig 18. Primary factor driving real estate investment (% citations)

Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks.
Sample=33.

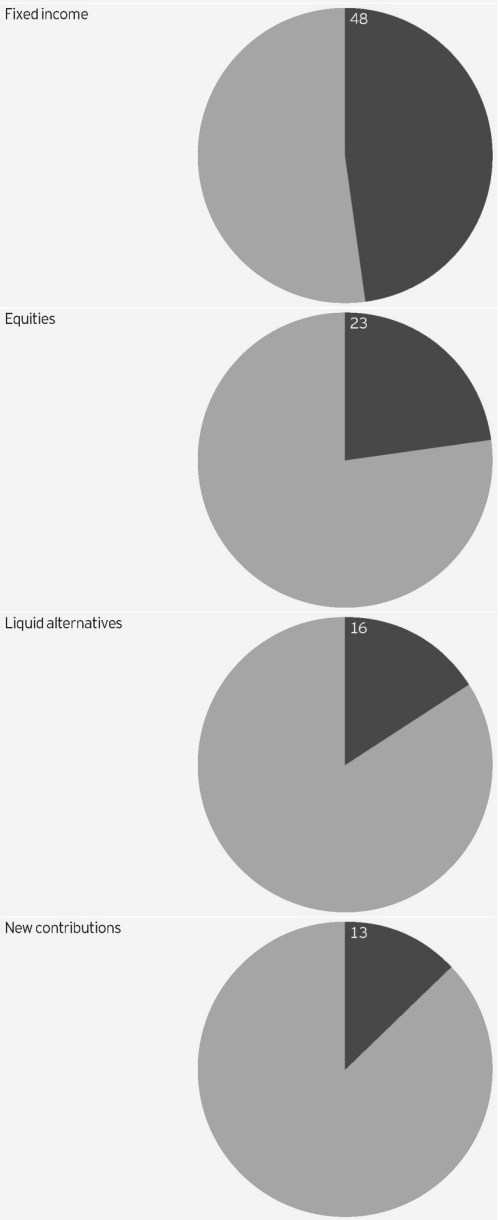
HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026706

Property allocations are concentrated in 'home market' to match liabilities

While real estate allocations account for a small portion of sovereign portfolios, there has been significant relative growth in allocations, particularly in sovereign home markets (figure 17).

Home market real estate is attractive for liability and investment sovereigns, as there is no need to hedge currency exposure, as outlined in theme 2. The increase in home market allocations is mirrored in sovereign appetite for income-generating real estate assets (with yield generation the lead factor for increased allocations shown in figure 18), matching home currency-denominated liabilities at higher yields than domestic fixed income. Consequently, the tilt to real estate in home markets is substantially funded from lower allocations to fixed income (figure 19). Home market allocations also benefited from the trend to internalisation of real asset management. With limited capability to source and manage real estate globally, sovereigns noted that internal investment teams focused more on the local market, particularly in respect of greenfield or residential investments. Domestic real estate investment was greatest among Western and Asian sovereigns (4.9% and 3.1% of assets respectively), due to the depth of high-quality domestic real estate markets. Home markets were viewed as more familiar and accessible; there was a view that proximity facilitated oversight and control, which in turn afforded greater comfort in higher risk categories. Many respondents were also more confident in their ability to pitch for real estate deals locally, given the positive reputation of sovereign investors.

Fig 19. Primary source of funds for new real estate investments (% citations)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks.
Sample=31.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026707

International real estate focused on key markets with potential for long-term investment
International real estate allocations also grew in the period to 2016, though at a lower rate than home market. Sovereigns reported that increased international allocations in many cases represented tactical factors such as restrictions in domestic market or challenges achieving target allocations in infrastructure or private equity.

As a result, increases in international allocations were relatively concentrated in terms of asset quality (tier-1 assets offering a comparable return profile of private equity and infrastructure). This has led sovereigns to expect greater growth in high grade office and commercial real estate (figure 20), with long-term tenancies underpinning income generation, over industrial or residential categories which offer asset growth and development potential.

The importance of quality to international real estate allocations is also evident in geographic allocations. Sovereigns prefer 'safe haven' markets such as North America and Western Europe when investing in overseas real estate, with developed markets leading sovereign citations for preferred real estate locations shown in figure 21.

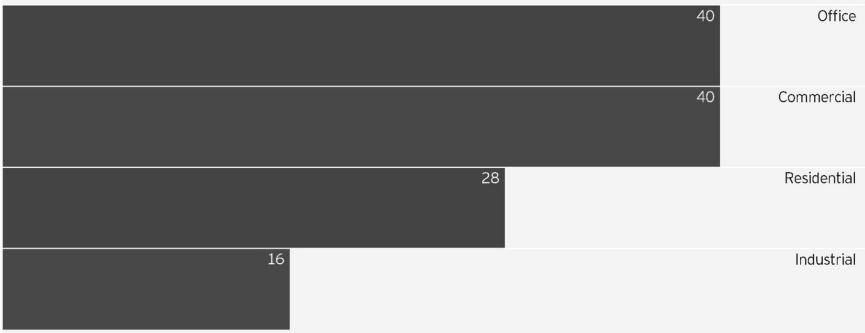
Sovereigns acknowledged the benefits of external asset managers, particularly for international allocations
The success of domestic real estate investments in matching liabilities and the scope to capture liquidity alpha through internal models is reflected in the pace of home market allocations over the past three years. However, looking forward sovereigns appreciate that further increases may be constrained by asset allocation or the maturity and depth of the local market. Many sovereigns also noted that there were risks associated with further internal investment in home market real estate:

- Despite a focus on high-quality assets, liquidity is a challenge for real estate investors and many sovereigns are approaching limits on the size of their investments
- Growing internalisation leaves sovereigns without third-party support in governance and compliance for their real estate investments
- If interest rates rise, demand for real estate is expected to slow, with implications for both asset pricing and liquidity

However, on the assumption that interest rates globally remain lower near-term, we expect that sovereign demand for real estate will grow faster than sovereigns are willing or able to deploy to home markets. As a result, we expect that over the next three years allocations to international markets will grow, and diversification outside preferred geographies and classes will accelerate. Despite success in greenfield investing in their home market, sovereigns are less able to influence supply of real estate opportunities overseas, providing an opportunity for external asset managers to support sovereigns in sourcing and managing real estate deals.

Developed market sovereigns have access to a wide range of high-quality domestic real estate assets.

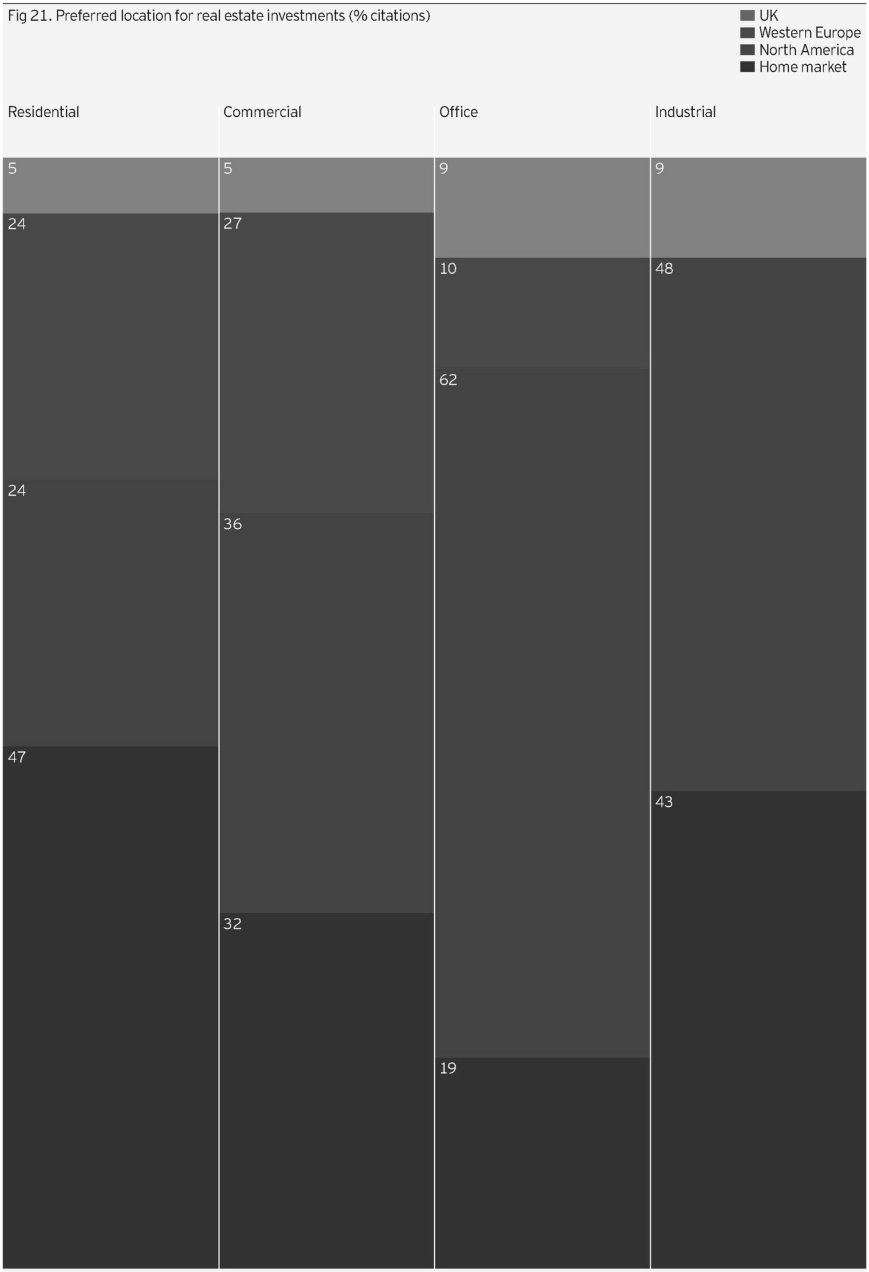
Fig 20. Future increase in real estate sub-asset class allocations (% citations)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks.
Sample=25.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026708

Fig 21. Preferred location for real estate investments (% citations)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks.
Sample=22.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026709

Environmental, social and governance (ESG) growth dependent on performance data

Perspectives on ESG are polarised with supporters moving to further embed and integrate ESG in investment processes while non-supporters wait for evidence of investment implications.

4

The Hoover Dam on the Colorado River, Arizona, US

In the absence of long-term risk and performance data, the role of ESG is unclear for many sovereigns
Environmental, social and governance (ESG) investing looks to incorporate ethics and sustainability into the investment process. Sovereigns are well placed to implement ESG strategies (or component sub-strategies) due to their scale, reach, size and long-term orientation. In addition, many investment and liability sovereigns have a clear basis to consider sustainability factors in delivering their objectives, given their own mandates and through their growing internal management capability.

However, contrary to early expectations, uptake of ESG practices appears to be less broad than initially anticipated. On the one hand, established sovereigns across Europe, Canada and Australia have been pivotal to the evolution of ESG investing among institutional investors. Many of these sovereigns were crucial in the development of sovereign investment strategies over past decades, and continue to have high levels of influence over sovereign models globally relative to their size. Against this, funds in the US and emerging markets have been reluctant to commit to ESG (figure 22) in the absence of objective data on the investment risk/return trade-offs implicit in these strategies.

While uptake of ESG has not increased in line with historical expectations, there is a clear appetite for perspectives and analysis from adopters, asset managers and academics. In fact, among institutional investors globally ESG is cited as the most important area for thought leadership (NMG's Global Asset Management Study 2017), highlighting investor demand for greater understanding.

Qualified support for 'environmental' and 'social' screens given reputational risks of non-adoption, however further commitment depends on emerging evidence of investment implications
For sovereigns looking to adopt ESG investing, the most common step is to introduce negative screens on managers and securities which fall below ethical standards (figure 23). This process lends itself to environmental and social factors, given growing levels of disclosure of carbon footprint and employee diversity within public markets. Indeed, environmental factors are among the ESG issues of greatest importance to sovereigns shown in figure 24.

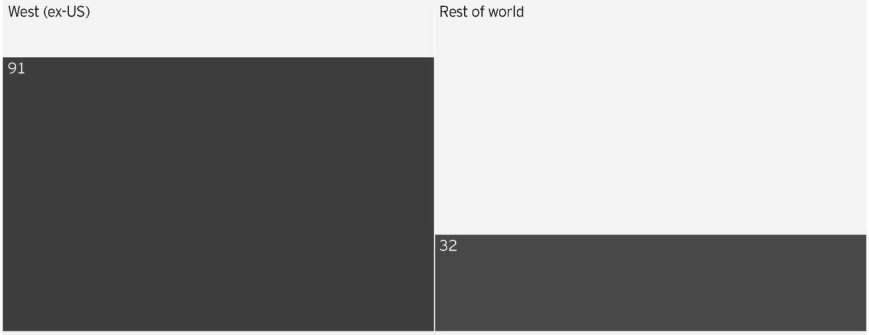
Certain sovereigns noted that negative environmental and social screens can be simply inserted into the investment process as an extra step within security selection, with minimal additional costs of management and expertise. Respondents also stated that the measurement of the investment impact of negative screens was simple, as the social investment strategy was most often constructed from a fully inclusive benchmark.

Despite some non-users citing analysis showing the negative effect of ESG screening strategies on short-term returns, there was a sense among interviewees that greater levels of disclosure increased reputational risk of non-adoption relative to high-profile ESG adopters.

ESG adoption has been driven by established sovereigns across Europe, Canada and Australia.

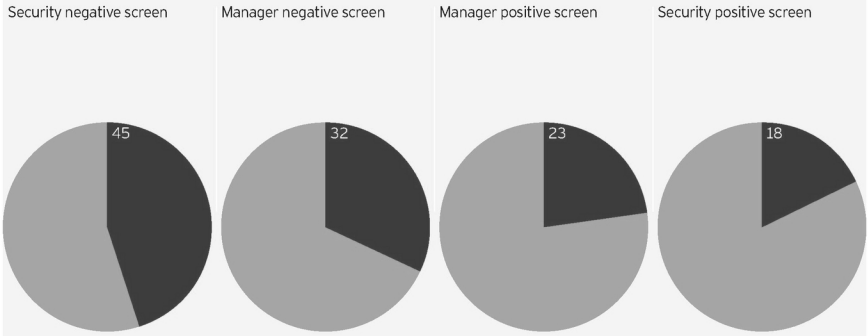
HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026712

Fig 22. Sovereign adoption of ESG factors (% citations)



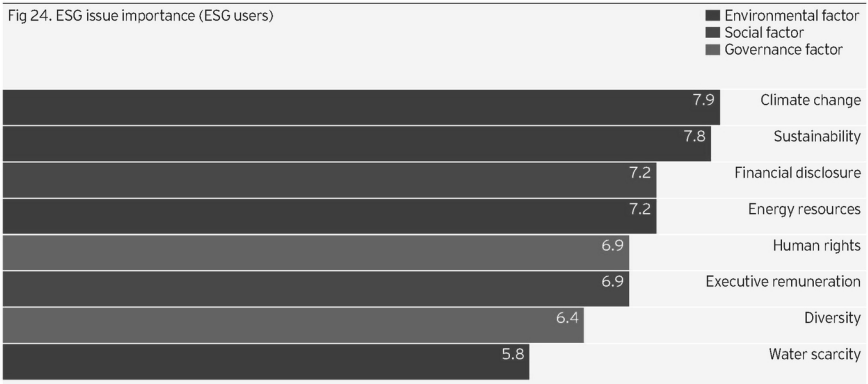
Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks.
Sample: West (ex-US)=11, Rest of world=44.

Fig 23. ESG screen usage (% citations, ESG users)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks. Multiple responses.
Sample=22.

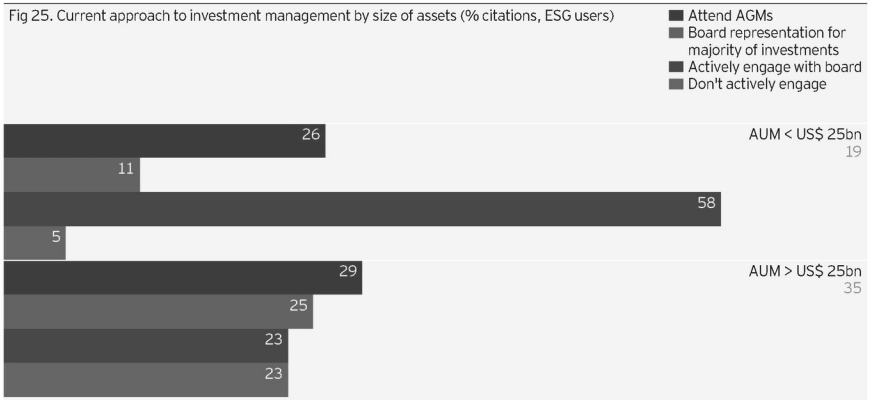
Fig 24. ESG issue importance (ESG users)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks. Rating on a scale from 1 to 10 where 10 is the most important. Rating scored as of Q1 of the given year.
Sample=22.

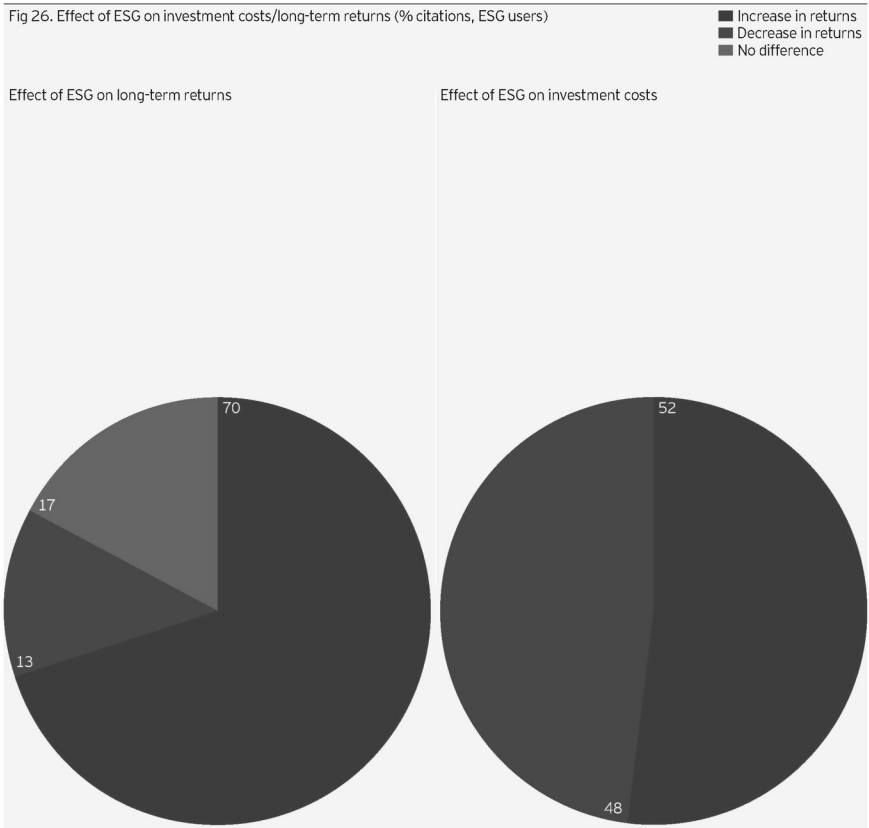
HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026713

Fig 25. Current approach to investment management by size of assets (% citations, ESG users)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks. Sample sizes shown in grey.

Fig 26. Effect of ESG on investment costs/long-term returns (% citations, ESG users)



Sample is based on sovereign investors and excludes central banks.
Sample=25.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026714

Leading adopters are embedding governance-based engagement, with an expectation of improved long-term returns

While non-adopters wait on the evidence of ESG investment outcomes, leading adopters are moving further down the path of integrating ESG principles into investment allocation and management decisions, including through active engagement with or participation in investee company decision-making. Larger sovereigns with internal asset management capability were most confident in their ability to execute their ESG strategies, due to their higher levels of engagement with their investments (figure 25). These larger sovereigns noted that direct engagement benefits substantially outweighed the cost of external advisers and representation; notably

- The largest sovereigns drew a clear line from long-term investor influence on corporate structure and executive remuneration to 'active' investment performance through the cycle
- Sovereigns felt able to better represent the interest of government or non-government stakeholders through direct engagement
- Finally, for sovereigns committed to ESG, direct governance engagement provided a mechanism to proactively drive an ESG agenda in future investment and management decision-making

Future uptake of ESG integration requires more performance data, while growth in active ownership requires third-party assistance

The adoption of negative screens is encouraging for ESG advocates; however, the majority of current non-adopters are unwilling to move further in the absence of strong objective evidence of positive investment risk/return outcomes from ESG investing relative to cost. ESG adopters overwhelmingly observe a positive differential in long-term returns (with 70% of respondents perceiving an increase in returns from ESG as seen in figure 26), and many adopters explained that they were seeking to integrate systematic ESG risk measurement into the investment process. However, ESG user and non-user respondents acknowledge that there is a need for robust data on integrated ESG strategies, which can only be addressed through continued measurement of the impact on performance.

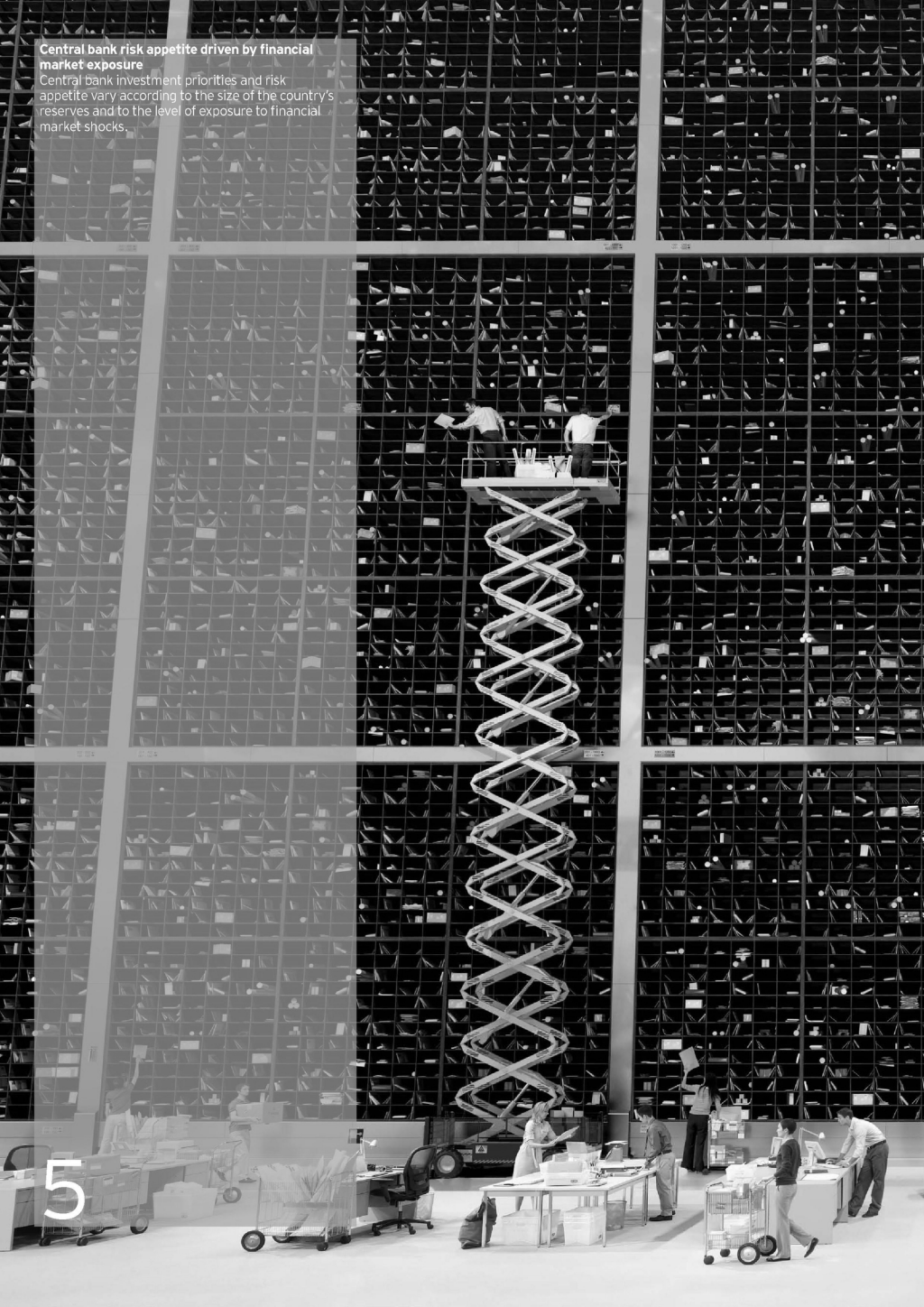
Despite uncertainties around the impact of ESG integration, there is a growing consensus among all respondents on the positive effect of governance on investment returns. However, there are many challenges to developing and managing an active ownership strategy:

- Many sovereigns have not defined their governance principles and were wary of demanding levels of transparency from their investees that the sovereign fund itself did not provide
- The adoption of active ownership requires hiring subject matter experts, and many investment sovereign respondents were intent on using recruitment budget to expand internal investment teams
- Certain sovereigns did not hold shareholder voting rights across the majority of their securities and were wary of the costs involved in switching these investments for those with voting rights
- Many respondents stated that they were challenged by lack of engagement from consultants and asset managers

While smaller sovereigns have been dissuaded from investment engagement by these cost restraints, evidence of benefits in returns and representation of sovereign interests will be key in driving greater uptake of sovereign active ownership. With some sovereigns looking internally to invest, based on the ability to embed government-based engagement, asset managers must respond by offering sovereigns the opportunity participate in the stewardship of companies by means of voting rights.

There is a need for robust data on the performance of integrated ESG strategies.

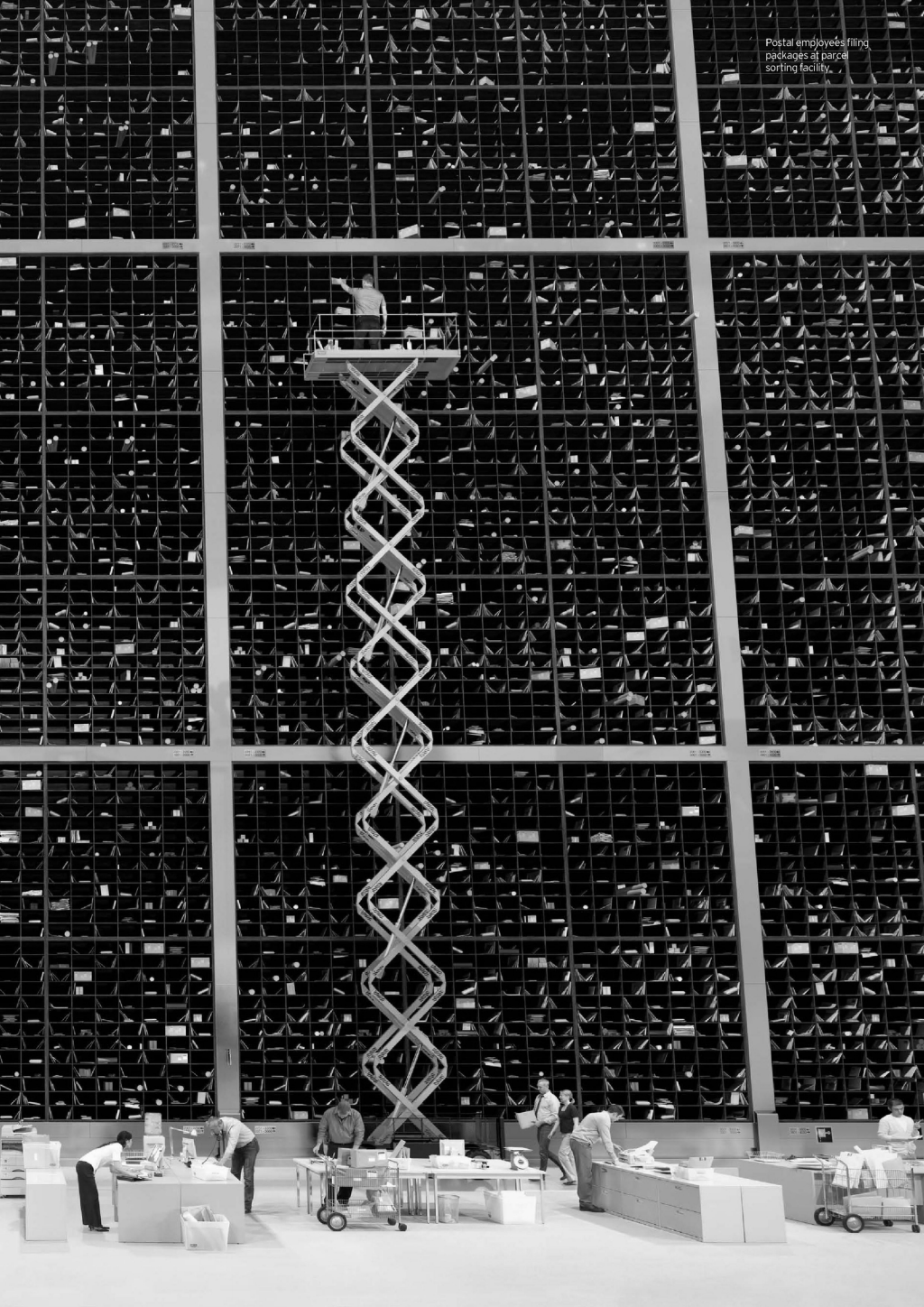
HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026715



Central bank risk appetite driven by financial market exposure

Central bank investment priorities and risk appetite vary according to the size of the country's reserves and to the level of exposure to financial market shocks.

5



Postal employees filing packages at parcel sorting facility.

While central bank investment tranches are in some ways comparable to sovereign portfolios, they are differentiated by the former's broader market functions

While there are similarities in the approach taken to investment tranches (in terms of risk asset allocation and development of internal capability), central banks have a broader set of functions, including local market money supply, the role of lender of last resort and currency exchange rate regime management. These factors have considerable influence over investment strategy and capacity, and differentiate central banks from sovereign investors.

In last year's report, we focused on emerging market (EM) central banks due to their increasing use of investment tranches (reserves sub-portfolios which prioritise investment return over liquidity), which have similar allocations to sovereign investor portfolios. We noted that many of the respondent banks were moving up the risk spectrum in response to achieving capital preservation in the face of low and negative yields, and that reserve managers were allocating higher levels of reserves to the investment tranche. We explore how central banks in developed markets with low financial market exposure have followed emerging market reserve managers up the risk spectrum.

Low banking sector exposure is accompanied by lesser build-up in the levels of reserves and a growing appetite for risk assets

In this year's report, we have expanded our central bank sample and segmented the central bank universe into developed and emerging markets to understand differences in strategy and pace of change with respect to investment tranches. Within developed market central banks, we further segmented them into two categories: those with high exposure to financial markets (DM High FME) and those with low exposure (DM Low FME[1]). We summarise these classifications in figure 27.

While there are various means of calculating reserves adequacy (with import coverage and short-term debt coverage most frequently cited in figure 28), all measures link level of reserves to potential drawdown of funds. Following the Global Financial Crisis of 2008, DM High FME central banks increased estimates of the likelihood and size of potential drawdowns, increasing the level of reserves over the intervening years to better equip themselves as 'lenders of last resort'. In 2016, this trend continued with DM High FME central banks increasing reserves more rapidly than DM Low FME and EM (figure 29). DM High FME reserve managers rely on these large net inflows to maintain high levels of liquidity (with 67% of respondents describing reserves as 'ample' in figure 30), and focus less on capital preservation and investment returns. Furthermore, reserve managers in High FME markets noted that they are unwilling to invest in risk assets such as equities or asset-backed securities as they are seeking to diversify (not correlate) their reserves from local financial market shocks.

[1]Measure of financial exposure based on World Bank Global Financial Development – Private credit by deposit money banks and other financial institutions to GDP (%), 24 June 2016.

Fig 27. Central bank segmentation

	High financial market dependency (DM High FME)	Low financial market dependency (DM Low FME)	Emerging markets (EM)
Market economic maturity	High	High	Medium
Financial market/GDP (%)	High	Medium/Low	Medium/Low
Foreign reserves new flows	High	Medium	Low
Reserves adequacy	High	High/Medium	Medium
Foreign reserves risk appetite	Low	Medium	High

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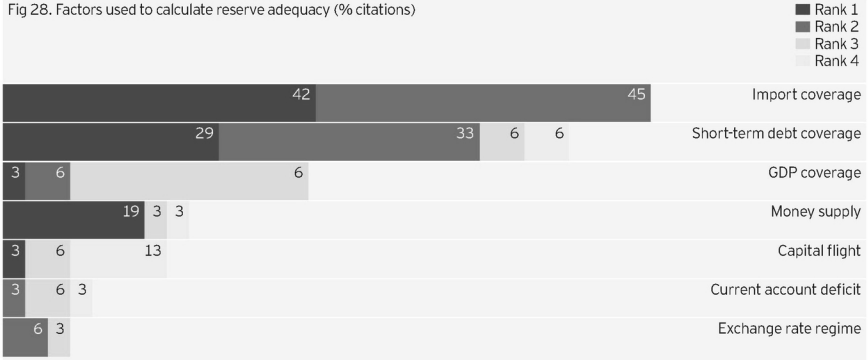
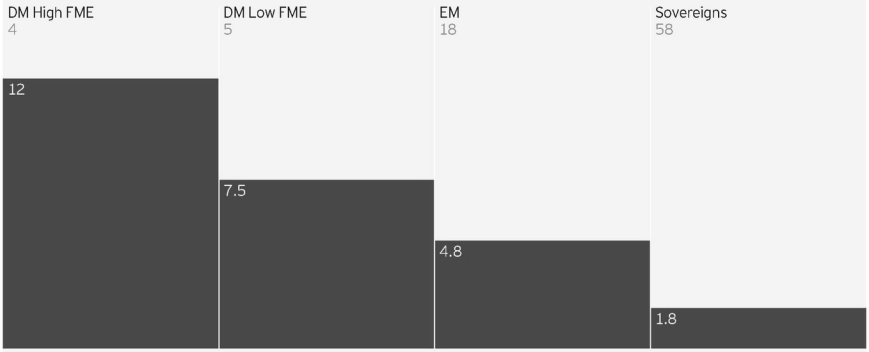
Fig 28. Factors used to calculate reserve adequacy (% citations)



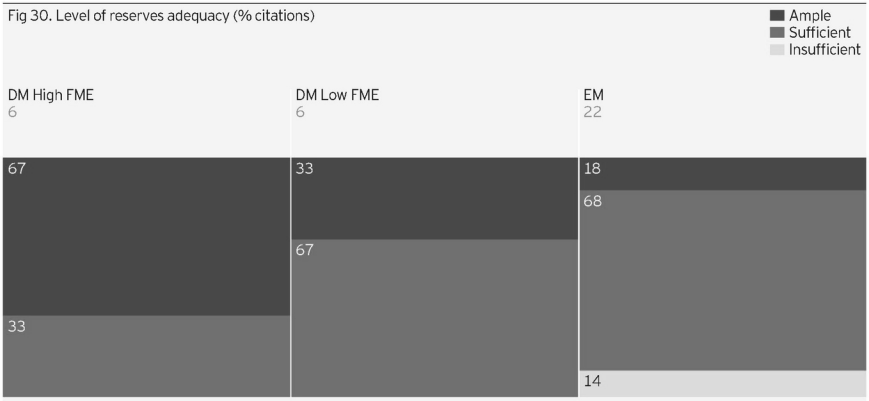
Sample comprises of central banks only. Key denotes each factors' level of importance according to central banks. Rankings split into four categories in descending order with rank 1=most important. Rating scored as of Q1 of the given year.
Sample=31.

Fig 29. Net increase in foreign currency reserves (% AUM)



Sample size shown in grey. DM High FME=High financial market dependency. DM Low FME=Low financial market dependency.

Fig 30. Level of reserves adequacy (% citations)



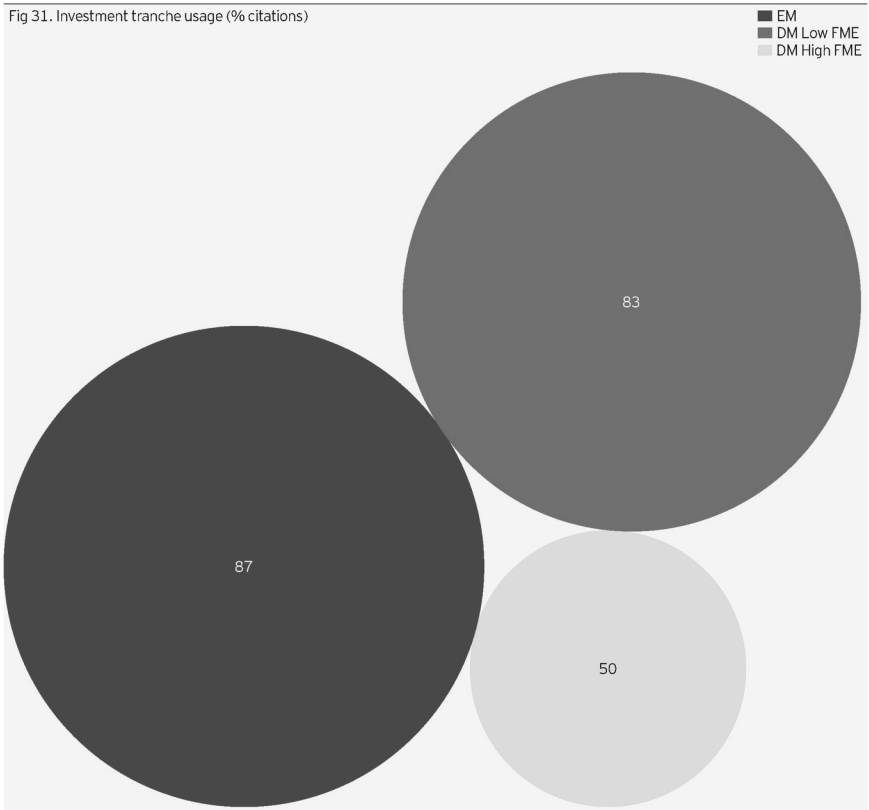
Sample comprises of central banks only. Sample size shown in grey.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026719

Due to the lower capitalisation of local stock and bond markets, economic performance in DM Low FME countries is relatively less vulnerable to financial shocks than in DM High FME markets, giving Low FME central banks greater freedom to invest in higher risk asset classes. Furthermore, whereas most High FME central banks self-assess 'ample' reserves adequacy, the majority of Low FME central bank respondents describe reserve levels as 'sufficient', and are therefore more likely to seek higher returns through the investment tranche to improve their long-term reserves adequacy position (figure 31).

Typically, emerging market central banks have the lowest levels of reserves adequacy due in large part to greater vulnerability to foreign shocks. Indeed, certain emerging market central banks with a currency peg noted that falling commodity prices had created pressure on the local currency, causing a drawdown of foreign reserves to maintain the peg. Countries with more flexible exchange rate arrangements are instead seeking greater exposure to risk asset classes to generate positive returns to preserve capital and maintain reserves adequacy.

Fig 31. Investment tranche usage (% citations)



Sample comprises of central banks only.
Sample: DM High FME=6, DM Low FME=6 and EM=22. Note low sample.
DM High FME=High financial market dependency. DM Low FME=Low financial market dependency.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026720

Emerging market central banks have pioneered investment tranches to generate greater returns and developed markets are exploring their ability to follow suit

In last year's report we identified that emerging market reserve managers were developing an investment tranche, to diversify away from low-yielding government bonds and generate better risk adjusted returns. This year, low interest rates again led EM central banks to increase the level of the investment tranche and invest in riskier asset classes, targeting higher returns over time to support future reserves adequacy. Additionally, certain emerging market central banks had recently relaxed fixed or managed exchange rate regimes, allowing for greater freedom to allocate reserves to the investment tranche.

As central banks (including DM Low FME) expand the size and risk asset exposure of the investment tranche, they also are assessing how to best manage risk, return and cost, particularly where higher levels of reserves and depth of internal resources support developing internal management expertise. Central banks have a range of resources available in making their assessments, including case studies and performance data from those EM central banks reaching the end of the first cycle of risk assessments, with many respondents indicating their willingness to share such information with peers. While we note the long timeline for the first generation of EM central banks to establish their investment tranches (an average of 22 months across our emerging market sample), the availability of peer support and information sharing has the potential to create a positive network effect supporting future implementations.

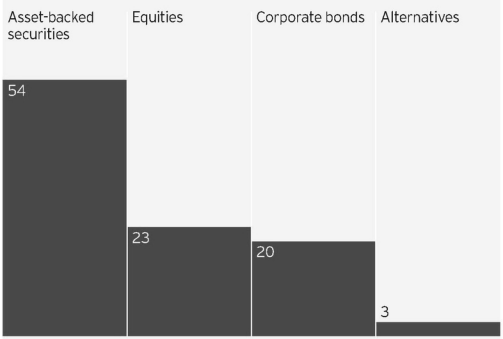
Central banks acknowledge the need for external support as they move out the risk spectrum to corporate bonds and equities

Typically, the development of the investment tranche starts with asset-backed securities (figure 32). The majority of central banks are comfortable managing investment grade government debt internally and perceive high grade asset-backed securities as comparable in terms of management requirements and risk profile.

However, reserve managers are moving up the risk curve, primarily seeking to increase allocations to equities and corporate bonds (figure 33). Many respondents acknowledged they do not yet have the necessary internal governance process or risk management capability to manage these investments internally. Respondents also noted that while reserves management peers were able to assist them in planning the development of the investment tranche, their support often lacked technical detail on investment governance and asset management infrastructure.

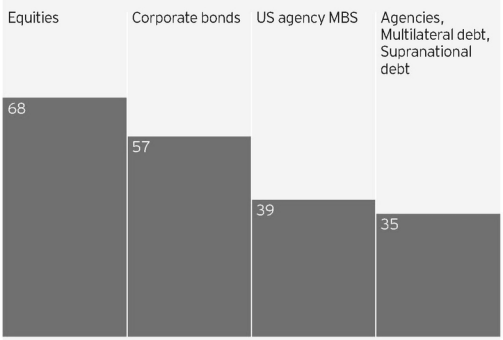
Emerging markets have led the development of the investment tranche due to the relative importance of capital preservation.

Fig 32. First investment tranche asset class (% citations)



Sample comprises of central banks only.
Sample=30.

Fig 33. Investment tranche asset class future increase (% citations)



Sample comprises of central banks only.
Sample=30.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026721

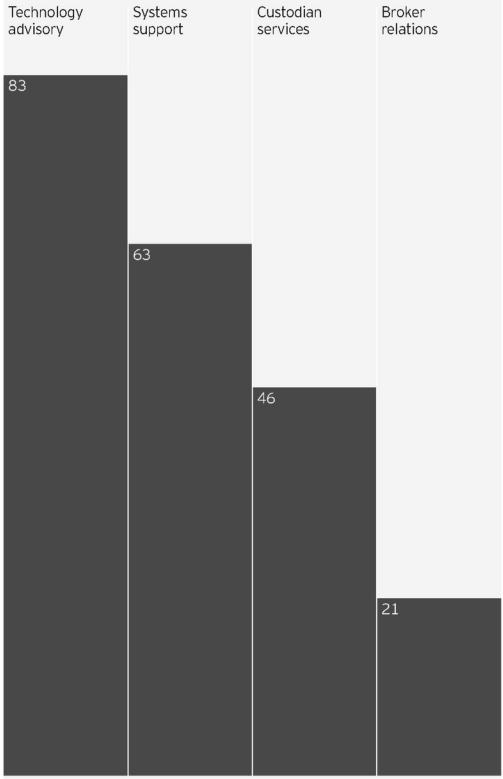
Central banks are seeking external assistance in building internal capability as well as for investment strategy and execution

Central bank decisions on the allocation and risk profile of the investment tranche allocations are generally made internally. Reserves managers are seeking wider assistance in building internal investment frameworks to support their growing appetite for risk asset exposure, whether through asset management mandates or collaboration with academic and multi-lateral institutions such as the World Bank. Central banks will continue to look to external managers for their technical advisory and systems support (figure 34), as sovereigns have done over many years.

While 87% of central bank respondents use an asset manager within their entire reserves portfolio, there is less usage when building the first investment tranche (figure 35). This reflects a bias to first develop internal capacity before outsourcing to external asset managers for alpha generation and expansion into new asset classes. Central banks are reluctant to convert relationships into ongoing mandates until they have developed the capacity to oversee the risks incurred by external asset managers. Those that elect to allocate assets to external managers include requirements to continue supporting central banks in developing their own internal management capability. External managers must be patient and offer real value through transfer of experience, processes and technology, and must then have a sufficiently compelling value proposition to sustain a long-term commercial relationship.

Reserves managers are seeking assistance in building internal investment frameworks to support growing risk appetite.

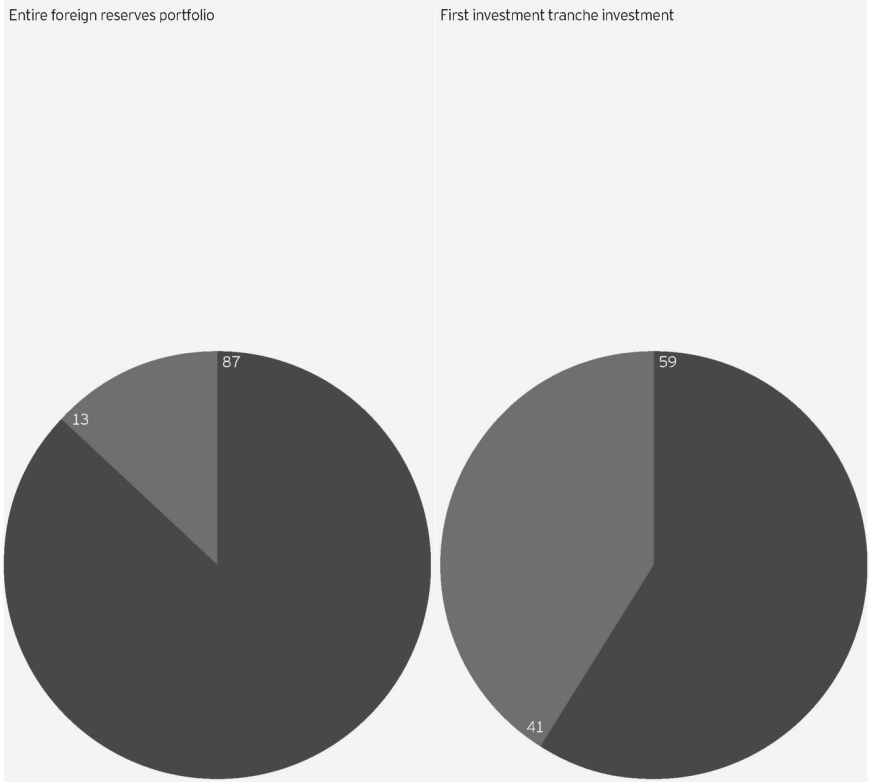
Fig 34. Future asset manager support requirements (% citations, current users of external managers)



Sample comprises of central banks who use external managers to manage assets. Sample=24.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026722

Fig 35. Use of external asset managers (% citations)



Samples comprise of central banks only.
LHS Sample=27. RHS Sample=31.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026723

Pixel Cloud installation in the atrium of an office building, London

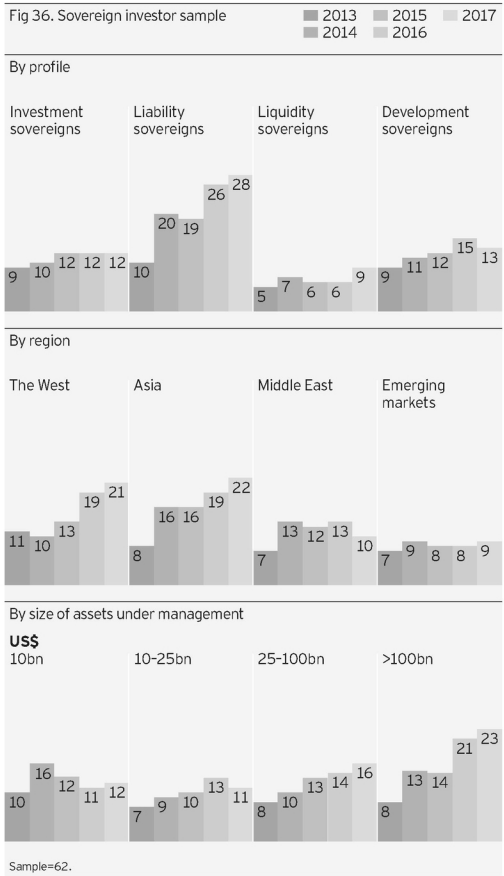
Sample and methodology

The fieldwork for this study was conducted by NMG's strategy consulting practice. Invesco chose to engage a specialist independent firm to ensure high-quality objective results. Key components of the methodology included:

- A focus on the key decision makers within sovereign investors and central banks, conducting interviews using experienced consultants and offering market insights rather than financial incentives
- In-depth (typically one-hour) face-to-face interviews using a structured questionnaire to ensure quantitative as well as qualitative analytics were collected
- Analysis capturing investment preferences as well as actual investment allocations with a bias toward actual allocations over stated preferences
- Results interpreted by NMG's strategy team with relevant consulting experience in the global asset management sector

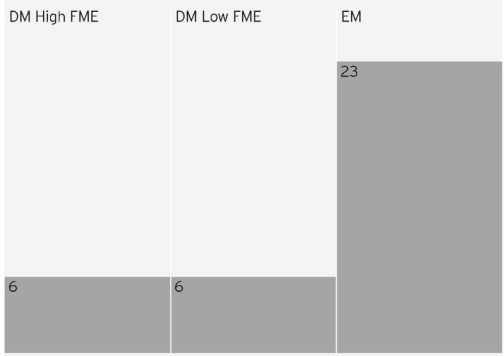
In 2017 we conducted interviews with 97 funds: 62 sovereign investors (compared to 59 in 2016) and 35 central bank reserve managers (18 in 2016). The 2017 sovereign investor sample is split into three core segmentation parameters (sovereign investor profile, region and size of assets under management) in figures 36 to 38. The 2017 central bank sample is broken down by segment in figure 39.

Fig 36. Sovereign investor sample



Sample=62.

Fig 37. Central bank sample by segment



Sample=35.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026726

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NMG's evidence-based insight programmes carry out interviews with industry-leading experts, top clients and intermediaries as a basis to analyse industry trends, competitive positioning and capability. Established programmes exist in asset and wealth management, life insurance and reinsurance across North America, the UK and Europe, Asia Pacific, South Africa and the Middle East.

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"SURVIVING THE CENTURY'

The inaugural Carl Sagan Memorial Lecture
Cornell University, 8 May 2017

It's a great honour to give this Carl Sagan lecture. The ideas he stood for need proclaiming louder than ever today. We need an optimistic vision of life's destiny --- in this world, and perhaps far beyond it. We need to think globally, we need to think rationally, we need to think long-term. Carl's influence was immense, through his science and – most of all, through his eloquence and global outreach.
In this talk I'll try to address some themes that would have engaged him..

We've been familiar with this image [Earthrise] for nearly 50 years –it's iconic for environmentalists. .

But suppose some hypothetical aliens had been watching the Earth for its entire history, what would they have seen? Over nearly all that immense time, 4.5 billion years, things would have changed very gradually. The continents drifted; the ice cover waxed and waned; successive species emerged, evolved and became extinct.

But in just a tiny sliver of Earth's history - the last one millionth part, a few thousand years - the patterns of vegetation altered much faster than before. This signalled the start of agriculture. Changes in land-use accelerated as human populations rose.

Then came even faster changes. The carbon dioxide in the atmosphere began to rise anomalously fast. The planet became an intense emitter of radio waves. And something else unprecedented happened: small projectiles launched from the planet's surface escaped the biosphere completely. Some were propelled into orbits around the Earth; some journeyed to the Moon and planets.

If they understood astrophysics, the aliens could confidently predict that our biosphere would face doom in a few billion years when the Sun flares up and dies. But could they have predicted this unprecedented runaway fever -- less than half way through the Earth's life?

And what might they see if they watched for another century? Will this spasm be followed by silence? Or will stability ensue? And will more projectiles leave the Earth to establish oases of life elsewhere?

These are the questions I'll speculate about

Some years ago I wrote a book which I entitled 'Our Final Century ?' My publisher deleted the question-mark. The American publishers changed the title to 'Our Final

Hour'. (you Americans seek instant gratification – and the converse).

Its theme was that this century is special: it's the first when one species, ours, has the planet's future in its hands. We're deep in an era that's called the anthropocene. We have huge powers for good. We could trigger the transition from biological to electronic intelligences. But, on the other hand, we could irreversibly degrade the biosphere, And advanced technology, if misdirected, could cause a devastating setback to civilization.

We've had one lucky escape already.

At any time in the Cold War era -- when armament levels escalated beyond all reason --- the superpowers could have stumbled towards armageddon through muddle and miscalculation. The threat is only in abeyance and still looms over us.

Nuclear weapons are based on 20th century science. I'll focus later in my talk on 21st century sciences -- bio, cyber, and AI – which offer huge potential benefits but also expose us to novel vulnerabilities

Astronomers often have to remind people that they're not astrologers. Like all scientists they hava a rotten record as forecasters – almost as bad as economists.

But even with a cloudy crystal ball there are some things we can predict about how our whole planet will change.

For instance, humanity's collective footprint is getting heavier,

Fifty years ago, world population was about 3 billion. It now exceeds 7 billion. The growth's been mainly in Asia and Africa, as shown in this map where regions are scaled in proportion to that growth.

The number of births per year, worldwide, peaked a few years ago and is going down, Nonetheless world population is forecast to rise to around 9 billion by 2050.

That's partly because most people in the developing world are young. They are yet to have children, and they will live longer.
The age histogram in the developing world will become more like it is in Europe.

The main growth is in East Asia , and it's there that the world's human and financial resources will become concentrated—ending 4 centuries of North Atlantic hegemony.

And there's more urbanization. Even by 2030 Lagos, San Paulo and Delhi will have populations above 30 million. To prevent megacities becoming turbulent dystopias will surely be a major challenge to governance.

Population growth seems currently under-discussed. That is maybe because doom-laden forecasts in the 1970s, by the Club of Rome, Paul Erlich and others, have proved off the mark. Up till now, food production has more than kept pace – famines stem from wars or mal-distribution, not overall shortage. And it's deemed by some a taboo subject -- tainted by association with eugenics in the 1920s and 30s, with Indian policies under Indira Gandhi, and more recently with China's hard-line one-child policy.

Can the Earth 'carry' 9 billion people? There seems no need for gloom or panic on this front... Improved agriculture – low-till, water-conserving, and perhaps involving GM crops could feed that number by mid-century. The buzz-phrase is 'sustainable intensification'.

But lifestyle changes are needed. The world couldn't sustain even its present population if everyone lived like Americans do today– using as much energy and eating as much beef.

Population trends beyond 2050 are harder to predict. They will depend on what people as yet unborn decide about the number and spacing of their children. Enhanced education and empowerment of women -- surely a benign priority in itself -- reduces fertility rates.

But the demographic transition hasn't reached parts of India and Sub-Saharan Africa. If families in Africa remain large,, then according to the UN that continent's population could double again by 2100, to 4 billion, thereby raising the global population to 11 billion. Nigeria alone would by then have as big a population as Europe and North America combined, and almost half of all the world's children would be in Africa.

Optimists remind us that each extra mouth brings also two hands and a brain. Nonetheless the higher the population becomes, the greater will be all pressures on resources, especially if the developing world narrows its gap with the developed world in its per capita consumption. So we must surely hope that the global figure declines rather than rises after 2050.

Moreover, if humanity's collective impact on nature pushes too hard against what Johan Rockstrom calls 'planetary boundaries', the resultant 'ecological shock' could

irreversibly impoverish our biosphere. Extinction rates are rising – we're destroying the book of life before we've read it.

Biodiversity is a crucial component of long-term human wellbeing. We're clearly harmed if fish stocks dwindle to extinction; there are plants in the rain forest whose gene pool might be useful to us. But for many environmentalists , preserving the richness of our biosphere has value in its own right, over and above what it means to us humans To quote the great ecologist E O Wilson 'mass extinction is the sin that future generations will least forgive us for'.

CLIMATE CHANGE

So the world's getting more crowded. And there's a second firm prediction: it will gradually get warmer. In contract to population issues, climate change is certainly not under-discussed – though it is under-acted-upon

The famous Keeling curve shows how the concentration of CO_2 in the air is rising, mainly due to the burning of fossil fuels .

The fifth IPCC report presented temperature- projections, for different assumptions about future rates of fossil fuel use. For each such assumption there's a spread bevause it remains unclear how much the climatic effects of CO_2 are amplified by associated changes in water vapour and clouds – the so-called sensitivity factor.

IPCC PROJECTIONS

But despite these uncertainties the science tells is that under 'business as usual' scenarios we can't rule out, by 2100, really catastrophic warming, and tipping points triggering long-term trends like the melting of Greenland's icecap.

Sadly, many deny this. But even among those who accept that this threat is real, there is a range of views. These stem from differences in economics and ethics -- in particular, in how much obligation we should feel towards future generations.

Bjorn Lomberg's Copenhagen Consensus, for instance applies commercial-style discounting -- and in effect writes off what happens beyond 2050. So, unsurprisingly he downplays the priority of addressing climate change in comparison with shorter-term efforts to help the world's poor.

But if you care about those who'll live into the 22st century and beyond, then, as economists like Stern and Weizman argue, you deem it worth paying an insurance premium now, to protect those generations against the worst-case scenarios.

Above all, it depends on an ethical issue – in optimizing people's life-chances, should we discriminate on grounds of date of birth?

(As a parenthesis, I'd note one policy context when an essentially zero discount rate is applied – radioactive waste disposal, where the depositories are required to prevent leakage for 10000 years – somewhat ironic when we can't plan the rest of energy policy even 30 years ahead)

[Consider this analogy. Suppose astronomers had tracked an asteroid, and calculated that it would hit the Earth in 2080, 65 years from now – not with certainty, but with (say) 10 percent probability. Would we relax, saying that it's a problem that can be set on one side for 50 years – people will then be richer, and it may turn out then that it's going to miss the Earth anyway? I don't think we would. There would surely be a consensus that we should start straight away and do our damnedest to find ways to deflect it, or mitigate its effects.]

Many still hope that our civilisation can segue smoothly towards a low-carbon future The pledges made at the Paris conference are a positive step. But even if they're honoured, this may not happen fast enough to prevent CO2 concentrations rising to dangerous levels.

Politicians seldom take a long-term view, and won't gain much resonance by advocating unwelcome lifestyle changes now – when the benefits accrue mainly to distant parts of the world, and are decades into the future.

But there's one measures to mitigate climate change that genuinely seems a 'win win' scenario.

CLEANER ENERGY SOURCES

It's that nations should accelerate R and D into all forms of low-carbon energy generation (renewables, , 4th generation nuclear, fusion, and the rest) . And into other technologies where parallel progress is crucial – especially storage (batteries, compressed air, pumped storage, flywheels, etc) and smart grids. That' why an encouraging outcome of Paris was an initiative called 'Mission Innovation'. It was launched by President Obama and by the Indian Prime Minister Modi. And endorsed by 20 other nations. It's a campaign to double publicly funded R and D into clean energy by 2020. There's been a parallel pledge by Bill Gates and other private philanthropists.

This target is a modest one . Presently, only 2 percent of publicly funded R and D is devoted to these challenges. Why shouldn't the percentage be comparable to spending on medical or defence research?

The faster these 'clean' technologies advance, the sooner will their prices fall so they become affordable to developing countries – where more generating capacity will be needed -- where the health of the poorest billions is jeopardized by smoky stoves

burning wood or dung -- and where there would otherwise be pressure to build coal-fired power stations.

RENEWABLES

It would be hard to think of a more inspiring challenge for young engineers than devising clean energy systems for the world.

But if this fails, and if it's clear, 20 years from now, that our climate seems heading irreversibly into dangerous territory, there may then be a pressure for 'panic measures'.

GEOENGINEERING

--- being fatalistic about continuing dependence on fossil fuels, but combating its effects by geoengineering.

GEOENGINEERING (PICTURE)

It's feasible, for instance, to inject enough aerosols into the stratosphere to cool the world's climate -- indeed what is scary is that this might be within the resources of a single nation, or even a single corporation. There could be unintended side- effects. Moreover, the warming would return with a vengeance if the countermeasures were ever discontinued; and other consequences of rising CO2 (especially the deleterious effects of ocean acidification) would be unchecked.

Geoengineering would be a political nightmare: not all nations would want to adjust the thermostat the same way. Very elaborate climatic modelling would be needed in order to calculate the regional impacts of an artificial intervention. (The only beneficiaries would be lawyers. They'd have a bonanza if nations could litigate over bad weather!).

It may be prudent to explore geoengineering techniques enough to clarify which options make sense, and perhaps damp down undue optimism about a technical 'quick fix' of our climate.

EARTH

I think we should be evangelists for new technologies – without them the world can't provide food, and sustainable energy, for an expanding .and more demanding population. But we need wisely-directed technology – advanced renewables are wise goals, geoengineering techniqoes probably aren't.

But what about the other technologies that pervade our lives? Can we cope with their

headlong advances?

We're getting more vulnerable. Our increasingly interconnected world depends on elaborate networks: electric-power grids, air traffic control, international finance, globally-dispersed manufacturing, and so forth. Unless these networks are highly resilient, their benefits could be outweighed by catastrophic (albeit rare) breakdowns. Our cities would be paralysed without electricity. Air travel can spread a pandemic worldwide within days. And social media can spread panic and rumour, and economic contagion, literally at the speed of light.

The smartphone, the web and their ancillaries are already crucial to our networked lives. But they would have seemed magic even 20 years ago. So, looking several decades ahead we must keep our minds open, or at least ajar, to transformative advances that may now seem science fiction.

There've been exciting advances in what's called generalized machine learning – Deep Mind (a small London company now bought up by Google) last year achieved a remarkable feat -- its computer beat the world champion in the game of 'Go'. And Carnegie-Mellon University has developed a machine that can bluff and calculate as well as the best human players of poker.

It's 20 years since IBM's 'Deep Blue' beat Kasparov, the world chess champion. But Deep Blue was programmed in detail by expert players. In contrast, the machines that play Go and Poker gained expertise by absorbing huge numbers of games and playing against themselves. Their designers don't themselves know how the machines make seemingly insightful decisions.

But advances are patchy. Robots are still clumsier than a child in moving pieces on a real chessboard. They can't tie your shoelaces or cut ole people's toenails. . But sensor technology, speech recognition, information searches and so forth are advancing apace.
But it's in deep space -- Carl Sagan's special arena – that robots will surely be transformative.
During this century the whole solar system will be explored by flotillas of miniaturized probes – far more advanced than the robot that ESA's Rosetta landed on a comet, or NASA's 'New Horizons' probe that transmitted amazing pictures from Pluto, 10,000 times further away than the moon.
These two instruments took ten years on their journeys.

And the amazing Cassini probe of Saturn is even more of an antique – it was launched more than20 years ago. Think how much better we could do today. And better, too than the 'Curiosity' rover on Mars

Later this century giant robotic fabricators may assemble vast lightweight structures in space (gossamer-thin radio reflectors or solar energy collectors , for instance) – using raw materials mined from the Moon or asteroids.

Robotic and AI advances are eroding the practical case for human spaceflight.

Nonetheless, I hope people will follow the robots, though it will be as risk-seeking adventurers rather than for practical goals. The most promising developments are spearheaded by private companies. Elon Musk's Space X, has launched unmanned payloads and docked with the Space Station – and has successfully recovered and reuseed the launch-rocket's first stage – presaging real cost-saving. He hopes soon to offer orbital flights to paying customers.

Wealthy adventurers are already signing up for a week-long trip round the far side of the Moon – voyaging further from Earth than anyone has been before I'm told they've sold a ticket for the second flight but not for the first flight.

We should surely acclaim these private enterprise efforts in space – they can tolerate higher risks than a western government could impose on publicly-funded civilian astronauts, and thereby cut costs compared to NASA or ESA. But they should be promoted as adventures or extreme sports -- the phrase 'space tourism' should be avoided. It lulls people into unrealistic confidence.

By 2100 courageous pioneers in the mould of (say) Felix Baumgartner, who broke the sound barrier in free fall from a high-altitude balloon -- may have established 'bases' independent from the Earth – on Mars, or maybe on asteroids. Musk himself (aged 45) says he wants to die on Mars – but not on impact.

But don't ever expect mass emigration from Earth. Nowhere in our Solar system offers an environment even as clement as the Antarctic or the top of Everest. It's a dangerous delusion to think that space offers an escape from Earth's problems. There's no 'Planet B'.

Indeed, space is an inherently hostile environment for humans. For that reason, even though we may wish to regulate genetic and cyborg technology on Earth, we should surely wish the space pioneers good luck in using all such techniques to adapt to alien conditions. They'll free from terrestrial regulation and have maximal incentive to do so. Indeed, these spacefarers may spearhead the post-human era – evolving within a few centuries into a new species

Few doubt that machines will gradually surpass more and more of our distinctively human capabilities – or enhance them via cyborg technology. Disagreements are basically about the timescale – the rate of travel, not the direction of travel. The cautious amongst us envisage timescales of centuries rather than decades before humans are overtaken or transcended by electronic intelligence – far transcending the chemical and metabolic limits of 'wet' organic brains. These entities will then persist, continuing to evolve, for billions of years. Moreover, the timescales for technological advance are but an instant compared to the slow timescales of the Darwinian selection that led to humanity's emergence – and (more relevantly) they are less than a millionth of the vast expanses of cosmic time lying ahead.

But we humans shouldn't feel too humbled. Even though we are surely not the terminal branch of an evolutionary tree, we could be of special cosmic significance for jump-starting the transition to inorganic (and potentially immortal) entities, spreading their influence far beyond the Earth, and far transcending our limitations.

Moreover, a planetary environment may suit us 'organics' – but interplanetary and interstellar space may be the preferred arena where robotic fabricators will have the grandest scope for construction, and where non-biological 'brains' may develop powers than humans can't even imagine.

And they could spread through the cosmos – interstellar travel isn't daunting to near-immortal beings.

Is there life out there already? Or is the Galaxy waiting for our progeny? We know there's nowhere in our solar system that harbours advanced life. However there may be freeze-dried bacteria on Mars.
There may be creatures swimming under the Ice on Saturn's moon Enceladus.
But let's widen our horizons to the realm of the stars.

The prime subject-matter of the Carl Sagan Institute would have enthralled Carl. We've learnt that most stars in the sky are orbited by retinues of planets, like the Sun is . But the evidence is mainly indirect; we don't observe the planet, but detect its influence on the motion or brightness of the star it's orbiting

The Carl Sagan Institute is specially interested in possible 'twins' of our Earth -- planets the same size as ours, on orbits with temperatures such that water neither boils nor stays frozen.

Some of these have been found – there are thought to be many millions in the Milky Way. There's one orbiting the nearest star, Proxima centauri
And another nearby faint star has 7 Earth-sized planets around it

Will there be life on them – maybe even intelligent life?
The outer three are in the habitable zone
They'd be spectacular places to live. Viewed fro the surface of one of the planets, the others would loom larger than our moon does to us – swinging past fast across the sky.
But they're very un-Earthly. Probably tidally locked so that they present the same face to their star –one hemisphere in perpetual light. The other always dark.

And the real goal, of course, is to see these exo-planets directly -- not just to infer them from their shadows .

But that's hard. To realise just how hard, suppose an alien astronomer with a powerful telescope was viewing the Earth from (say) 30 light years away -- the distance of a nearby star. Our planet would seem, in Carl's famous phrase, a 'pale blue dot', very close to a star (our Sun) that outshines it by many billions: a firefly next to a searchlight.

The shade of blue would be slightly different, depending on whether the Pacific ocean or the Eurasian land mass was facing them. The alien astronomers could infer the length of our 'day', the seasons, the gross topography, and the climate. By analysing the faint light, they could infer that it had a biosphere.
The James Webb space telescope may offer clues. But within 10 years, the European Southern Observatory, will hopefully have its ELT – with a mosaic mirror 39 metres across.
.
Such instruments will be drawing inferences like this about exo-planets the size of our Earth.

LIFE LIKELIHOOD

Habitable doesn't mean inhabited – but for most of us that's the number-one question.

We still don't know the likelihood – we know too little about how life began on Earth to lay confident odds. What triggered the transition from complex molecules to entities that can metabolise and reproduce? It might have involved a fluke so rare that it happened only once in the entire Galaxy. On the other hand, this crucial

transition might have been almost inevitable given the 'right' environment. We just don't know -- nor do we know if the DNA/RNA chemistry of terrestrial life is the only possibility, or just one chemical basis among many options that could be realized elsewhere
LIFE

Moreover, even if simple life is widespread, we can't assess the odds that it evolves into a complex biosphere. And, even it did, it might anyway be unrecognizably different.

And, by the way, it's too anthropocentric to limit attention to Earth-like planets. Carl Sagan and his Cornell colleague Ed Salpeter, envisaged balloon-like creatures floating in the dense atmospheres of Jupiter-like planets. We should also be mindful that seemingly artificial emissions could come from super-intelligent (though not necessarily conscious) computers, created by a race of alien beings that had already died out.

Indeed I think that's the most likely option if evolution took a similar course to what may happen on Earth.

If the emergence of technology on a planet lags significantly behind what has happened on Earth then that planet would plainly reveal no evidence of ET. But life around a star older than the Sun could have had a head-start of a billion years or more. Thus it may already have 'spawned' the futuristic scenario – trasitioning from organic to electronic -- that I envisaged as our Earth's post-human future.

So even if SETI searches revealed some artificial emission, we'd be most unlikely to 'catch' alien intelligence in the brief sliver of time when it was still in organic form. I think it's less likely be a decodable message than to be a byproduct (or even a malfunction) of some super-complex interstellar technology that could trace its lineage back to alien organic beings (which might still exist on their home planet, or might long ago have died out).

I won't hold my breath, but SETI programmes are a worthwhile gamble - because success in the search would carry the momentous message that concepts of logic and physics aren't limited to the hardware in human skulls.

Even if intelligence were widespread in the cosmos, we may only ever recognise a small and atypical fraction of it. Moreover , the habit of referring to ET as an 'alien civilisation' may be too restrictive. A 'civilisation' connotes a society of individuals: in contrast, ET might be a single integrated intelligence

Perhaps the cosmos teems with life, even complex life; on the other hand, our Earth could be unique among the billions of planets that surely exist. That would be depressing for the searchers. But it would allow us to be less cosmically modest – Earth, though tiny, could be the most complex and interesting entity in the entire Galaxy – and its fate of cosmic and not merely terrestrial significance.

. So let me conclude by focusing back closer to here and now.

Even in the 'concertinered' timeline that astronomers envisage -- extending billions of years into the future, as well as into the past -- this century may be a defining era. The century when humans jump-start the transition to electronic (and potentially immortal) entities, that eventually spread their influence far beyond the Earth, and far transcend our limitations. Or -- to take a darker view – the century where our follies could foreclose the immense future potential.

We fret unduly about small risks – air crashes. carcinogens in food, low radiation doses, etc. But I's argue that we're in denial about some newly emergent threats, which may seem improbable but whose consequences could be globally devastating. Some of these are environmental, others are the potential downsides of novel technologies.

So how can those of us concerned about these issues – and inspired by Carl Sagan's long-term vision – influence policy-makers?

The trouble is that even the best politicians focus mainly on the urgent and parochial – and getting re-elected. This is an endemic frustration for those who've been official scientific advisors in governments. . To attract politicians' attention you must get headlined in the press , and fill their in-boxes. So scientists can have more leverage indirectly -- by campaigning, so that the public and the media amplify their voice. Carl was of course ta preeminent exemplar of the concerned scientist – and had immense influence through his writings. broadcasts and lectures and campaigns.. And he was before the age of social media and tweets. He would have been a leader of the recent march for science – electrifying crowds through his passion and his eloquence.
And of course the challenges are global. Coping with potential shortage of resources -- and transitioning to low carbon energy --- can't be solved by each nation separately.

Science is a universal culture, spanning all nations and faiths. So scientists confront fewer impediments on straddling political divides. Carl was himself close to the leaders of the Soviet space programme. The SETI initiative with Shklovski, and joint projects with Raoul Sagdeev. And the campaign to raise concern about nuclear winter.
.

I think all scientists should, following his example, divert some of their efforts towards public policy -- and engage with government, business, and NGOs

We need a focus on projects that are long-term in political perspectives, even if a mere instant in the history of our planet. And that's something that universities can do -- not least because they're full of young people who will live to the end of the century. We should use their expertise to address the extreme 'low probability/high consequence' threats that I've mentioned -- to assess which can be dismissed firmly as science fiction, and to consider how to enhance resilience against the more credible ones.

But though we live under the shadow of these threats, and may be political pessimists, we must remain techno-optimists. Advances in AI, biotech, nanotech and space can boost the developing as well as the developed world. Indeed if we don't responsibly progress these new technologies we won't achieve a bright vision. Undiluted application of the 'precautionary principle' has a manifest downside.

We're all on this crowded world together. "Space-ship Earth" is hurtling through the void. Its passengers are anxious and fractious. Their life-support system is vulnerable to disruption and break-downs. But there is too little planning too little horizon-scanning, too little awareness of long-term risks.

A wise mantra is that 'the unfamiliar is not the same as the improbable'.

I want to conclude with some words from two scientific sages.

First, HG Wells.

Back in 1902. Wells was already alert to the risk of global disaster:

"It is impossible to show why certain things should not utterly destroy and end the human story .. and make all our efforts vain .... something from space, or pestilence, or some great disease of the atmosphere, some trailing cometary poison, some great emanation of vapour from the interior of the Earth, or new animals to prey on us, or some drug or wrecking madness in the mind of man".

But nonetheless he retained a vision. "Humanity", he proclaimed, "has come some way, and the distance we have travelled gives us some earnest of the way we have to go. All the past is but the beginning of a beginning; all that the human mind has accomplished is but the dream before the awakening."

His rather purple prose still resonates more than a hundred years later. Were he writing today he would have been elated by our expanded vision of life and the cosmos -- but he'd have been even more anxious about the perils we might face. He reflects the mix of optimism and anxiety – and of speculation and science – which I've tried to offer in this lecture.

MEDAWAR

But we mustn't leap from denial to despair. So I give the last word to another sage: the eloquent biologist Peter Medawar:

"The bells that toll for mankind are ..... like the bells of Alpine cattle. They are attached to our own necks, and it must be our fault if they do not make a tuneful and melodious sound."

From: [redacted]
Sent: 7/19/2017 2:09:32 PM
To: JEEVACATION@gmail.com
Subject: Fwd: SV: BBB AB konto #
Attachments: SALSS 2017 - Exclusive Preview - 2017-07-17.pdf; AFCF4528-BABC-4E04-A585-33C370B0CF1D.JPG

Importance: High

Dear Jeffrey,

Huge thanks for giving BBB another chance!!We have 200 quite fantastic young women including a minister, an ambassador-Lisa! a professor -your Anna!-a princess-Sofia! and the other 196
are doing pretty good as well...lots of young girls in Sweden now dream of joining BBB...we really build something
unique and worthwhile!! Young dean at Stockholm School of Economics is an idiot to through it all out but
now its time to develop it smartly! I will be doing a famous Summer radio program in a few weeks in Sweden,
1 million listeners...among other things, I will talk about the girls..(and my blind date long ago with a Donald
Trump..ha ha!) Anyway, please see details for the money transaction below - Edyta is my banker ann a super
person! - I am leaving tomorrow night if anything? Also, if you send me a cell phone number, I can start sending
you photos from BBB, much easier than e-mail.

TACK sweetheart for continuing believing in BBB! Kram BE

Barbro C. Ehnbom
Chairman, Swedish-American Life Science Summit
Office: [redacted]
Cell: [redacted]
Sweden: [redacted]

-----Original Message-----
From: Edyta.Wynberg <[redacted]>
To: behnbom[redacted]
Sent: Wed, Jul 19, 2017 9:05 am
Subject: SV: BBB AB konto #?

Hej Barbro!

Beneficiary name: BBB AB
Beneficiarys bank: SEB (Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken)
106 40 Stockholm

Beneficiarys bank SWIFT address/BIC: ESSESESS
Beneficiarys account no: [redacted]
IBAN: IBAN[redacted]

Vi hörs
Kram
Edyta

Edyta Wynberg
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47th Vice President of the United States | Founder, Biden Cancer Initiative

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Head, MedImmune | Executive Vice President, AstraZeneca

Mr. Gregory Simon
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Dr. Göran K. Hansson
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SWEDISH LIFE SCIENCE SUMMIT 2017

From: Masha Drokova [redacted]
Sent: 8/7/2017 9:23:29 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Re:

Importance: High

Begin forwarded message:

From: Masha Drokova <[redacted]>
Date: August 7, 2017 at 12:28:08 AM PDT
To: "Nowak, Martin A." <[redacted]>
Subject: Re:

Hi Martin,

Just wanted to check if you've seen the previous email.

If it's more convenient for you to discuss it by Skype, let me know. If you want to skip any of them it's not a problem.

On Aug 2, 2017, at 3:02 PM, Masha Drokova [redacted]> wrote:

Hi Martin,

Thanks for the great call last week. Enjoyed it a lot. Could I ask you some follow up questions?

Question to be answered by Martin.

- What specifically did Epstein fund that allowed you to make an advancement in applying math to complicated systems, right?
- Is there a paper you're about to publish? Something in peer review? That might come out in Nature or Science?
- The area you work on seems to be an attractive area of science, is it hard to secure funding?
- Who are the greatest critics of your ideas on evolution? (is it EO Wilson?) have things evolved since 2010?
- What is it you think the public just does not understand about your work?
- What is it that the media gets wrong about your work and science in general (i know of only one journalist with a degree in applied math, and most have never even taken calculus)
- How has funding for your field and for you changed under Trump?

Question

- Would you be ok with the angle about how much scientist should care about where their funding comes from? It's a hot topic given this story

On Jul 28, 2017, at 7:07 AM, Masha Drokova <[redacted]> wrote:

great, will do

On Jul 28, 2017, at 7:03 AM, Nowak, Martin A. <[redacted]> wrote:

ET time
please call me on Skype when you are ready

On Jul 28, 2017, at 9:48 AM, Masha Drokova <[redacted]> wrote:

Sure, I'm available in 1.5 h and next few hours (until 11:30am PST). What time zone are you at?

On Jul 28, 2017, at 2:15 AM, Nowak, Martin A. <[redacted]> wrote:

Today would be good. Some time in the afternoon?

On Jul 27, 2017, at 10:41 PM, Masha Drokova <[redacted]> wrote:

was on the plane again. should I ping you sometime tomorrow?

On Jul 27, 2017, at 2:38 PM, Nowak, Martin A. <[redacted]> wrote:

would you like to Skype now?

On Jul 25, 2017, at 2:10 PM, Masha Drokova <[redacted]> wrote:

added there. I was on the road today, just read you email. would you be available tomorrow afternoon CET time or anytime on Friday morning/early afternoon PST?

On Jul 25, 2017, at 3:56 PM, Nowak, Martin A. <[redacted]> wrote:

could you please Skype me at martin.a.nowak

On Jul 25, 2017, at 5:39 AM, Masha Drokova <[redacted]> wrote:

Hi Martin!

Following up to see when it's convenient to call you for 15-20 min.

Masha

On Jul 22, 2017, at 7:49 PM, Masha Drokova <[redacted]> wrote:

Thank you Martin! let's do Skype?I'm there as mashadrokova. What time is the best for you? I'm in Europe now, early morning/afternoon would be ideal.

On Jul 22, 2017, at 3:50 PM, Nowak, Martin A. <[redacted] wrote:

very happy to talk
which number may i call?
or skype?

On Jul 20, 2017, at 10:31 PM, Masha Drokova <[redacted]> wrote:

thank you Jeffrey!

Martin, great meeting you. I'd be happy to have a call for around 20 min whenever it's convenient for you. Let me know.

Masha

On Jul 21, 2017, at 4:27 AM, jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

martin , masha is helpiing me with PR , I told her she might want to speak to you, im copying her on this mail

--

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From: Thomas Jr., Landon [redacted]
Sent: 8/23/2017 6:31:58 PM
To: Owen Blicksilver [redacted]
BCC: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Barrack

Importance: High

Hi Owen -- you probably saw this, but wanted to pass on just the same. Still very interested in doing a story on Tom.

Thanks.

Landon

http://www.politico.com/story/2017/08/22/trump-arizona-phoenix-rally-241923

At dinners at Trump's Bedminster, New Jersey, golf club, billionaire investor Tom Barrack and New York real estate tycoon Richard LeFrak both talked about his potential to have more support, administration officials and advisers said. Barrack, in particular, homed in on the president's sagging poll numbers and encouraged him to govern past his political base, according to one person briefed on the conversation.

--
Landon Thomas, Jr.
Financial Reporter
New York Times
[redacted]
http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/people/t/landon_jr_thomas/index.html

From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 9/5/2017 10:18:41 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]

Importance: High

Rachel Wolfson, Contributor Digital marketing consultant, writer and fitness buff. I enjoy writing about women in tech, innovating startups and everything in-between.

Private Donor Helps Fund Scientists After Trump's Proposed "Anti-Science" Budget Cuts

09/05/2017 05:48 pm ET

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The famous American Astrophysicist, Neil deGrasse Tyson, once said,

"The good thing about science is that it's true, whether or not you believe in it."

Neil deGrasse Tyson's quote from The Colbert Report distinguishes the difference between opinion and fact. Science, as a base, is always true. Yet, it is interpretation that imparts human error. In other words, while science is a universal truth, not everyone believes in the importance of science.

Consider President Trump's 2018 budget request. Many of these call for massive cuts in spending on scientific research, medical research, disease prevention programs and more. If these requests are met, the National Cancer Institute would face a $1 billion cut compared to its 2017 budget. The National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute could see a $575 million cut, and the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases would see a reduction of $838 million. The administration would cut the overall National Institutes of Health budget from $31.8 billion to $26 billion.

The National Science Foundation, which gives $7 billion a year in grants to universities and research institutes, is not specifically mentioned in the budget. However, unspecified "other agencies" are in line for a 9.8 percent budget cut.

Since Trump became president, the official White House website also deleted all mentions of climate from the site – all but one – the promise to eliminate the "harmful and unnecessary" Climate Action Plan.

Following these actions, scientists and other employees of the EPA and USDA were told not to speak to the public about climate change or other scientific concerns that should be addressed.

Private Donations To Fund Science

Due to Trump's anti-science policies and budget cuts, scientists are looking towards private donors for funding. Philanthropic dollars have now come to play an important role in scientific progress.

The successful American financier and philanthropist, Jeffery Epstein, is well known for supporting science; he is currently taking action to help a number of scientists thrive during the "Trump Era."

None of this is new for Jeffery, though. Jeffery's funding for science dates back to the year 2000, when he founded the Jeffery Epstein VI foundation to support cutting-edge science and science education around the world. The Jeffrey Epstein VI Foundation has supported many leading scientists including Stephen Hawkings,

Martin Nowak, Gregory Benford, Lee Smolin, Seth Lloyd, Lawrence Krauss, Artificial Intelligence scientist, Marvin Minsky and Nobel Laureates Gerard 't Hooft, David Gross and Frank Wilczek.

In 2003, the Foundation established the Program for Evolutionary Dynamics at Harvard University, providing a $35 million gift to the university. The program is one of the first to study the evolution of molecular biology with the primary use of mathematics. It also became one of the first departments to develop a mathematical model to show how cancer cells evolve as infectious bacteria and viruses such as HIV.

Lifeboat Foundation
American Financier and Philanthropist, Jeffery Epstein
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While Jeffrey has donated large sums of money to help find a cure for cancer and infectious diseases, President Trump's proposed budget seeks an $82 million cut for the center that works on vaccine-preventable and respiratory diseases, such as influenza and measles.

Trump's budget also proposes a cut of $186 million from programs at CDC's center on HIV/AIDS, viral hepatitis, sexually transmitted infections and tuberculosis prevention. One of the biggest cuts, however, is $222 million for the agency's chronic disease prevention programs, which are designed to help people prevent diabetes, heart disease and stroke, and obesity.

"I have helped scientists for 20 years and I don't really believe that you can say you fully understand a particular problem, unless your ideas can be tested against solid evidence," Jeffery said. "But to tackle those problem you need resources, and if you have them the results can be marvellous. For example, in one simple and elegant equation, mathematics managed to describe the whole motion of the planets that alluded men for ages."

A Helping Hand Goes A Long Way

Private donors who help fund science-based research and projects, such as Jeffery, are making a huge difference. When federal dollars become tight, the donors who step in become the real heroes. And while private funds are not usually as large as federal funds, these donations can go a long way in terms of finding cures for diseases.

For example, HIV/AIDS was once viewed as a death sentence in the 1980s, but years of privately-funded research have helped scientists understand the basic biology of viruses and the workings on DNA. The Program for Evolutionary Dynamics, funded by Jeffery, is now conducting research in mapping colon cancer resistance to inhibitor drugs, mapping the progression of pancreatic cancer, targeting the topology of minority mutations that drive tumor growth and creating a database to predict and minimize resistance to HIV drugs.

Robert Trivers is an evolutionary biologist and sociobiologist, who some consider to be one of the most influential evolutionary theorists alive today. Robert is one of the scientists who has received support from Jeffrey.

"Jeffrey's donations have permitted me to work on whatever I choose, in whatever way I choose," Robert said. "Most of this is theoretical work. I think I have recently solved the problem of "honour killings" in terms of the effects of repeated first cousin marriages (Muslim) and long histories of within caste endogamy (Hindu). Jeffrey's support included discussions with him, which were valuable mostly because he is extremely bright, open-minded and widely travelled. They key is that he gives me consistent, warm support without me having to write endless applications for grants, and trusts me to put it to good use, as indeed I do."

Yet as Trump continues to make anti-science policies and excessive budget cuts, scientists and their supporters can only hope for the best. Science is a unviersal truth, but unfortunately, the truth can be ignored. With the help from private donors though, science can continue to thrive and help us evolve.

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Private Donor Helps Fund Scientists After Trump's Proposed "Anti-Science" Budget Cuts

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Great Bay
CONDOMINIUM OWNERS ASSOCIATION INC
6910 Great Bay, St. Thomas, USVI 00802
BoardStThomas@aol.com
1-340-715-9042

September 13, 2017

Dear Fellow Ritz-Carlton Club Member,

If you've been following the TV news, you already know that St. Thomas has taken a dreadful hit by Hurricane Irma. President Donald Trump, who has authorized disaster relief for the Virgin Islands, plans to visit St. Thomas "in the next six or seven days" according to Governor Kenneth Mapp.

Our Club appears to have stood up reasonably well, at least when compared with the devastation elsewhere on the island. Many homes have been reduced to rubble, including those of some of our employees as you have heard. The insurance adjusters arrived today, an important step in obtaining the detailed damage and insurance information. The damage seems to grow from the far end of the beach toward the Hotel, with only modest damage in the Lily Building, more damage in Gardenia and Heliconia and even more at the Hotel.

About 40% of our Residences are currently usable—with electricity and air conditioning—and they are fully occupied mostly by our employees. Many of these employees have returned to work, notwithstanding the hardships in their personal lives. 70% of the exterior lighting has been restored. Road and pathways on our property have been cleared. Work has also begun on restoring the landscaping, which was decimated by Irma. The Food Center is back open. Some electricity has been restored in the downtown area. Many ATM machines are now operational but with most limiting cash withdrawals to $100.

The airport is still closed to commercial traffic. We know that some of our roofs have been damaged. Our air conditioners have been damaged. Some windows were broken and some doors were blown in by the 200 mph gusts. So we know there is water damage. But we don't know how much. Communication is still a major challenge. There is no internet service at the club yet and cell service on our side of the island is extremely spotty.

There has been some looting and other lawlessness in some areas. Local law enforcement is now supported by resources from our federal and state governments. Our on-site team reports that we have been spared that threat. In addition to our own Loss Prevention staff, our Management Company has hired an independent security team to help protect our property.

One of the most important questions we must address is just when our Club might open again. The Club is closed through October 7 and Member Services is not presently taking any reservations through December 17. There is a strong possibility that our re-start date could hinge on when the rest of St. Thomas recovers, and it is simply impossible to predict that date at this time. Your Board and the Management team are monitoring this closely and we will keep you apprised.

And finally, we thank all who have contributed to the GBCOA Employee Relief Fund. Our Ladies and Gentlemen are in desperate need of your help. They deeply appreciate whatever you may offer to help, as does the Board. Thank you!

GREAT BAY CONDOMINIUM OWNERS ASSOCIATION, INC.

6910 GREAT BAY; ST. THOMAS USVI 00802

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SEP 9, 2017 @ 05:48 PM 729

12 Stocks to Buy Now

Swedish American Group Focuses On Cancer, Autoimmune Diseases At Life Science Summit

Gene Marcial, CONTRIBUTOR
I have an insider's take on Wall Street FULL BIO

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Respected and acclaimed as rock stars in the arcane universe of life sciences, global scientists converged in Stockholm in late August this year for the annual Swedish American Life Science Summit (SALSS) meeting, where they unveiled and dissected revolutionary health care platforms. Among them are the use of robotics in surgery, how nanotechnology may make us "forever young," applications of space technology in life sciences, and the "Moonshot" cancer program initiated by former Vice President Joseph Biden.

Without doubt, global investors are closely watching organizations such as SALSS to discover the latest innovations and discoveries in life science. This area is replete with groups deeply involved in original research. So one of the major topics discussed at the SALSS conference was "impact investing," or why investors should pay closer attention to investing in life science.

"In today's world with an aging population, we observe a higher occurrence of chronic diseases, such as cancer and autoimmune conditions," noted Hans Straberg, chairman of Atlas Copco, and former CEO of Electrolux. "So Big Pharma and the industry are looking beyond the chemical and biologically derived molecules." And as universities and small startups have taken the lead in R&D investments, "Big Pharma is very much dependent on collaborating with them, or acquiring their technologies," he argued.

Today Big Pharma has a "really strong position" in life sciences and are Looking for "new blockbusters to replace current stars that are coming off-patent," he said. The current focus, added Straberg, is "very much on finding cures for diseases like cancer, autoimmunity, allergy and infection," and employing various new technologies.

So new ideas to address a variety of serious medical issues have always attracted medical luminaries to SALSS, and at this year's conference, the speakers included Biden Cancer Initiative Executive Director Gregory Simon, Nobel Foundation chairman Dr. Carl Henrik Heldin, European Federation of Pharmaceutical Industries Director-General Richard Bergstrom, and Microsoft Healthcare's chief development officer Mathias Ekman.

Also among the expert speakers were Pfizer executive vice president and chief of the company's worldwide research development Dr. Michael Dolsten, Secretary-General of the Royal Swedish Academy Life Sciences' Dr. Goran Hansson, Google Healthcare and Cloud business manager Ebba Kraemer, China Kindstar Global Diagnostics CEO Shiang Huang, AVRA Medical Robotics founder and CEO Alen York, expert in diabetes-related issues and CEO of Lyfebulb Dr. Karin Hehenberger, and the founder and former chairman of Human Genome Sciences and currently chairman of ACCESS Health International Dr. William A. Haseltine.

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"Throughout the years, Swedish research and innovation have led the way to disruptive changes within medicine, which has resulted in an immense impact on people's lives and great value for society," argued Dr. Goran K. Hansson, secretary general of The Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences. Today, "we see an increased interest of foreign capital in Swedish Life Science, which the Swedish government embraces," he said. Swedish Life Science players, he added, "look for international expansion

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– especially within healthcare services."

One of main focus of this year's SALSS conference was the "Cancer Moonshot," which is now known as the Biden Cancer Initiative, represented by Gregory Simon, founder and executive director of The Biden Cancer Initiative. As part of this year's conference theme of "Moonshot & Beyond," one of the speakers was Swedish astronaut Dr. Christer Fuglesang, who talked about space technology and how it stimulates creativity when applied to life sciences.

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SEP 9, 2017 @ 05:48 PM 729 12 Stocks to Buy Now

Swedish American Group Focuses On Cancer, Autoimmune Diseases At Life Science Summit

Gene Marcial, CONTRIBUTOR
I have an insider's take on Wall Street FULL BIO
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Continued from page 1

"Part of this year's conference focus was the current transformation of the HealthTech industry, driven by the ICT and tech players rather than by the traditional medtech companies," said Barbro C. Ehnbom, chairman and founder of SALSS. Also significant, she added, was the participation of numerous women at this year's summit, led by the keynote speaker Dr. Bahija Jallal, executive vice president at AsraZeneca and head of Medimmune. " We are proud and glad that so many prominent women are actually SALSS women, including Dr. Jallal, which made this 2017 summit more exceptional," said Ms. Ehnbom.

One of the little known companies that attracted a lot of attention at the conference was AVRA Medical Robotics, a development-stage company based in Orlando, Florida, that has a new generation of "semi-autonomous medical robots for image-capture, navigation, and tissue targeting."

Specifically, these "medical robots" perform computer-assisted surgery, with human medical surgeons operating a remote surgical device via a console. In fact, they are not really robots as we know them: AVRA has developed a "novel and truly robotic single-arms platform for the field of aesthetics, skin and wound care as well as dermato-plastic surgery," said Barry F. Cohen, AVRA's CEO and founder. The company's first design integrates software, image guidance, navigation and targeting systems, to allow autonomous needling of skin, he explained.

"The future of surgery will be determined by success in gaining precision access to anny area of the human body with the smallest incisions and deploying therapies to specific tissues, glands and organs," asserted Alen York, an AVRA senior executive. Limitations in conventional surgeries, he said, are "demanding more autonomous, intelligent robot systems that go beyond the capability of a human being." AVRA'S platform focused on needling technology "represents a key breakthrough in aesthetics, wound care, and autonomous drug delivery platforms, integration of artificial intelligence and augmented reality that will allow," says York, for a new paradigm in surgical training, planning and treatment.

SmartwiseSweden AB is another young biotech that presened at SALSS. It has developed what it calls the Extroducer, a micro catheter for injecting cells, biologics and small molecule therapy directly into organs. "The tiny diameter of the Extroducer, with the width of a hair, enables the needle to penetrate the blood vessel wall and deliver a payload via the smallest blood vessels in the body, making perviously inaccessible regions now available to direct tissue projection," said Jonthan Clarke, CEO of Smartwise. Its product is the first of its kind of versatile device that allows for direct local injection of substances into multiple organs, such as the heart, pancreas, liver and kidney.

"We have shown successful and safe pre-clinical delivery of insulin producing cells into the pancreas and modified RNA to the heart," said Clarke, who admitted that he is in talks with multiple major pharmaceutical companies for licensing or other agreements to advance production. Smartwise is still privately owned.

ProLung, a Salt Lake city-based biotechnology company focused singularly on improving lung cancer survival, has developed a breakthrough test with precision volume-averaging "bioconductive technology" to collect data to generate a personalized score indicating the likelihood of malignancy. With an estimated one billion people at high-risk for lung cancer worldwide, it has the lowest five-year survival rate, or 16%, of all major cancers, and is the leading cause of cancer death, said Steven C. Eror, founder, president and CEO of ProLung. The copany's test is non-invasive and non-radiating that reduces the wait time from months to just one day, he added.

The test has received a "CE Mark and ISO 13485" manufacturing certificate and is approved for sale in the EEA and EFTA countries, said Eror. In the U.S., the ProLung test is still for investigational use only and undergoing multi-site clinical trials for FDA clearance as a "510(k) device," he added.

Because the annual SALSS coference has attracted exerts worldwiude, it has become a central focus for life science companies to present and exhibit their new products or novel technology to a growing number of medical and scientific experts looking for the next breakthrough product in life sciences.

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From: Barry J. Cohen [redacted]
Sent: 10/23/2017 2:43:33 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
CC: Joseph Vinciguerra [redacted]
Subject: G650 profit model
Attachments: Odysseus Profit Model.xlsx

Importance: High

You asked for this a while back. It's not particularly self-explanatory. Joe V reviewed it with Ruth Wimer and Dave Deyoe, our aviation and aviation tax counsel at MWE. Let either of us know if you'd like to go over it.

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, October 02, 2017 5:20 PM
To: Barry J. Cohen [redacted]
Subject: Re: Plane management

can you share?

On Mon, Oct 2, 2017 at 5:17 PM, Barry J. Cohen <[redacted] wrote:

On our to-do list, but back of the envelope, we satisfied ourselves that after depreciation, we would show a profit. (In part because Apollo charter payments factor in depreciation.)

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, October 02, 2017 5:14 PM
To: Barry J. Cohen <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Plane management

did anyone provide you with a biz plan that shows the proposal will generat a profit ?

On Mon, Oct 2, 2017 at 4:30 PM, Barry J. Cohen <[redacted]> wrote:

Adding Internet and possibly changing cushions. I recommended we do it with the 4 year inspection in the spring, but haven't heard back from him. I think I talked him out of automating the divans. I agreed with what you said about that.

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, October 02, 2017 4:29 PM
To: Barry J. Cohen <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: Plane management

isnt he changing the cushions? etc and adding internet?

On Mon, Oct 2, 2017 at 4:23 PM, Barry J. Cohen [redacted] wrote:

Ah yes.

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, October 02, 2017 4:23 PM
To: Barry J. Cohen [redacted]
Subject: Re: Plane management

new depreciation rules proposed under trump

On Mon, Oct 2, 2017 at 4:13 PM, Barry J. Cohen [redacted] wrote:

GV is in inspection and going well. Not sure what renovations you mean?

On depreciation, we think we cannot use accelerated due to foreign travel preponderance, and obviously can't use bonus because not new. We think we are stuck with straight-line depreciation which will be passive.

Are you saying that Jet vs. EJM could hinge on the type of plane usage? Not sure I follow that.

From: jeffrey E. [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, October 02, 2017 3:42 PM
To: Barry J. Cohen [redacted]; Melanie Spinella [redacted]
Subject: Re: Plane management

dont you want to see what the depreciation rules are. ? it depends on what you intend to do with it/ ? where do you stand with the renovations and the sale of the 5

On Mon, Oct 2, 2017 at 2:33 PM, Barry J. Cohen [redacted] wrote:

Thinking of switching from Jet Aviation to EJM. EJM is more expensive. Do you have a point of view?

Sent from my iPhone

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From: Lawrence Krauss [redacted]
Sent: 12/11/2017 5:47:53 PM
To: Sam Harris [redacted]
CC: Travis Pangburn [redacted]; Lawrence Krauss [redacted]
Subject: Re: Sexual harassment and Lawrence Krauss from [redacted]
Attachments: image002.png

Importance: High

I was planning on writing both of you today or tomorrow if buzzfeed decided to go ahead with their story after I wrote to them, but since they sent this to you here is what I was planning to forward.. namely my response to their email and their original email. I hope it helps. They have clearly decided in advance to try to smear me, and potentially other atheists (I found the remarks in their 'miscellaneous facts' telling in this regard), and I felt a detailed response to the false claims was important. If you want to discuss this further I am happy to. I am currently on a plane heading to phoenix.

Thanks for forwarding.

LMK

Begin forwarded message:

From: Lawrence Krauss <[redacted]>
Subject: Re: URGENT: BuzzFeed News inquiry re allegations of sexual harassment
Date: December 11, 2017 at 10:18:30 AM MST
To: Peter Aldhous [redacted]>
Cc: [redacted]

I appreciate the opportunity to respond to your email. I am currently on a plane until noon pacific time, and then heading to a meeting right after landing, till about 2 pm or so. While I am running the risk that you will report my comments, if you do, either out of context, or incompletely, I am responding with an effort to be complete, as I always try and do with reporters. If you decide to go ahead with a story, which, after reading my responses, I hope you decide is inappropriate, I would like you to quote my responses fully in order not to distort them.

It is hard to know how to respond to a list of false and/or distorted allegations, along with misleading statements. I treat people I interact with with respect, and I work hard to support and mentor students, colleagues, and members of the general public, and this is supported by the institutions of which I am a part. I do not sexually harass people. If the purpose of your reporting is to somehow argue that Universities and other institutions are lax in dealing with well known individuals like myself, then in fact the situation is quite the opposite. My high public profile opens me up to more scrutiny at these institutions, not less, and it also opens me up to a host of unfounded outside complaints and allegations that other faculty do not receive, each of which the University has to respond to. The fact that I have remained a professor in all Universities with which I have been associated, in good standing, and also an officer or an invited speaker at organizations like CFI, which have strict harassment policies, is a confirmation of the fact that their experience validates a trust in my behavior. I was asked to be an honorary director of CFI, and continue to be invited to their last 3 meetings to speak, specifically because, as they have written me after the fact, the attendees universally appreciated my talks, my courtesy, and graciousness in spending time with the attendees. If the purpose of your report is to impugn my integrity or suggest I have a history of harassment, that too is false. As noted in one of your 'miscellaneous facts', as a scientist I try and remain skeptical, and rely on empirical evidence, rather than allegations and innuendo by people whose motives I cannot judge. I also try and judge the facts in context. The

fact that Universities and other organizations employ me or have me on their boards, or invite me to meetings is because they value my contributions and my actions.

The items you list are false or distorted. Item 1 refers to a consensual encounter in my hotel room in 2006 where we mutually decided, in a polite discussion in fact, that taking it any further would not be appropriate, and there were respectful and platonic encounters afterwards. There is nothing to comment on in item 3, which involves an anonymous 3rd party claim because I know nothing about it, there are no details provided, and it clearly was not taken seriously enough to result in any university action. Item 4 is confusing. Are you saying that because I decided I didn't want to go out to a bar with a group of attendees that I was harassing them? The second part did not happen. Re incident 5: The 'female companion' in this case is my wife, who accompanied me on the cruise, and has attested to the fact that the claim is false. This is what I wrote at the time in response to the blog in question, causing it to be taken down.

It is worth responding to Item 2 and 6 in more detail,

Re item 2: the student in question was interested in science communication, and on dozens of occasions came to me, asked me to talk over coffee, or wrote to me with questions. When she asked about advice for after graduation I DID tell her she was different than the other students in her year. The rest of them were interested in going on to graduate school in physics, but she was interested in science communication so I told her that she might want to take a different path. Since she was the only woman in her year, as I recall, I did ask her on one of these occasions if that made it difficult for her in any way. I asked, because as a faculty member and department chair I was interested in knowing what we could do, if necessary to encourage more women to go into physics, and also because as someone she had asked for career advice from I wanted to know if that made a difference to her. Re asking her for dinner.. I have gone back over emails from that period. I have numerous requests from her asking me to go for coffee to talk, which I usually had to turn down because I was busy, and on several occasions she asked me to have coffee with her off campus to talk, and I politely declined. I did let her accompany me off campus one time to watch me do a BBC interview because she specifically requested it, and I believe she found it useful. I did and do have coffee and meals with students on campus, and I see nothing wrong with this. I try to treat students as respected colleagues if possible. I was shocked when I later learned of the complaint she was apparently asked to lodge to the University, not least because there was no inappropriate interaction but also because, well after the dates you listed on which she was apparently offended, she continued to email me with joking questions or comments. Also, at a later AAAS conference, again in 2008, for which she had asked, and for which I had written her a letter of recommendation to attend, my wife and I gave her a lift in our taxi well out out of our way in order to drop her off at her hotel, and I note in an email response to her email about the conference, again in 2008, I expressed that I would pass her regards along to my wife and vice versa. When the University later informed me of the complaint I was shocked and concerned. When I spoke to the human resources person, including relating my concerns and explaining the situation, I was told that no formal complaint of sexual harassment was requested. By that time I learned of the complaint I had already announced my intentions to leave Case to accept an offer at ASU—a very difficult decision for me because of my long-standing attachment to the University, the excellent relations I had with my colleagues there— both among the faculty (many of whom in physics I had hired while department chair)) and among the administration, along with a very attractive counter-offer by Case. Because I was already in Arizona at the later time I was asked not to have any further interaction with the student I agreed to that request, both to respect her sensitivities and also because it was basically moot because I was not on campus. Following this episode, as indicated in the letter to the student, I did assess what might have led to misinterpretations by this student, and became more careful in offering advice when talking to students. I was also told by human resources that because it was decided to handle this informally and not formally, that (a) it should remain confidential, which I, at least abided by, and (b) if no further complaints were lodged in that case, that the University would preserve its confidentiality and remove the complaint from my record after 5 years, which makes me surprised and concerned that someone violated that written agreement with you.

Re item 6: You report on ASU's response to item #6 , without including the fact that the University specifically stated there were never any allegations of sexual misconduct or harassment by me at the University, and moreover that the 'outside complaints' were in fact related specifically to your item #6. Further you neglect to mention that this complaint was by an anonymous third party, not the individual who was allegedly harassed, who never lodged a complaint, and that no specific evidence was provided of the alleged transgression. I was surprised and dismayed that both ASU and ANU launched investigations on the basis of this but was told by both Universities that because of my high profile even such unsubstantiated third party complaints at private events unrelated to the University would be investigated. The complaint was investigated by both ASU and ANU and both came to the conclusion that it was not credible and no university policies had been violated. In addition ANU's investigation, which took a full month, found various inconsistencies in the allegation, which suggest distortion and fabrication, I will quote from the ANU report. The initial complaint, which in fact resulted in a temporary suspension of my position at ANU until it was dismissed, outlined the claim you made in the words you quoted in your note to me, but it also stated

"It is the University's understanding that a complaint was lodged directly to the conference organisers at the time of the incident."

After the month-long investigation, during which I was told I was not to interact with anyone on campus (again moot because I was a hemisphere removed) the final report, from which I quote below absolved me of any wrongdoing, reinstating my position, and indicated information inconsistent with the original claim and apparent later claims:

"The allegations were made by an observer to the incident.
- The complaint did not identify, nor disclose the identity of the conference attendee who was allegedly touched in
an unwelcome manner.
- The conference attendee who took the 'selfie' photo did not lodge a formal complaint to the conference organisers
at the time of the incident (November 2016).
- The conference attendee who witnessed the incident, did not lodge a formal complaint to the conference organisers
at the time of the incident (November 2016).
-The photo submitted as part of the complaint does not provide evidence of any physical contact.
- The complainant alleged that a photo exists, showing your hand on the breast of the conference attendee who took
the 'selfie' photo. This photo was not made available to the Australian National University, although it was requested
in the course of the investigation."

(And for the record I often put my hand up in front of a camera if there is a flash, as I specifically request selfies not to include flashes, so that I don't end up with a series bright spots in front of my eyes for the next half hour. Moreover, I have no idea if the other eyewitnesses you quote, who were not involved in any complaint, were in fact there but this was a formal banquet with individuals and their partners, which I attended long enough to agree to sign things and do selfies before leaving early because I was tired. Even if I had any such intent it would have been lunacy to pose for selfies in front of a group and openly do such a thing, including presumably in front of this person's partner, . Which, besides the fact that I don't do such things, is one of the many reasons it never happened.)

What makes this particular type of allegation so repugnant is that I get asked for literally thousands of selfies, and when people come up to me they are vulnerable, often shaking, or sometimes aggressive. I am particularly proud of the way I work to make all people feel at ease, and respected, rather than humiliated, whatever their behavior or request. Thus, this false claim strikes at the heart of what I am about, which characterizes all my

interactions with fans: to acknowledge them in a way that makes them feel appreciated and respected. As I understand you had a reporter watching me sign books and take selfies at the CFI conference in Las Vegas this year, that behavior is what they will have witnessed and should report on. Moreover, I am proud of the interactions I have had at both Case and ASU, with students, colleagues and staff of all genders and ethnicities. I have worked hard to support them, mentor them, and treat them with respect. I treat others as responsible adults, and I expect to be treated equally.

On Dec 10, 2017, at 6:12 PM, Peter Aldhous <[redacted]> wrote:

Dr. Krauss:

As you know, I'm a reporter for BuzzFeed News who has been investigating sexual misconduct allegations against you. As we've already discussed by email, I'd very much like to interview you about these allegations in detail.

In particular, you stated in an email sent on Nov 13 that two universities had investigated an incident (# 6 below). You claimed that "both Universities independently concluded that the report was unsubstantiated and fabricated with malicious intent." We are not aware that either university concluded fabrication or malicious intent, so if you have evidence to support this assertion, we would like to see and discuss it.

The story concerns your actions towards students while a professor of physics at Case Western Reserve University, as well as your conduct in non-academic settings as a prominent figure in the skeptics movement. I am reporting this story along with two of my colleagues on the science desk, Azeen Ghorayshi and Virginia Hughes.

Our story is about several allegations of sexual misconduct dating from 2006 to 2016 (see full details below). Our reporting also goes into how the various institutions you have been affiliated with — Case Western, Arizona State University, the Australian National University, the New College of the Humanities, and the Center for Inquiry, for which you serve as an honorary member of the board of directors — have handled complaints and concerns about your behavior during this time.

Our story is corroborated by emails, university documents, official complaints, testimony from victims and eyewitnesses, and interviews with more than two dozen of your current and former academic colleagues, students, and peers in the skeptics movement.

I wanted to offer you the opportunity to comment and/or respond to the main facts we plan to publish. If you wish to comment on any of the below findings, we need to hear from you as soon as possible. **We are planning on publishing our story Tuesday morning, Eastern US Time.**

Based on our reporting, this is what we plan to publish:

Incident 1:

- In November of 2006, at an event launching the new Center for Inquiry in Washington D.C., you met a volunteer for CFI D.C.
- At the event, you asked for her business card. Later, you followed her as she was leaving and asked her if she was "of age."
- Later, you emailed her to invite her to dinner.
- You planned to dine with her in the restaurant at the Washington D.C. hotel where you were staying.
- You told her to come up to your room first because you needed to finish some work.
- In your hotel room, you seemed in no rush to leave. You ordered a cheese plate, and later champagne, despite her suggestion that you go down to dinner.

- You then made a comment about her eye makeup, getting very close to her face.
- You then lifted her by her arms, and pushed her onto the bed beneath you, forcibly kissing her and trying to pull down the crotch of her tights.
- She struggled to push you off her.
- You said, "When I was in college I could never get a girl that looked like you."
- When you pulled out a condom, she got out from under you. She said "I have to go," and rushed out of the room.

Incident 2:

- In an incident that occurred in fall of 2007 while you were a physics professor at Case Western Reserve University, a student tried to talk to you about her plans after graduation. You mentioned to her how tough it must be to have all the other physics majors asking her out on dates.
- In a second incident in December of 2007, while you were still at Case Western, the same student visited your office to interview you for a student science journal. You closed the door behind her, and ignored the questions she had prepared. Then you made a casual comment about taking her out for dinner.
- Later, in a regular column for the school paper, she described her experiences with you, without mentioning you by name. "There was even one particular creep of a professor who once told me he thought differently of me compared to other students and asked me to dinner: a situation so disturbing that it left me upset for weeks afterward," she wrote.
- She was then approached by a dean at the university, who suspected that she was referring to you, based on a previously reported incident with another student. He encouraged her to make a complaint, and she did.
- University investigators interviewed both you and the student.
- On September 4, 2008, Susan Nickel-Schindewolf, the university's associate vice president for student affairs, wrote to the student, telling her that the investigation was complete. She wrote that you had been told: "This type of behavior could constitute sexual harassment in violation of the university's sexual harassment policy."
- The letter also stated that you were prohibited from making contact with the student as long as she remained at Case.
- The letter also stated that you are required to get approval from the dean or the chair of the physics department before setting foot on the campus again.
- The letter also stated, "Dr. Krauss expressed regret about having a negative impact on you, and also his willingness to use this complaint as an opportunity to reflect and improve on his future interactions with students."
- By then, you had already left Case, taking up your current position at Arizona State University the month before.
- "The opportunities being offered at ASU are simply too great to turn down at this stage in my career," you told Case colleagues, in an email announcing your departure on April 16, 2008.

Incident 3:

- A former Case Western physics department administrator confirmed that she had reported a previous incident involving a student who had confided in her about your inappropriate behavior towards her.

Incident 4:

- You met a student from another university, an atheist activist, in March 2008 at the American Atheists Convention in Minneapolis. She wanted to expand the atheist group she ran at the midwestern university she was attending, and hoped to convince you to come and speak. You initially seemed enthusiastic.

- During the convention, attendees including you and Richard Dawkins went for dinner with the student and volunteers for Dawkins' foundation.
- Afterwards, the student invited you to join the volunteers for a drink.
- You asked her to come get you in your hotel room. She was wary of your intentions, and so brought a male friend with her. Opening the door to find them both there, you informed her you had decided not to go.
- You met this student again at the American Atheists Convention in Des Moines, Iowa, in April 2011.
- You pulled over a chair for her in the bar, and then started running your hand up her leg under the table.
- She tried to shift her body away from you, and you persisted in putting your hand on her leg. She crossed her legs, and you kept trying. Then she turned her entire body away.

Incident 5:

- This incident allegedly occurred on in May 2011 on a CFI cruise. We understand that CFI staff were informed that you had propositioned a female cruise-goer, who rejected an invitation to join you and your female companion for sex in your cabin.
- At least two CFI staffers were sufficiently concerned about reports of your behavior that they urged CFI's president not to invite you on a 2014 cruise of the Galápagos Islands. You were invited on that cruise, however.

Incident 6:

- During a visit to Melbourne, Australia, in November 2016, you were accused of sexual misconduct once again.
- The incident happened at a dinner held at the Melbourne Zoo as part of the Australian Skeptics National Convention, where you were a featured speaker.
- With conference delegates chatting over drinks, a woman asked you for a celebrity selfie.
- As the woman held out her phone to take the picture, you reached over her shoulder and grabbed her right breast.
- She immediately reacted, bodychecking you and spinning around. "Don't do that," she said.
- BuzzFeed News has seen the complaint made by another woman to ASU, ANU, and the New College of the Humanities in London, including the selfie, her face obscured to conceal her identity. It shows your hand in motion as a blur in front of her shoulder, apparently moving toward her chest. Two other eyewitnesses have confirmed the complainant's account of what happened.
- In April 2017, the complainant described the incident on her blog. After hearing more about your reputation for inappropriate behavior from blog readers, she decided to file a complaint about the Nov. 2016 incident.
- On July 16, she filed formal complaints with Arizona State University, and with the Australian National University in Canberra and the New College of the Humanities in London, where you have visiting appointments.
- Both Arizona State and the Australian National University told her they would look into the matter. But neither university found against you.
- "Based on the material available to the University, we do not have sufficient evidence to substantiate the allegations," Kiaran Kirk, dean of the College of Science at the Australian National University, wrote to her.
- Erin Ellison, who heads Arizona State's Office of Equity & Inclusion, wrote to her explaining that an inquiry "did not find a violation of university policy."
- In October, Arizona State denied a request from BuzzFeed News for documents relating to complaints of sexual harassment against you. However, Cynthia Jewett, the university's senior associate general counsel, noted that **two** individuals, neither affiliated with the university, had complained about you. "The University did not find either communication to state a credible allegation," Jewett wrote.

Miscellaneous facts:

- In 2008, you founded the Origins Project at Arizona State University in Tempe, a multidisciplinary effort to understand the origins of the universe, life, and social systems. You have led that effort ever since.
- Thanks to best-selling books like *The Physics of Star Trek* and *A Universe From Nothing*, frequent essays in publications including the New Yorker and the New York Times, and the documentary you made with biologist Richard Dawkins, called *The Unbelievers*, you are celebrated as one of America's leading public intellectuals.
- You served on the science policy committee for Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign and are a vocal critic of President Donald Trump.
- You also make regular public appearances across the world, often at gatherings of skeptics and atheists.
- At CSICon in Las Vegas in October, a few dozen fans paid $500 per head to attend a VIP luncheon with you and Dawkins.
- Many more lined up to get you to sign their copy of your latest book, *The Greatest Story Ever Told — So Far*.
- Online, people can buy T-shirts emblazoned "Lawrence Krauss for President."
- In talks and interviews, you have argued that our universe arose without divine intervention, that religion drives xenophobia, and that our brains are hardwired to believe.
- You have stated that science provides answers to many of life's biggest questions, and can even fix great societal injustices.
- Earlier this year, at a Q&A event to promote your new book, the conversation came around to the dearth of women and minorities in science. "Science itself overcomes misogyny and prejudice and bias," you said. "It's built in: Questioning yourself, always questioning results, questioning others, relying on empirical evidence."
- You have clashed with some skeptics over your defense of Jeffrey Epstein, a billionaire financier who in 2008 was convicted for soliciting prostitution from underage girls, and spent 13 months in a Florida jail.
- Through his private foundation, Epstein has funded the work of several prominent scientists. He has provided funding for your Origins Project, supporting lectureship and scholarship programs, most recently pledging $100,000 in 2014.
- In April 2011, you told the Daily Beast: "As a scientist I always judge things on empirical evidence and he always has women ages 19 to 23 around him, but I've never seen anything else, so as a scientist, my presumption is that whatever the problems were I would believe him over other people."
- In a blog comment about the Epstein controversy, you wrote: "I remain skeptical, and I support a man whose character I believe I know...If you want to condemn me for that, so be it."
- You were made an honorary member of CFI's board of directors in December 2011.
- A blog post published in August 2013 described incidents #1 and #4, naming you. Another post, published at around the same time, described incident #5.
- The first post was edited to remove your name after you had commented that the allegations of assault were "potentially illegal." The second post was quickly taken down.

Again, if you wish to comment on or clarify any of these points, please get in touch with us as soon as possible. If I do not respond immediately it is because I am on another call, so please leave the best phone number to reach you.

Thanks,
Peter Aldhous
[redacted]

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On Dec 11, 2017, at 10:38 AM, Sam Harris <[redacted]> wrote:

FYI

Virginia Hughes submitted a message to the Sam Harris Contact Publicist Contact form on Mon, December 11, 2017 - 7:37 am.

Name:	Virginia Hughes
Email:	[redacted]
Subject:	Sexual harassment and Lawrence Krauss
Message:	Hi, We are journalists at BuzzFeed News, reporting an investigation about sexual harassment allegations against Lawrence Krauss between 2006 to 2016. Much of the story revolves around his conduct in the skeptics movement, and about how skeptic organizations — particularly CFI — have handled complaints about his behavior. We wanted to give you — as a leader of the atheist movement and one of Krauss's collaborators — the opportunity to comment on these allegations. We plan to publish on Tuesday morning. Let us know soon if you'd like to comment. Ginny Hughes, Peter Aldhous, Azeen Ghorayshi

This email has been scanned for malicious content. The Sam Harris Contact Publicist Contact form is provided by Secure Email Contact Forms.

Lawrence M. Krauss
Director, The Origins Project at ASU
Co-Director, Cosmology Initiative
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ASU Origins Project
Arizona State University

From: Nicholas Ribis [redacted]
Sent: 1/4/2018 3:19:23 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [JEEvacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Michael Wolff: My Insane Year Inside Trump's White House

Importance: High

Read this
https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.hollywoodreporter.com/amp/news/michael-wolff-my-insane-year-inside-trumps-white-house-1071504

Sent from my iPhone

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]]
Sent: 1/23/2018 6:23:09 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Alert: The 2017 Tax Reform Act

Importance: High

Richard Kahn
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575 Lexington Avenue 4th Floor
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TAX ALERT JANUARY 23, 2018

The 2017 Tax Reform Act - Key Provisions Impacting Fund Managers and Their Funds

For further information about this *Alert*, please contact:

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Please feel free to discuss any aspect of this *Alert* with your regular Sadis & Goldberg contact or with any of the

partners whose names and contact information can be found at the end of the *Alert*.

The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act (the "Tax Act"), which was signed into law by President Trump on December 22, 2017, contains the most sweeping federal tax law changes since 1986. Most provisions of the Tax Act take effect for taxable years beginning on or after January 1, 2018. **This Client Alert is not intended to be a comprehensive review of this massive legislation. The Alert focuses on certain provisions of the Tax Act that may have the most significant impact on asset management firms, their owners, their investment vehicles, and the investors in such funds.** Certain changes made by the Tax Act are permanent but many others are scheduled to expire after 2025 unless extended by further Congressional legislation.

I. Carried Interest Survives in Modified Form

The Tax Act contains changes to the treatment of "carried interests", but such changes are not as negative as the prior legislative changes that had been proposed but never adopted. The granting of a "future profits only" interest in a partnership in connection with the performances of services to the partnership continues to be eligible for tax-free treatment under the new law. For certain owners of "Applicable Partnership Interests" (of the sort that would generally be issued by an investment partnership to the general partner), the Act applies a three-year holding period requirement for **capital gains** derived by the partnership (or from the disposition of the profits interest) to be eligible for the long-term capital gains tax rate (instead of the generally applicable one-year holding threshold).

The change in carried interest taxation clearly impacts managers of hedge funds more than managers of private equity funds or real estate funds, which typically have a longer than three-year holding period for investments in their portfolio companies or real estate assets. The new tax treatment applies to income realized in tax years beginning on or after January 1, 2018 and existing carried interests are not grandfathered. Thus, it appears that any unrealized capital gains which have already been allocated to a general partner on the books of the partnership would be subject to the new tax treatment at the time the partnership realizes such gains in 2018 or subsequent years.

Note, however, that the Tax Act does not change the current federal income tax treatment of carried interest allocations of "qualified dividends" to individuals, which are also taxed at long-term capital gains rates. The capital gains from the carried interest that fail to satisfy the new three-year holding period requirement are treated as "short-term capital gains" which are taxable at ordinary income rates.

The "Applicable Partnership Interest" held by the general partner or an affiliate should not include any portion of the partnership interest that is attributable to capital contributed to the partnership by the general partner. The exact manner on how such exception will apply will need to be addressed in future IRS notices or regulations to be issued. Limited partners holding capital interests in private investment funds are also not affected and therefore retain the one-year holding period requirement for long-term capital gain treatment.

Note also that the term "Applicable Partnership Interest" does not include an interest held directly or indirectly by a corporation and it currently appears that such exception includes holdings by both C

corporations and S corporations. It is likely that further guidance will be issued on this question, as it may be advantageous for certain general partners to convert their existing entities that hold the carried interest to S corporations, and such general partners may have until March 15, 2018 to accomplish such conversion.

Managers of hedge funds and other partnerships that do not hold capital assets for more than three years before their sale may consider whether the carried interest incentive allocation should be replaced with an incentive fee structure. Also, the reduced after-tax value of a carried interest partnership allocation may impact the management company's executive compensation arrangements.

Although an earlier version of the tax legislation would have repealed the exemption in the Code which provides that a limited partner's income is exempt from self-employment tax, the final version of the Tax Act does not contain such change in law.

II. New 21% Corporate Income Tax Rate and Reduction of the Maximum Rates Applicable to Individuals

The Tax Act reduces the 35 percent corporate rate to a flat 21 percent corporate rate. There is no special higher rate for personal service corporations (as existed under prior law). The new 21 percent rate is effective for taxable years beginning on or after January 1, 2018. The corporate alternative tax (AMT) has also been repealed. Such corporate tax changes are permanent. In contrast, the highest applicable federal income tax rate for individuals and other non-corporate taxpayers is reduced from 39.6% to 37%. In addition, the 3.8% "add-on" Medicare contributions tax on an individual's net investment income remains in effect.

1. Possible Use of a "C" Corporation as a Tax Shelter

Since the new 21% corporate tax rate is now well below the highest rate applicable to high income individuals, some investment managers may conclude that some or all of their management entities that are pass through partnerships should convert to corporate form. In addition, certain partnership funds that are engaged in trade or business, such as active loan origination or real estate activities may find it advantageous to convert to corporate form.

The advantage to the corporate form of organization is that the C corporation's net income after taxes is not taxable to its shareholders until it is distributed (e.g., either as a dividend or as a redemption of stock (i.e., as a capital gain)). Corporations that are engaged in active businesses are able to retain and reinvest their earnings. Also relevant to choice of entity decisions is the fact that the Tax Act restricts the ability of individuals to deduct more than $10,000 in state and local taxes, but corporations can continue to deduct such taxes as under prior law.

However, there are certain anti-abuse provisions that remain in the Internal Revenue Code that limit the use of a C corporation as a tax shelter. Lurking in the Code is a provision which allows the Internal Revenue Service to impose a 20 percent additional "accumulated earnings" income tax on the "accumulated taxable income" of a corporation if such taxable income is allowed to accumulate "beyond the "reasonable needs of the business". There is a $250,000 safe harbor for most corporations, while personal service corporations are allowed a safe harbor of only $150,000. There is also a 20 percent tax on the "personal holding company income" (i.e., passive investment income) of certain closely held C corporations (i.e., when five or fewer individuals own, in the aggregate, more than fifty percent of the corporation's stock <u>and</u> at least 60 percent of the corporation's adjusted ordinary income is personal holding company income (e.g., passive investment income)). These penalty taxes on corporations have received little attention in recent decades. However, with the enactment of the sharply lower corporate tax rate, these anti-abuse rules are likely to become a significant focus of the IRS in its audits of tax returns of privately held corporations.

2. The New Deduction for Qualified Business Income of Pass Through Entities

Congress also wanted to provide an income tax rate reduction for those businesses that are organized as partnerships or S corporations or which are owned by sole proprietors. In order to meet this goal, the Tax Act provides an income tax deduction for individuals and other non-corporate taxpayers equal to (i) 20 percent of their domestic "qualified business income"; plus (ii) 20 percent of any qualifying dividends from real estate investment trusts, qualifying income from publicly traded partnerships, and gain derived from sale of such publicly traded partnerships that would be treated as ordinary income. Therefore, such deduction results in an effective federal income tax rate of 29.6% on such qualifying income for a top bracket individual. The deduction does not apply to investment income (i.e., capital gains, dividends (other than certain ordinary income dividends paid by REITs), and most interest income). In addition, it does not apply to reasonable compensation income and guaranteed payments paid to the taxpayer from the business.

The 20 percent of "qualified business income" deduction described in (i) above is also generally limited to the greater of either (a) 50% of the W-2 wages paid with respect to the qualified trade or business, or (b) the sum of 25% of the W-2 wages paid with respect to such business plus 2.5% of the unadjusted tax basis of all qualified business property of such business. Thus, if the partnership, S corporation or sole proprietorship does not pay "W-2 wages" and the second limitation is a minor amount or not applicable, the owner or pass through taxpayer's tax deduction would be a minor amount or zero.

Unfortunately, partners or owners of certain types of professional service businesses, including financial services providers, investment managers, brokers, consultants, lawyers and accountants (and others), are not permitted to claim the "qualified business income" deduction unless the taxpayer's adjusted gross income is below certain levels ($207,500 for individuals and $365,000 for married couples filing jointly). Even in such case, the benefit of the available deduction is phased out ratably as the taxpayer's income exceeds $157,500 if single, or $315,000 if filing a joint tax return. Therefore, fund managers organized as pass through entities are not likely to, and investment funds organized as partnerships will not, derive a significant benefit from this deduction.

III. ISSUES FOR PARTNERSHIP FUNDS

1. Repeal of Itemized Deductions Previously Available to Non-Corporate Taxpayers for Non-Business Investment Expenses

For 2018 through 2025, the Tax Act completely repeals the deductions previously allowed to individuals and other non-corporate taxpayers for "miscellaneous itemized deductions" (which were subject to a 2% floor and a phase-out rule under prior law). It is important to note that for individual investors in partnership funds that are not treated as engaged in a trade or business, the investor's share of the fund's investment expenses, including management fees, would now pass through as non-deductible miscellaneous itemized deductions. If the fund is properly classified as an active "trader" rather than a mere investor, then such expenses would be completely deductible as trade or business expenses. This Tax Act change obviously puts considerable strain on the fund manager and its tax advisors with respect to the trader vs. investor issue. At this time, there is a lack of clear guidance from the Internal Revenue Service on what level of trading activity is sufficient for a professionally managed fund to qualify as a "trader fund".

In cases where a partnership fund's expected activities are not likely to qualify for trader status or another trade or business, the fund's sponsor may find that US high net worth individuals may now prefer to invest in the offshore corporate feeder fund instead of the onshore partnership fund. The US income tax reason for this would be that since the offshore feeder is classified as a corporation for US tax purposes, its net income would be calculated under the rules applicable to corporations, for which

there are no miscellaneous itemized deductions. Thus, assuming that the foreign feeder is a passive foreign investment company (PFIC), if the US high net worth shareholder is able to make the "qualified electing fund" election, the net income the investor would be required to report on his federal income tax return would be calculated after deducting all of the corporation's expenses, including management fees and investment expenses.

2. Non-US Partner's Gain on Sale of Partnership Interest may be Taxable as US Trade or Business Income; New Withholding Requirements apply to the Purchaser or the Fund

The Tax Act specifically provides that gains realized by a non-US partner on a sale or exchange of a partnership interest will be treated as effectively connected US trade or business income ("**ECI**") to the extent that such partner would have been allocated ECI had the partnership sold all of its assets. This provision is consistent with the IRS position in Revenue Ruling 91-32, and overrules a recent Tax Court case which had rejected the position taken in such IRS Ruling and instead held that since a partnership interest is treated as a capital asset, the foreign person's gain on its sale could escape US income taxation as a non-business capital gain.

To the extent that a partnership has any ECI-generating assets (including US real property interests), a seller of a partnership interest will have to provide a certificate that it is not a foreign person, and in the absence of such a certificate a purchaser (which could include the fund) will be required to withhold 10% of the gross purchase price. Further, the Tax Act provides that if the purchaser does not withhold, the partnership is required to withhold on distributions to such purchaser to cover the withholding. The Tax Act provides that the new withholding obligation for purchasers is effective for sales or other dispositions of partnership interests after December 31, 2017.

3. New Limitation on Deduction of Net Interest Expense

Under prior law, subject to some restrictions and limitations, business interest paid or accrued by a business was fully deductible. For taxable years beginning after December 31, 2017, the Tax Act limits the deduction for "net business interest" expense for every type of business, regardless of entity form, to 30 percent of adjusted taxable income. Business interest paid or accrued after the effective date on indebtedness, including debt that was incurred prior to the effective date of the Tax Act, is subject to this limitation.

The term business interest does not include investment interest described in Code section 163(d). Operating companies, such as management entities, and investment funds that are engaged in a business and have outstanding indebtedness could be subject to such deduction limitation. For this purpose, "adjusted taxable income" is determined at the entity level for partnerships, and is similar to EBITDA (i.e., net earnings before deducting interest expense, taxes, depreciation and amortization) for taxable years 2018 through 2021. A more restrictive 20% of EBIT limitation (net earnings before deducting interest expense and taxes) applies for 2022 and later years.

Certain taxpayers are exempted for the new interest deductibility limitation, including small businesses with average annual gross receipts of $25 million or less for the three prior taxable years, as well as real estate businesses that elect out of such limitation. The Conference Committee Report on the Tax Act clarified that interest paid on shareholder loans by a blocker corporation is "business interest" that is subject to this new limitation. Blocker corporations for a lending business would have business interest income, which reduces the effect of this new limitation on **net** business interest expense (i.e., deductible business interest expense in excess of business interest income).

4. Deemed Repatriation Tax

One of the major tax raising provisions in the Tax Act is a one-time tax imposed on the accumulated earnings held in foreign subsidiaries of US companies. This provision is broader that it may first appear. Under the Tax Act, **any** 10% US shareholder of a foreign corporation (determined on December 31, 2017) will be required to include in income, for the taxable year 2017, its proportionate share of the foreign corporation's undistributed earnings, if the foreign corporation is either a controlled foreign corporation (CFC) or has at least one 10% US shareholder that is a corporation.

This law change could generate significant phantom income with respect to 10%-or-greater owned foreign portfolio companies both (i) for US taxable investors (including the general partner and its owners) in partnership funds organized in the United States and/or for US sponsors of non-US funds. The Tax Act provides for reduced tax rates on such income for corporate investors of 8% (for earnings invested in tangible business assets) and 15.5% (for cash and cash equivalents), and 9.05% and 17.54% for investors taxed as individuals.

5. Tax-Free Section 1031 Like Kind Exchanges Eliminated Except for Real Property Transactions

The Tax Act eliminates the ability to qualify for tax-free exchange treatment under Code section 1031 if the property being exchanged is **personal property**. Consequently, for transactions occurring after December 31, 2017, exchanges of artwork, equipment, vehicles or other personal property held for investment or for use in a business, including Bitcoin or other cryptocurrencies, for like kind property will not eligible for Section 1031 tax treatment. Exchanges of real property continue to be eligible for Section 1031 exchange treatment.

6. Certain Tax Accounting Rules Have Been Revised

Under prior law, net operating losses (NOLs) could be carried back two years and carried forward for twenty years. Under the Tax Act, NOLs arising in tax years ending after December 31, 2017 generally cannot be carried back, but can be carried forward indefinitely. However, only 80% of a company's taxable income is permitted to be offset by NOLs. The remainder of the unused NOLs will carry forward.

The Tax Act also expands the category of corporations and partnerships that are eligible to use the cash method of accounting. Certain businesses may derive a tax benefit by switching from the accrual method to the cash method of accounting.

7. Deferred Compensation

The Tax Act generally leaves the current tax rules for deferred compensation intact. However, the Act also includes a new deferral provision for certain types of broad-based employee equity, which may apply to certain private companies.

8. Estate and Gift Tax Changes

In 2017, an individual could give or transfer at death up to $5,490,000 without paying gift or estate taxes. The Tax Act doubles the federal estate and gift tax unified exemption amount for estates of decedents dying and gifts made after December 31, 2017, and inflation adjustments will continue to apply. Therefore, in 2018, an individual has approximately an $11.2 million exemption, and a married couple has approximately $22.4 million of available shelter from federal gift and estate taxation. Note that the large exemption which applies to gifts may be useful in federal income tax planning. For example, large lifetime gifts of appreciated securities, artwork and other personal property (including possibly, a carried interest) to relatives who are in lower income tax brackets, or who reside in states with lower, or no state income taxes could save the family substantial federal income and/or state income taxes when such property is sold by the recipient of the gift.

Sadis & Goldberg LLP

Please feel free to discuss any aspect of this *Alert* with your regular Sadis & Goldberg contact whose names and contact information are provided below.

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Sent by sgalert@sglawyers.com

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]]
Sent: 1/26/2018 5:29:23 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: I did NOT have sex with the president: Nikki Haley swats down 'disgusting' rumor she had affair with Trump after author Michael Wolff hints at an affair

Importance: High

http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-5316779/Haley-denies-disgusting-rumors-affair-Trump.html

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575 Lexington Avenue 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
tel [redacted]
fax [redacted]
cell [redacted]

From: Kathy Ruemmler [redacted]
Sent: 2/24/2018 3:36:08 AM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Lawyer for Susan Rice: Obama administration 'justifiably concerned' about sharing intel with Trump team - POLITICO

Importance: High

https://www.politico.com/story/2018/02/23/susan-rice-lawyer-obama-administration-classified-intelligence-michael-flynn-trump-423437

From: Carolyn Rangel [redacted]
Sent: 3/13/2018 4:21:17 PM
Subject: Weekly Update
Attachments: image001.png; image002.jpg; image003.png; image004.jpg; image005.png; image006.jpg; image007.jpg; image008.jpg

Importance: High

To Raise the Greater Consciousness

JOIN DEEPAK AND FRIENDS AT
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Starting for free on March 19, you can be a part of
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Learn to meditate and discover what truly nourishes your entire being.

SFGATE
Published on Monday, March 12, 2018

I Never Feel Like Less of an American ...

I never feel like less of an American than when idealistic teenagers call for gun control, and I know Congress won't let it happen.

I never feel like less of an American than when the richest people abandon the poorest.

I never feel like less of an American than when a President lies, and his supporters applaud.

Sometimes it takes the experience of shame to galvanize change, and this is such a time. Having lived too long on the self-image of "America is the greatest, richest, most powerful country in the world," we produced Trumpism, which has shattered that image. It's been a traumatic experience. Mature adults are supposed to be resilient in the face of difficult challenges, but a person can bend only so far. That's why one sees an outraged Resistance, moving from "He's not my President" to "Is this even my country?"

If as we often hear, America isn't a place on the map but an idea, the idea is in trouble. Every day I'm reminded of Sinclair Lewis's 1935 novel, *It Can Happen Here*, which imagined the election of a Fascist to the presidency. As tumultuous as the Thirties were, fascism didn't happen here. In fact, the New Deal and the inception of a social safety net came about. But reactionary forces simmer away when they aren't at a boil. Who would have thought that the leader of the House in 2018 wants to weaken the social safety net by "saving" Social Security and Medicare?

A survey of 117 historians recently ranked Donald Trump the worst President in history, which seems right after only one year in office. But what makes me feel like less of an American is knowing that 40% of my fellow citizens love and approve of him, who have reservations, yes, but overall want his agenda to move ahead. In the daily fire hose of presidential offenses, little attention was paid to the revelation by Reince Priebus, former White House chief of staff, that however chaotic this Presidency looked from the outside, it was worse on the inside--fifty times worse.

Trumpism is the product of collective consciousness, and although one hears about "the wisdom of crowds," but when collective consciousness veers as close to lunacy as this administration, healing is the only answer. Reactionary forces, racists, white supremacists, and haters are like algae on the surface of a pond. Algae only appears if the pond is dank and still. When water is clear and flowing, there is no condition for algae to thrive in.

The remedies for healing America are flowing with more force than before. Notions like Medicare for all, free higher education, and bringing huge banks to heel were semi-fantasy in the last Presidential election. Now they are quickly moving mainstream. Ecological awareness is growing and unstoppable. There is a possibility that by destroying America's self-image, Trumpism has opened the way for facing reality, which after all is better than living up to a self-image that is hollow at the core.

In the meantime, each person needs to remain resilient and relevant. The structure of government moves slowly, and it took decades of incremental moves for the reactionary right to gain the power it presently holds tight. If the midterm elections don't restore sanity, then collective consciousness is more wounded than we imagine. Without a doubt Trumpism is horrifying, but the grievances it represents are real. Address those grievances honestly and with a clear conscience: that's the only remedy.

SFGATE

Archive of Deepak's Articles published by The San Francisco Chronicle.

The CHOPRA FOUNDATION
DEDICATED CONSCIOUS CARING

Archive of The Chopra Foundation published research articles: Research Papers

CNBC

Published March 12, 2018

4 easy ways to squeeze meditation into a busy day

By Deepak Chopra and Kabir Sehgal, Contributors

There is no doubt that you can benefit from daily meditation. It has several health benefits like reducing cortisol levels that cause stress, lessening blood pressure, and slowing the heart rate. Besides these physiological effects, it can also have a positive impact on your work life, by increasing your attention span, deepening your focusing, catalyzing your creativity, and making you a better listener.

Given all these constructive outcomes, meditation should become an integral and required part of your day. But finding the time to actually engage in this practice can be difficult, so here are a few ways you can incorporate mindfulness exercises into your day.

First, a morning ritual

When you wake up, you're already in a quiet room in which you feel relaxed. This might be the last time you're surrounded by silence, so take five minutes and practice breathing in and out. Notice the sound of your breath as you inhale and exhale. Imagine the air rushing into your mouth and filling your lungs, and then picture it leaving your body and filling the room.

Instead of hitting the snooze button, sit up right and fill your morning with peace. These few minutes of mindfulness will prepare you for your busy day to come. Pretty soon, you'll get so used to meditation in the morning, that you won't want to start your day without it.

Second, a morning commute

If you take public transportation like a bus or the subway, you can use these moments for practicing meditation. To be sure, you might be disturbed by the noise of other people taking and public-address announcements.

But by simply closing your eyes and taking long breaths, you will inevitably retreat into a cocoon where you pay less attention to the sounds around you and train your mind on taking deep breaths. When you finally open your eyes, you will feel a sense of accomplishment, that you have gone somewhere on your commute that few others have – to a place of higher consciousness.

Third, a lunch retreat

When your colleagues and clients go to lunch, you can take advantage of this quieter period of the day. If you have your own office, you can close the door and spend five minutes again practicing breathing in and out. If you work in an open-office where you have limited privacy, you could either steal away into a conference room or bathroom to find a few moments of peace.

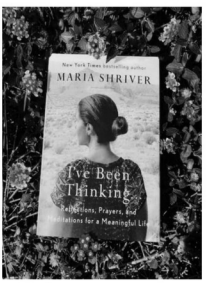
Some forward-thinking firms like General Motors, Google and Intel encourage employees to practice meditation, and some even have rooms and facilities on their campuses dedicated for this purpose. If you work at one of these companies, make sure to take advantage of these benefits.

Fourth, a night time ritual

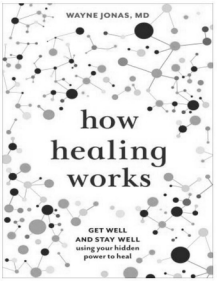
Before your turn down your bed and go to sleep, try spending a few minutes sitting upright on your bed and practicing your breathing. You will find that when you are engaged in deep breathing exercises, it will help still your thoughts and prepare you for a better night sleep. A night time practice of meditation might make you feel better rested in the morning too.

We are currently reading:

This quote from my friend @mariashriver on her new book, *I've Been Thinking...Reflections, Prayers, and Meditations for a Meaningful Life*:
"No matter how busy you are, carve out time in your day to get calm, to think, to reflect, to be present."



How Healing Works, Dr. Wayne Jonas lays out a revolutionary new way to approach injury, illness, and wellness.



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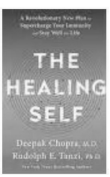

National Best-seller: The Healing Self: A Revolutionary New Plan to Supercharge Your Immunity and Stay Well for Life

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March 23, 2018

Via Email
Darren K. Indyke, Esq.
Darren K Indyke, PLLC
575 Lexington Avenue- 4th floor
New York, NY 10022

Re: Jeffrey Epstein

Dear Mr. Indyke:

As you are aware, our firm represents TowersInvestors.com, Inc and Mr. Steven Hoffenberg.

Mr Hoffenberg, through his long term contacts, as set forth below, believes he can assist Mr. Epstein in resolving his existing disputes with the Federal government without any jail time and to arrange for the sale of his financial business interests.

Governor Ben Barnes is prepared to meet with President Trump with respect to obtaining an agreement with the Federal government.

Gary Baise, a Washington, D.C based attorney who has worked as senior attorney in the Department of Justice, is working with us and will meet with the Department of Justice to obtain an advantageous agreement in exchange for Mr. Epstein's cooperation.

Lastly, Don Engel, who Mr. Epstein knows, who worked with Michael Milken at Drexel Burnhan, will work with Goldman Sachs to take over Mr. Epstein's business NOW.

We strongly believe that Mr. Epstein will benefit substantially from the foregoing and will want to engage in mutually beneficial discussions.

I am attaching a draft of a Complaint which Mr. Baise will file through local counsel if we cannot reach a mutually beneficial agreement.

Please contact me at your earliest convenience.

Very truly yours,

The Mintz Fraade Law Firm P.C

By: Alan P. Fraade
Alan P. Fraade

CC: TowersInvestors.com
APF/TSG
Encl. (1)

Deutsche Bank
Global Public Affairs

Global Political and Regulatory Risk in 2015 and 2016: What to Watch

November 4, 2015

Passion to Perform

Francis J. Kelly
Managing Director &
Global Coordinator, Public Affairs

“There cannot be a crisis next week. My schedule is already full.”
- Former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger

“Any idiot can face a crisis. It’s day to day living that wears you out.”
- Anton Chekhov

“Formula for success: rise early, work hard, strike oil.”
- J. Paul Getty, US businessman

Francis J. Kelly
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HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026795

The world is moving rapidly from the model we have lived within for 25 years. The where, why and what…

LONG TERM OUTLOOK:

- Geopolitical events are increasingly pressuring global markets and will continue to do so for the remainder of 2015 and well into 2016.

- Middle East serves as locus for key uncertainty and chaos. We continue to believe the region is at risk of remaining in turmoil for **30+ years** .

- We continue to see NAFTA nations as being seen as economic and political "safe havens" in large part to "Energy Renaissance."

- China is going through intense political, economic and societal transformation – all of which could potentially overwhelm the chances of a successful outcome.

SHORT TERM (3-10 month) OUTLOOK:

- In the coming three to six months, three key events will likely happen and have a long term positive impact on markets:

- Approval and implementation of Iran nuclear negotiations
- Congressional approval of Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)
- US will approve repeal ban on export of crude oil/natural gas

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The US: Washington's 2015-2016 agenda - what to expect and why it will be important

- Despite the contrary and dramatic press accounts, Washington has been getting things done, a positive for the political process and the nation. It may have been messy but here is what they have gotten done so far this year:
  - **Trade Promotion Authority** (TPA)
  - **A federal budget**
  - **Iran nuclear deal**
  - **Debt ceiling**
  - **Medicare Payment & CHIP funding**
  - **Homeland Security funding**
  - **Debt ceiling raise**

But big policy items are unfinished:

  - **Appropriations (by December 11th)**
  - **Repealing oil export ban**
  - **Highway bill**
  - **Corporate Tax reform**
  - **The Trans Pacific Partnership (TPP)**

Francis J. Kelly
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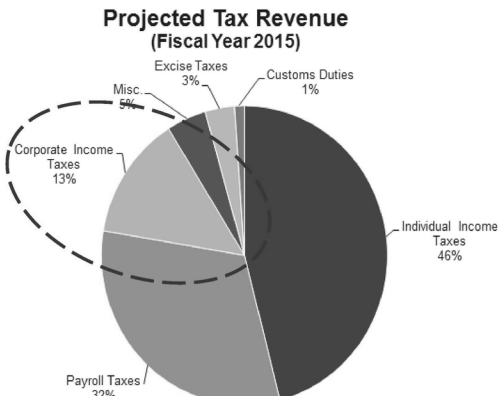
US corporate tax reform: have the seeds been planted and is there a deal to be done?

- The US Senate has worked on a possible tax package since January. But no clear consensus has emerged on a larger package.
- The real focus is on corporate tax reform, spurred on by the inversion debate.
- In the Senate, a bipartisan bill was offered to encourage corporate profits abroad to repatriate at a significantly lower rate (the Portman-Schumer bill).
- In the House, a plan was offered in late July that would allow corporations to repatriate at a lower rate if they invested in "research and development" (the Boustany-Neal bill). The revenue from the deal would pay for the Highway Trust Fund – which needs money.
- What is interesting for both bills is what did not happen: The White House remained silent.
- Could Congress (in league with US Treasury) slip a major corporate tax report into the appropriations bill using the "Reconciliation" process?



Source: OMB

Deutsche Bank
Global Public Affairs

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HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026798

Should hedge funds and private equity funds be worried about Washington? No.

- There continues to be chatter about dealing with carried interest. But chatter does not mean action and we see little actual movement toward raising the rates on carried interest through 2016.

- The new "tax reform" focused on hedge funds is projected to raise $11 billion a year. Somehow this gets done by allowing the IRS to audit hedge funds and find this amount of unreported revenue annually. Good luck with that.

- Private Equity has also been a focus of political chatter – maybe we see new regulation on the burgeoning "Shadow Banking" sector? Again, chatter is not action. There is little chance Congress or regulators will move aggressively in this space through 2016.

- But "Big Banks" continue to take it on the chin: In an effort to raise revenue for the Highway Trust Fund, Republicans have legislation moving forward that would drop the guaranteed interest rate banks receive for "investing" in the Federal Reserve – which they are required to do by law - from 6 percent to 1.5 percent. This will result in a significant drop in revenues for some of the biggest banks in the US.

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Can US banks get some regulatory relief? Taking care of small- and mid-sized banks and reforming the Fed

Senator Richard Shelby (R-AL), chair of the US Senate Banking Committee, has put forward a regulatory relief bill which:

- Raises the "Systemically Important" bar from $50 billion to $500 billion; Re-define small banks from $10 billion to $50 billion;
- Provides an exemption for banks under $10 billion of assets from the Volcker Rule;
- Requires the Federal Open Market Committee to release quarterly reports on economic conditions around the country, though the Fed chair would still testify before Congress semiannually;
- Creates an independent commission to evaluate the structure of the Federal Reserve Board system, including a review of the number and structure of the Fed's 12 districts and requires the Federal Reserve to publish a study every two years on its regulation and oversight of nonbanks;
- Requires the Government Accountability Office (GAO) to study the Federal Reserve's regulation of systemically important institutions (SIFIs);
- Requires the President of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to be nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Also require3 the Fed to speed up the release of Fed minutes.

Some observers have suggested this bill will go nowhere; but we would not write it off so fast. Shelby is the master of the legislative process and there is some bipartisan support already for parts of his bill.

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Housing reform: 2015 be the year of GSE reform?

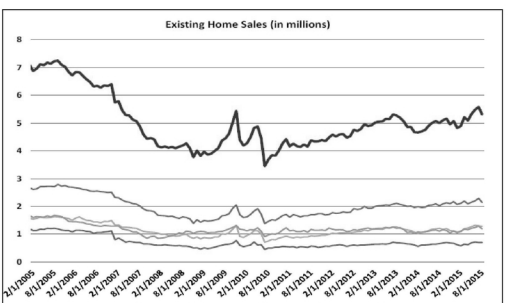
- After initial movement on bi-partisan legislation last year, this is a dead effort as indicated by Banking Committee member and advocate for GSE reform, Senator Bob Corker (R-TN): "Congress will ignore GSE overhaul for next 16 months."

- Meanwhile, the housing market is moving on a number of fronts (we've seen this horror movie before):

✓ Fannie Mae launched their "HomeReady Mortgage" program: You can (again) use the income from non-borrower household members.

✓ Freddie and Fannie are working on a common Securitization Platform. Just for them (for now) but will eventually allow other participants. Question as to whether this is a transition to something new or simply securing the monopoly/duopoly of the GSE's.

Existing Home Sales has increased 53.9% from its lowest level of 3.45 million in July 2010.



Source: Deutsche Bank

The “Americas Decades” - The energy revolution keeps moving forward, the implications are enormous

- The NAFTA Bloc (US, Canada, Mexico) is emerging as a new “Super Bloc” for business, finance and energy.

- **Combined, the NAFTA Bloc is comprised of more than 500 million people, a $19 trillion economy and the largest energy capability in the world. Not to mention US and Canadian military superiority and reach globally.**

- Mexican government “got it” and amended their constitution; Canada has “gotten it” for quite some time (i.e. oil sands, Keystone Pipeline, etc.). US Congress now seeing strategic imperative (not to mention massive federal revenues).

- The local, national, regional and broader geopolitical implications of greater hemispheric energy independence are extraordinary and are already creating significant policy changes – and ruptures globally (i.e. Russia, Middle East, Venezuela, China, Iran).

➢ **Case in point:** If the Ukrainian crisis has done anything, it has intensely focused Washington (and Mexico City and Ottawa) on the need to rapidly build out natural gas and crude oil development and export capabilities.

➢ And, in the near future, can tariffs and fees on overseas sales help deal with the US deficit? There are a growing number of members of Congress who think it can. And will.

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The 2016 US election campaigns have begun…

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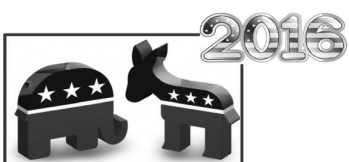
HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026803

Yes, of course, we are already talking about the 2016 presidential elections…. A multi-billion dollar race?

REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT
Ex-Gov. Jeb Bush (R-FL)	Hillary Clinton
~~Gov. Scott Walker (R-WI)~~	Senator Bernie Sanders (D-VT)
Senator Rand Paul (R-KY)	Ex-Gov. Martin O'Malley (D-MD)
Dr. Ben Carson	Harvard Professor Lawrence Lessig
Senator Ted Cruz (R-TX)	~~Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-MA)~~
Gov. Chris Christie (R-NJ)	~~Ex-Senator Jim Webb (D-VA)~~
Gov. John Kasich (R-OH)	~~Ex-Governor Lincoln Chaffee (D-RI)~~
Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL)	
Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC)	~~Vice President Joe Biden (?)~~
Ex-Gov. George Pataki (R-NY)	
ex-Senator Rick Santorum (R-PA)	
Ex-HP CEO Carly Fiorina	
Ex-Gov. Bobby Jindal (R-LA)	
Donald Trump	
Ex-Gov. Jim Gilmore (R-VA	
~~Ex-Gov. Rick Perry (R-TX)~~	



So who would win if the general election were held today? Strangely, closer than you might think.

The November 4th RCP* average of major polls shows a surprisingly tight race between various Republican candidates and Democratic frontrunner Hillary Clinton.

GOP Candidate	vs. Hillary Clinton
Marco Rubio	**Clinton +0.4 (45.0 - 44.6%)**
Jeb Bush	**Bush +1% (44.6 – 43.6%)**
Donald Trump	**Clinton +2.2% (46 – 43.8%)**
Ben Carson	**Carson +5.2% (48.6-43.4%)**
Carly Fiorina	**Fiorina +1% (43.5-42.5%)**

*RCP = Real Clear Politics Aggregate Poll of major polls Source: Realclearpolitics.com

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How does Clinton do vs. Republican opponents? And, please, tell me what you ***really*** think of Mr. Trump

Quinnipiac National Poll

Released August 27, 2015

What is the first word that come to mind when you think of <name>?

	Clinton	Bush	Trump
1	liar	Bush	arrogant
2	dishonest	family	blowhard
3	untrustworthy	honest	idiot
4	experience	weak	businessman
5	strong	brother	clown
6	Bill	dynasty	honest
7	woman	experience	ego
8	smart	Florida	money
9	crook	politician	outspoken
10	untruthful	republican	crazy

Quinnipiac Swing State Poll

General Election Spreads

Released August 20, 2015

Florida	Bush	Rubio	Trump
Clinton	11	12	2
Biden	13	6	3
Sanders	19	16	4

Ohio	Bush	Rubio	Trump
Clinton	2	2	5
Biden	3	1	10
Sanders	6	8	2

Pennsylvania	Bush	Rubio	Trump
Clinton	3	7	5
Biden	1	3	8
Sanders	8	12	3

Red/blue numbers indicate R/D candidate lead by that number of points. For example, the poll showed Bush leading Clinton by 11% in Florida

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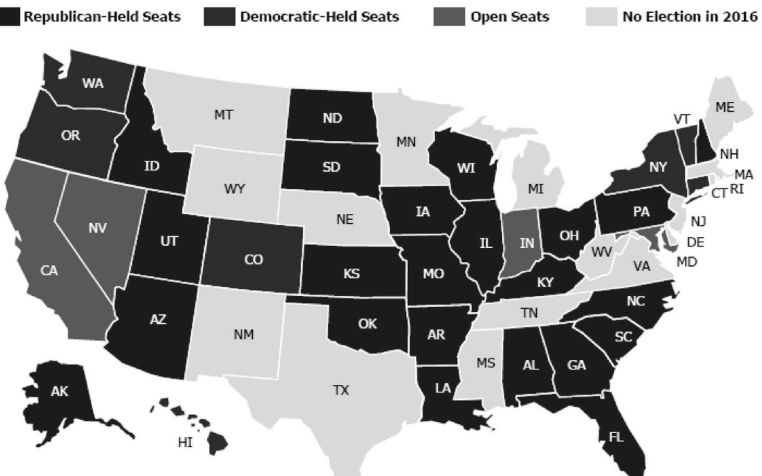
Source: Quinnipiac College

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026806

Whipsawed! Democrats may be poised to regain control of the Senate in 2016



- 23 seats have Republican incumbents, 7 seats with Democratic incumbents
- There are 4 open seats: California, Maryland, Indiana and Nevada

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Source: National Journal

And remember: The primaries are six months away…

State	Date
Iowa Caucuses	January 18th
New Hampshire	January 26th
Colorado/Minnesota/New York/Utah	February 2nd
Nevada	February 6th
South Carolina	February 13th
North Carolina	February 16th
Michigan	February 23rd
Florida/Massachusetts/ Oklahoma/Tennessee/ Texas/Vermont/Virginia	March 1st
Louisiana	March 5th
Alabama/Mississippi/ Ohio	March 8th
Illinois/Missouri	March 15th
Arizona	March 22nd

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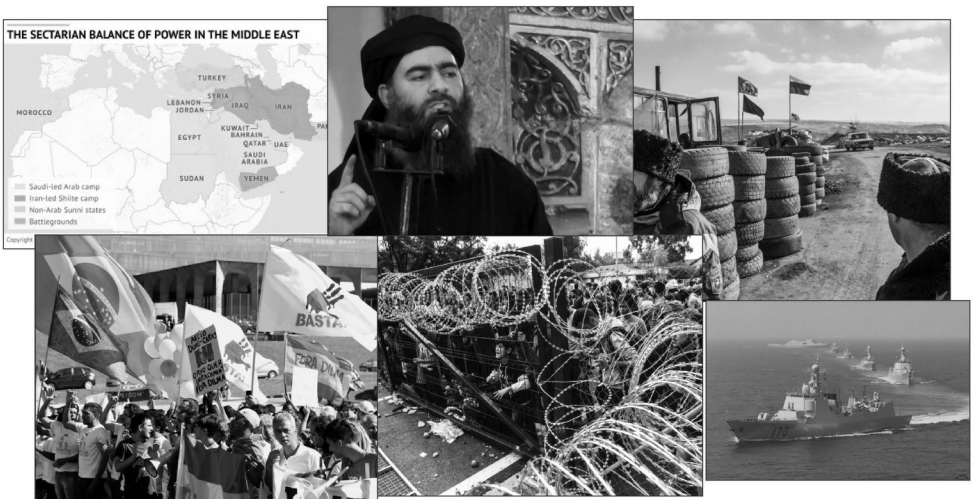
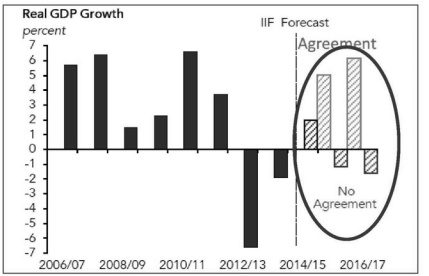
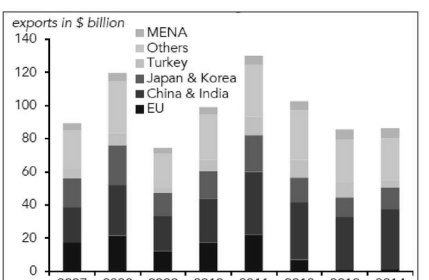
The geopolitical outlook: Growing regional tensions will not get any better in 2016



Iran: US Congress will not stop nuclear deal; EU already moving forward – fast. What's next?

- P5+1 and Iran reached a deal. Big obstacle has been overcome: Enough US Senators support to ensure it can move forward.
- Saudi Arabia "supports" the deal. The Saudi king was in DC last month. US has quietly promised nuclear protection and massive weapons sales.
- Market implications of a deal are significant, especially for European corporates eager to get back into Iran marketplace (i.e. Italian PM Renzi already visited Tehran as has German FM).
- Iran wants to build 400 four & five star hotels in next five to ten years.
- But do not expect any significant oil export increase and/or sales into Iran for at least 8 – 10 months. Iran must first comply and set up systems for inspections.





Source: IIF; IMF

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Yemen in crisis: a new global choke-point?

-13 percent of world's oil travels through Gulf of Aden as it travels up through Suez Canal – almost all of it heading to Europe.

- Almost 8 percent of all world trade via shipping goes through Suez Canal.

- Iran is seen to be trying to build a "Shia Crescent."

- Iran sees/fears being encircled by "Sunni Crescent."

- If Yemen falls completely to Houthi tribal control – de facto, becoming an Iranian satellite – what threat does it pose to Saudi Arabia?

- Question: will a nuclear deal with Iran empower them regionally? Or will it further spur the Sunni nations to increase their defense efforts?

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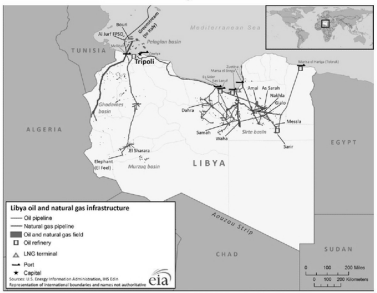
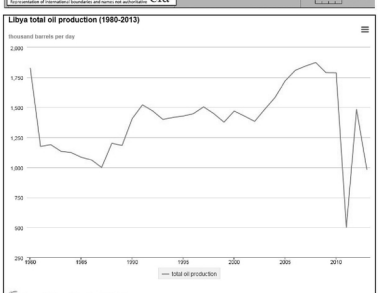
Libya: Is there any hope for peace or will it become a hub for regional instability and violence? No and yes

-The US/EU/NATO toppling of long-time strongman Muammar Gaddafi has led to a cycle of instability and continuous violence.
- It has also led to severe cuts in oil production and loss of significant revenue.
- More importantly, Gaddafi's massive weapons stocks have directly flowed to Boko Haram in Nigeria, terrorist groups in Mali and to arm other movements in Tunisia – as well as financing them via the sales and trading of these weapons.
- The US and EU seem to have no strategy to deal with the situation. White House sources tell us "it has literally fallen off the table" as an issue of focus. Is this now Egypt's problem through which the US will send money/weapons?





Conflict in Ukraine: is it all over but for the shooting?

- Moscow got what it wanted: securing the naval port in Sevastopol and creating a buffer state between Ukraine and Russia as well as keeping Kiev weak and unstable.
- But there has been a cost: Sanctions are crushing the Russian economy and Crimea has become a giant money pit for Putin to pour rubles into. A complete economic mess.
- However, do not exclude possibility of more violence in Ukraine or elsewhere in the region.
- Still waiting for any significant financial aid or military relief from EU or US. Word to the wise: do not hold your breath.
- One other conflict is now drawing in Russian troops: Syria. Russian pilots are now flying missions with Syrian Air Force.

Ukraine Lines of Withdrawal

Russian vs. Ukrainian Speakers in Ukraine

Source: Washington Post; IIF, National Bank of Ukraine

Russia: Return of the empire or death of a nation?

- Russia covers nine time zones and almost 7,000 miles end to end.

-The current Russian population:143 million. With the annexation of Crimea: 146 million.

- By 2030, the Russian population will have shrunk to136 million.

- By 2050, it will likely have shrunk to below 120 million and perhaps as low as 115 million (roughly the size of Mexico or Philippines today).

- Putin has also promised to increase military spending by $770 billion between now and 2020.

- Putin has also overseen the building or reconstruction of 23,000 Russian Orthodox Churches. And urged Russians to have lots of children (offering financial incentives).

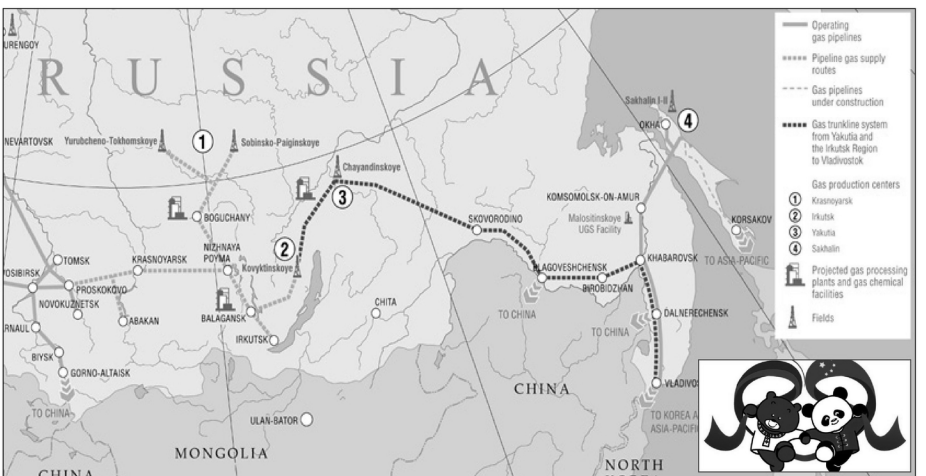
Natural population growth of Russia since 1950

Birth rate Death rate Natural growth

Sources: United Nations; American Enterprise Institute; Globe & Mail

Washington is watching this deal: A Sino-Russian oil and gas alliance?

Russian President Putin inked a $400 billion deal with China in May 2014



Source: Gazprom

China's Siberian energy plans: 7,000 km of new pipe

Source: Chatham House Paper: Through the Dragons Gate? 12/13

China goes big in Pakistan… $46 billion big…

- China, in an effort to counter India, build additional shipping points and expand trade, has just arranged for a $46 billion investment in pipelines from one end of Pakistan to the coastal city of Gwadar.
- India is not happy and we suspect al-Qaeda and ISIS in the northern region are not happy about this, either.
- Will China build a naval port, too? We believe so.

China and the evolution of revolution: Rise of radical Muslims in China's western provinces

- China now has a rapidly growing radical Islam problem: Ethnic Uyghur's – who are Turkic speaking – feel badly repressed and left out of the Chinese economic growth.

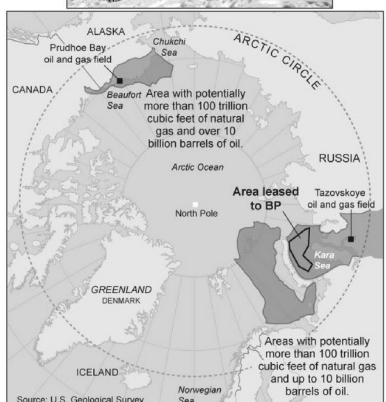
- They have become increasingly radicalized. Uyghur's are fighting with ISIS and al-Qaeda. More importantly, they are conducting more and more terrorist strikes within China. China now is seeking to engage in Afghanistan. And they have become a key partner to Pakistan in recent years.

The new frontier: Drilling in the Arctic and race with Russia and China

- Once cold and forbidding, climate change has allowed multiple countries to see it as a massive new and untapped region for natural resources and critically important geopolitical/military vantage point.

- President Obama visited this week and both called for renewed climate strategy as well as ramping up Coast Guard capabilities to operate in the Arctic.

- Russian President Putin has placed great emphasis on Russian military presence in the Arctic. China is also trying to lay claim to region as part of their never-ending search for oil.



Cuba: we showed you the love, now show us the money

- President Obama's historic re-opening of diplomatic relations has set the stage for potentially significant new investment opportunities in Cuba. But we stress "potentially" as the Castro Brothers now seem to be slowing considerably with respect to any reforms.
- Meanwhile, the US Congress is going to make sure there is no funding of the US Embassy and will be vigilant on any new business licenses granted by US Treasury for banking or foreign trade with Cuba.
- What to watch for: Pope Francis – who was critical to the success of the negotiations – just finished visit to Cuba and US. Will there be further agreements to hasten better relations.

"That hoard of capitalist investor's should be arriving…just… about… now."

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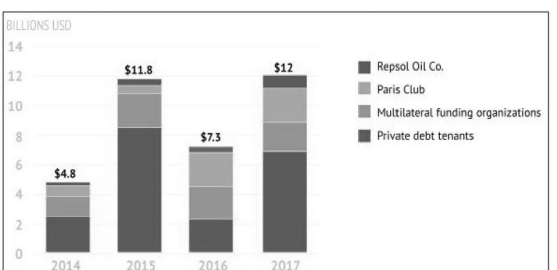
Argentina: Elections in October bring little clarity to future

- The August 9th mandatory open primaries (PASO) brought little clarity as to who will succeed President Cristina Kirchner in the October 25th elections. She has held office since 2007 and, before that, her husband held the presidency from 2003-06.
- Kirchner's handpicked successor, current governor of Buenos Aires province, Daniel Scioli (of the Peronist faction) leads in the elections held last week. But the 2nd and 3rd place finishers could band together to pull off a victory.
- The Argentine economy has seen zero growth this year. FDI has declined 41 percent and inflation stands at 30 percent. Voters remain deeply divided over which candidate and which economic policy to support. We expect continued problems for the foreseeable future.

"You're only going to get this much back. . ."

Inflation and recession are clobbering the average Argentinean.



Source: Straftor

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Venezuela: The spiral widens and intensifies… but there is some good news

- The Venezuelan legislative elections are only one month away (December 6th) and the country continues to be wracked by dysfunction, corruption and shortages of food, toilet paper, medicines, etc.
- The government has also banned a number of leading opposition figures from running for office and/or has placed them under house arrest.
- In the first half of 2105, their were reports of 132 lootings of stores and 2,800 protests*.
- Inflation is now estimated at over 800 percent, making it the highest in the world.
- Meanwhile, President Maduro has revived old border disputes with Guyana and closed the border with Columbia, causing significant social unrest.
- **So what is the good news**? There is a new and serious dialogue underway between the United States and Venezuela. Multiple high-level diplomatic visits have been undertaken in the last six months. A by-product of the US-Cuba rapprochement?

*source: Venezuelan Observatory for Social Conflict

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Francis J. Kelly
Managing Director & Global Coordinator, Public Affairs
Head, Government & Public Affairs – North and South America

Frank Kelly is Global Coordinator for Public Affairs as well as head of Government & Public Affairs for North and Latin Americas. In this role, he manages and coordinates relationships with elected officials and political and legislative bodies globally.

Additionally, he heads up the Bank's U.S. Direct Investment Advisory Group (DIAG) providing strategic counsel to non-US companies engaged in cross-border mergers and acquisitions requiring regulatory and political approvals.

Mr. Kelly also serves as the Bank's Chief Political Risk Strategist advising clients on geopolitical and domestic risk issues and their impact on markets and industry sectors.

Previously, he was Head of Communications & Public Affairs – Americas overseeing legislative and regulatory matters, corporate and internal communications, branding and advertising and conferences and events for Deutsche Bank in the Western Hemisphere.

Prior to joining Deutsche Bank, Mr. Kelly held senior positions at both Charles Schwab & Co. and Merrill Lynch & Co, Inc.

Before joining the private sector, Mr. Kelly served at the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission as Chief Spokesman as well as the US Department of Justice as Assistant to the Director for Policy Development.

Prior to these posts, he served in both the George H. W. Bush and, earlier, the Reagan White House where he started as a writer for President Reagan.

Mr. Kelly is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute of Strategic Studies. He serves as a member of the Board of Directors of the American Council on Germany and the Atlantic Council of the United States.

Mr. Kelly, his wife, Maura, and their two living children resides in Great Falls, Virginia.

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Speaker Biographies

Francis J. Kelly

Head, Government & Public Affairs, Deutsche Bank–North and Latin America
Global Coordinator–Public Affairs

Frank Kelly is Global Coordinator for Public Affairs as well as Head of Government & Public Affairs for North and Latin Americas, primarily responsible for managing and coordinating relationships with elected officials and political and legislative bodies globally. Additionally, he heads up the Bank's U.S. Direct Investment Advisory Group (DIAG) providing strategic counsel to non-U.S. companies engaged in cross-border mergers and acquisitions requiring regulatory and political approvals. Mr. Kelly also serves as the Chief Political Risk Strategist advising clients on geopolitical and domestic risk issues and their impact on markets and industry sectors.

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Mr. Kelly is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute of Strategic Studies. He serves as a member of the Board of Directors of the Atlantic Council of the United States, the American Council on Germany and the Jerome Lejeune Foundation.

Larry V. Adam

Chief Investment Officer, Wealth Management–Americas
Chief Investment Strategist, Deutsche Asset & Wealth Management–Americas

Larry Adam is a Managing Director and serves the dual role of Chief Investment Officer for Wealth Management–Americas and Chief Investment Strategist for Deutsche Asset & Wealth Management–Americas. In his role as CIO, he chairs the Americas Regional Investment Committee, the management team responsible for investment strategy and asset allocation for discretionary portfolios in the Americas, and is a voting member on the Multi Asset Investment Committee, which formalizes and establishes the global house view. As Chief Investment Strategist, Mr. Adam is responsible for articulating and providing detailed research on the outlook for the economy and each major asset class in support of the house view.

Previously, Mr. Adam was the Head of the Asset Allocation and Quantitative Analysis Group, the group responsible for analyzing and implementing client-specific asset allocation strategies. He is widely published and has been quoted in various mainstream and financial publications, including *The Wall Street Journal, Barron's* and *International Herald Tribune*. He also frequently appears on television and has been featured on CNBC and Bloomberg TV. Mr. Adam joined Deutsche Bank Alex. Brown in 1992.

Mr. Adam received a B.B.A. and a master's degree in business with a concentration in finance from Loyola University Maryland. He has earned the Chartered Financial Analyst®, the Certified Investment Management Analyst® and the Certified Financial Planner™ designations.

Speaker Biographies

Eric D.K. Melby
Principal, The Scowcroft Group

A founding Principal of The Scowcroft Group, Eric D. K. Melby has extensive experience in telecommunications, energy and investment support. He also advises clients on market entry and geopolitical risk. Dr. Melby's primary regions of focus are the Middle East and Asia.

Dr. Melby was a senior staff member on the National Security Council from 1987 to 1993, during which he participated in bilateral and multilateral trade and economic negotiations, including the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Uruguay Round, bilateral economic issues, international energy policy and export controls. He was also member of the U.S. 'Sherpa' team for the G7 Economic Summits during this period. Before serving on the NSC staff, Dr. Melby was a Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, responsible for trade and energy issues. Previously, he worked at the International Energy Agency in Paris. He has also served with the U.S. Agency for International Development and was a Peace Corps Volunteer in the Philippines.

Dr. Melby received his BA from Haverford College and his MA and PhD from the Johns Hopkins University (SAIS). He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a Director of the Atlantic Council of the United States and of the International Student House of Washington, D.C. He serves on the advisory councils of the European Institute and of SAIS Europe. He also sits on the Chapter of the Washington National Cathedral.

Kevin G. Nealer
Principal, The Scowcroft Group

A Principal of The Scowcroft Group, Kevin G. Nealer provides strategic risk advisory services and direct investment support to clients, specializing in financial services and trade policy issues for emerging markets, with emphasis on China and Southeast Asia. Before joining The Scowcroft Group, Mr. Nealer advised multinational clients on investment issues, project finance, and trade law/policy as a principal in the consulting affiliate of Washington's largest law firm, and as Vice President for corporate affairs with a leading government strategies practice.

On October 1, 2014, President Obama appointed Mr. Nealer as a Member of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board. Following his confirmation by the United States Senate on December 14, 2010, Mr. Nealer had served on the Board of Directors of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the development finance agency of the U.S. government, and as a member of OPIC's Audit and Governance Committees until the conclusion of his term in January, 2013. He is a member of the international advisory boards of Ancora Capital Management Pte, Ltd., China Highland Fund, and the board of the Australian American Leadership Dialogue. A trade attorney and former State Department officer, Mr. Nealer previously served as trade policy advisor to the Senate Democratic Leadership.

A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, he is the author of numerous articles on political economy, including co-authoring the Council's report *Beginning the Journey: China, the United States, and the WTO*. He is a consultant to the U.S. government on trade and economic security issues. A Fulbright professor in the People's Republic of China (1990 to 1991), Mr. Nealer has served as a lecturer, program moderator, and adjunct professor of trade law and policy at the Georgetown University McDonough School of Business.

Mr. Nealer received his JD from Case Western Reserve University, and serves on its International Visiting Committee. He received his BA from the University of Michigan and is a member of the Advisory Board of the Michigan in Washington Program.

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From: Kevin Nealer
Date: November 14, 2015

Terrorism - Metrojet and Paris Mark Externalization of ISIS Threat

It has been a consensus view in the US and Europe that the dangers posed by ISIS included metastasizing into other Middle Eastern and African countries -- something that Turkey has already experienced and Saudi Arabia and others likely face. Europe was believed to be at less risk, although as the flow of refugees from Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan increased, that risk has risen.

The US and everywhere else were thought to be tertiary targets, subject to opportunistic attacks but almost a distraction to ISIS (cf. Al Qaeda), given its preoccupation with exploitation of Sunni/Shia divisions and goal of regional territorial gains. Remember, ISIS' military leadership largely is drawn from Sunnis who were a part of Saddam's military; they are motivated by revenge for how they have been treated by the Shia-dominated post-Saddam Iraqi government.)

Last week's Metrojet bombing in Egypt, the suicide attacks Thursday in a Shiite neighborhood of Beirut, and yesterday atrocities in Paris all demonstrate an unexpected level of sophistication and effort. As a result, European countries and the US are likely to see an increase in incidents and threats that harken back to Al Qaeda's early agenda or are comparable to the Black September and early Hezbollah attacks of the '70s.

What are the consequences?

- ISIS can be expected to undertake further spectacular attacks. It has eclipsed AQ in operational capability, financing, and recruitment. It is not only the wealthiest terror group in history, but one with global reach and ambitions. (The Obama Administration's claims that ISIS is contained now look naive, and that characterization will haunt President Obama and Democrats next year.)
- Expect a significant uptick in EU, US, and Russian engagement against ISIS in the Iraq/Syria theater, but also in Europe. The failure to detect this elaborate scheme (no less complex because it was "low tech" -- so was 9/11) will prompt European security and intelligence agencies to take a much more intrusive and perhaps even confrontational approach both to indigenous Muslim groups and to arriving refugees. While that risks a feed-back loop, the instinct will be to err on the side of immediate results, not impact on radicalization as a social challenge.
- Germany and other EU nations will have to re-examine their commitments to welcome more refugees from the Middle East, and British opposition to allowing refugees, already strong, will harden. The scale of the Paris attacks will energize right-wing politics and pressure center-left governments to make threat reduction a higher priority than humanitarian concerns.

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- The universal horror at what happened in Paris is likely to strengthen the determination of countries gathered in Vienna for the Syria conference to better coordinate and prosecute the campaign against ISIS in Syria and Ira.

Bottom Line: **Has risk to the United States increased?** There are no indications yet that ISIS has changed its approach here. It encourages radicalization and lone wolf attacks but has not mounted direct attacks. But the Metrojet bombing has resulted in a stepped up global effort to secure American airlines. So too, targeting of American institutions/events – it is unlikely a coincidence that an American band was playing at the site of the largest causalities in Paris -- seems highly probable. This applies equally to American bases and facilities overseas, including embassies.

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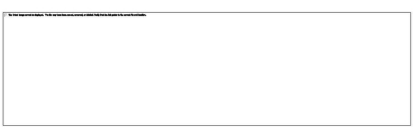
From: Richard Kahn [redacted]]
Sent: 12/24/2015 12:52:15 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Alert: FIRPTA and REIT Reform Provisions in the New Tax Law Open Door to Increased Foreign Investment in U.S. Real Property Interests

Importance: High

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
Tel [redacted]
Fax [redacted]
Cell [redacted]

Begin forwarded message:

From: Sadis & Goldberg Tax Group <[redacted]>
Date: December 23, 2015 at 3:02:13 PM EST
To: [redacted]
Subject: Alert: FIRPTA and REIT Reform Provisions in the New Tax Law Open Door to Increased Foreign Investment in U.S. Real Property Interests
Reply-To: [redacted]



TAX ALERT DECEMBER 23, 2015

FIRPTA and REIT Reform Provisions in New Tax Law Open Door to Increased Foreign Investment in U.S. Real Property Interests

For further information about this *Alert*, please contact:

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Please feel free to discuss any aspect of this *Alert* with your regular Sadis & Goldberg contact or with any of the partners whose names and contact information can be found at the end of the *Alert*.

On December 18, 2015, President Obama signed into law a bill that significantly reforms the provisions of the Internal Revenue Code that were originally added 35 years ago by the Foreign Investment in Real Property Tax Act of 1980 (FIRPTA). The Protecting Americans from Tax Hikes Act of 2015 (the "PATH Act") also includes extensions of a number of tax relief provisions that expired at the end of 2015. The PATH Act makes foreign capital investment in U.S. real estate, energy and infrastructure assets more attractive by expanding certain exemptions from FIRPTA and clarifying the application of certain FIRPTA provisions to REITs and their shareholders.

I. FOREIGN PENSION FUNDS EXEMPTED FROM FIRPTA TAXATION

One of the most significant provisions of the PATH Act is the addition of a complete exemption from FIRPTA for "qualified foreign pension funds" and "entities" wholly owned by such funds, effective on the date of enactment. A foreign pension fund is "qualified" if it is subject to government regulation and certain reporting requirements in its home jurisdiction, is established to provide retirement or pension benefits to participants or beneficiaries that are current or former employees, has no greater than 5 percent beneficiaries, and enjoys tax benefits on either contributions or investment income in its home jurisdiction. The new exemption applies to direct investments and investments made through partnerships (including private equity funds). The PATH Act provides for certain details to be addressed by Treasury Regulations. It appears that the "entities" eligible for the FIRPTA exemption could include a U.S. or foreign "blocker" corporation that is wholly owned by a qualifying foreign pension fund. This exemption will, for the first time, permit foreign pension funds, including some governmental funds, to hold control positions in REITs without losing their FIRPTA exemption.

Note that the regular rules of the Internal Revenue Code other than FIRPTA still would apply to the foreign pension fund. Therefore, a foreign pension fund that invested in a partnership that was engaged in a U.S. business (real estate or non-real estate) would still be subject to U.S. federal income tax on its share of the partnership's "effectively connected" U.S. business income in the same manner as other non-U.S. persons making an investment in a U.S. business partnership.

Here are some examples of what can be done in light of the changes made by the PATH Act:

A. Raw Land Investment. A qualifying foreign pension fund invests in a partnership that buys raw land in the United States. (This could be a vacant lot, timberland, oil and gas or mineral property, or other property interests that qualify for treatment as real property for federal income tax purposes.) The investment is a capital asset, as the partnership is not engaged in business. The partnership later sells the property to a developer, or the pension fund sells its partnership interest. Under prior law, the foreign pension fund's non-business capital gain would automatically be subject to US federal income tax because of FIRPTA. Under the new law, the foreign pension fund's long-term or short-term capital gain is exempt from U.S. income tax and FIRPTA withholding because FIRPTA does not apply.

B. Equity Kicker Mortgage Loan Investment. A foreign pension fund acquires an ownership interest in a mortgage loan secured by U.S. real property. The loan includes stated interest plus an equity kicker (*e.g.*, additional interest equal to a share of gain realized on sale of the property). Such an equity kicker loan is treated as a U.S. real property interest under FIRPTA. Under prior law, gain realized by the foreign pension fund upon sale of the loan would automatically be subject to U.S. income tax under FIRPTA. Under new law, the gain realized on the sale of the mortgage loan would be exempt from U.S. income tax. (This conclusion is based on the assumption that the foreign pension fund is a mere investor and not engaged in an active lending business in the U.S.)

C. U.S. Blocker Corp. Investment. A foreign pension fund wants to make an equity investment in a U.S. real estate business that is organized as a partnership. The foreign pension fund forms a U.S. corporation to acquire the partnership interest and the corporation is capitalized with a mix of equity and debt held by the shareholder. The corporation is subject to U.S. income tax on its net income, but gets to deduct interest paid or accrued on the debt held by the shareholder. The foreign corporation later sells the stock of the corporation. Under prior law, the gain on sale of the stock would be subject to U.S. income tax because the corporation was a "U.S. real property holding corporation" under FIRPTA. Under new law, FIRPTA does not apply to the foreign pension fund, so the capital gain on sale of the stock is exempt from U.S. income tax. Note that the U.S.-source interest paid to the foreign shareholder could be subject to U.S. withholding tax under the regular rules of the Code, but if the pension fund is organized in a jurisdiction that has a tax treaty with the U.S. (*e.g.*, UK, Germany, France, China, Japan, etc.), these interest payments could be exempt from U.S. withholding under such tax treaty.

2. FIRPTA EXEMPTION FOR INVESTMENTS IN PUBLICLY TRADED REIT STOCK INCREASED FROM 5 PERCENT to 10 PERCENT

For publicly traded REITs, the PATH Act opens the door to increased investment by expanding the current statutory exemption from FIRPTA for small portfolio investments by non-U.S. persons. The Act provides all foreign investors (not just pension funds) can now own up to 10 percent of the stock of a publicly traded REIT without triggering FIRPTA tax. Under prior law, FIRPTA tax would apply upon the foreign investor's sale of stock of the publicly traded REIT or the receipt of certain distributions from such REIT if the foreign investor holds more than 5 percent of the REIT's stock.

3. CLARIFICATION OF THE EXEMPTION FOR INVESTMENTS IN DOMESTICALLY CONTROLLED REITS

The PATH Act includes important clarifying presumptions that will allow publicly traded REITs and their shareholders to rely with greater confidence on the current law FIRPTA exemption for gains realized on sales of stock in "domestically controlled" REITS. In determining whether a REIT is domestically controlled, the REIT is now permitted to presume that any owner of less than 5 percent of any publicly traded shares of the REIT is a U.S. person, unless the REIT has actual knowledge to the contrary.

4. REVENUE RAISING PROVISIONS RELATING TO FIRPTA AND REITs

The PATH Act includes certain revenue raising provisions to offset, in part, the tax revenue loss anticipated to result of the above-described tax reform provisions of the Act. Such revenue raisers include (among other technical changes) the following provisions:

A. Increase in FIRPTA Withholding Rate. The purchaser of a U.S. real property interest from a non-U.S. person was previously required to withhold 10 percent of the purchase price under FIRPTA. The PATH Act increases this rate to 15 percent for dispositions occurring after the 60th day following enactment, but maintains the 10 percent rate for sales of residential property for between $300,000 and $1,000,000. This provision is not a tax increase but is designed to ensure that FIRPTA withholding collects a sufficient portion of the taxes owed.

B. Restriction on REIT Spin-offs. In recent years, it has become increasingly common for large corporate taxpayers to reduce their tax bills by contributing real estate used in their businesses to a subsidiary, spinning off the subsidiary in a tax free transaction under Code section 355, and then having the spun-out corporation making a REIT election. The PATH Act curtails such activity by (i) providing that neither the distributing corporation nor the spun-out corporation can make a REIT election for ten years after that corporation was involved in a Section 355 transaction and (ii) denying tax-free treatment to spin-offs in which the distributing corporation or spun-out corporation (but not both) is a REIT.

5. CONCLUSION

The revisions to the FIRPTA and REIT rules discussed above represent a potentially large expansion of the incentives for foreign investment in U.S. real property interests, especially for foreign pension funds. Sponsors of U.S. real property investment funds and foreign investors with interests in U.S. real estate assets should review the new provisions to determine whether such persons could benefit from such U.S. tax law changes.

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Please feel free to discuss any aspect of this *Alert* with your regular Sadis & Goldberg contact or with any of the partners, whose names and contact information are provided below.

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From: Dangene and Jennie Enterprise [redacted]
Sent: 2/19/2016 2:23:22 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [Jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: TRUMP / POPE SCORECARD .....
Attachments: EWLarge2.jpg

Importance: High

TRUMP 1 POPE 0

Enterpriseworld

CORE: Jennie Enterprise |
@dandjenterprise | Founder & Chairman | 66 East 55th Street New York NY 10022 | Main: [redacted] | Mobile: [redacted]
[redacted]
www.coreaccess.net |

From: Bob Crowe [redacted]
Sent: 3/11/2016 12:24:18 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: FW: RE : RE: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade
Attachments: image001.gif

Importance: High

Robert B. Crowe Partner| Nelson Mullins
One Post Office Square, 30th Fl., Boston, MA 02109
101 Constitution Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20001
[redacted]
T:[redacted]

From: abuulabass [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Wednesday, March 02, 2016 12:31 PM
To: Vinoda Basnayake; elisabeth feliho
Cc: Bob Crowe; Mohamed Seydou Diagne; El Hadji Amadou Sall
Subject: RE : RE: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade

Congratulations Vinoda ! The French version of the paper was published today in the Senegalese major newspapers. You can see it also in Seneweb.com .
Many thanks for the good work with my best regards.
Tidiane
Envoyé depuis mon appareil Samsung

-------- Message d'origine --------
De : Vinoda Basnayake <[redacted]
Date : 02/03/2016 16:20 (GMT+00:00)
À : elisabeth feliho [redacted]>
Cc : Bob Crowe <[redacted]n>, Cheikh Tidiane Sy <[redacted]>, Mohamed Seydou Diagne <[redacted]>, El Hadji Amadou Sall <[redacted]>
Objet : RE: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade

We have had some positive feedback from the article. Now the issue certainly has more visibility in Washington. Bob is in the process of setting up the meeting with Tom at the State Dept regarding the Human Rights Report for 2016. Will send more as we get more details.

Vinoda

Vinoda Basnayake

Of Counsel and Chair of DC Government Relations
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(View Bio)

From: elisabeth feliho [[redacted]
Sent: Monday, February 29, 2016 6:29 AM
To: Vinoda Basnayake
Cc: Bob Crowe; Cheikh Tidiane Sy; Mohamed Seydou Diagne; El Hadji Amadou Sall
Subject: Re: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade

Congratulations!!! Can we share this with the press here?

Best regards.

EF

2016-02-26 13:04 GMT+00:00 Vinoda Basnayake <[redacted]>:

Great news, the piece was published in The Hill this morning-

http://thehill.com/blogs/pundits-blog/international/270878-senegals-democratic-backslide

We can share this w Congress and State.

Sent from my iPhone

On Feb 26, 2016, at 6:06 AM, elisabeth feliho <[redacted]> wrote:

Excellent!!!

2016-02-24 20:13 GMT+00:00 Vinoda Basnayake <[redacted]>:

We are working on getting the following article placed in the Hill or the Politico within the next week. As of now it looks like former Chairman of Armed Services, Congressman Ron Dellums, will be the author. Please keep highly confidential. Will keep you posted on if, when and where it gets published. Once it is published we can all circulate it highly. We believe that this article sets the tone for the advocacy we will be doing and having someone very prominent like Congressman Dellums will also be a great way to launch this campaign.

Congressman Ronald Dellums is a thirteen term Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-CA) who served from 1971-1998. He also served as the 48th Mayor of Oakland from 2007-2011. Dellums served as the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee and the House Committee on the District of Columbia. He also served on the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Post Office and Civil Service Committee, the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence and co-founded the Congressional Black Caucus.

Senegal's Democratic Backslide

2015 was a banner year for democracy in Africa. Nigeria, the largest country on the continent, had a democratic election, and even more impressively, had its first ever peaceful transition of power when sitting President Goodluck Jonathan transferred power to Muhammadu Buhari. Former President Jonathan conceded and famously declared, "Nobody's ambition is worth the blood of any Nigerian." My last piece for ***The Hill*** was titled, *'Will Guinea's experiment in democracy succeed?'*" It is with great joy that I can report that it did! Guinea's first democratically elected President, Alpha Conde, won his reelection campaign in a peaceful election that was internationally monitored in which the Guinean electorate reaffirmed its commitment to a democracy.

Despite these victories for democracy in a continent in which I dedicated a great deal of my life's work, I am deeply troubled by developments over the last few weeks. Earlier this week Uganda President Yoweri Museveni extended his thirty year rule and "won" his fifth consecutive election which international observers said was marred with intimidation and impropriety. Shortly after the election Museveni, who scrapped constitutional term limits a decade ago, had his political rival, Kizza Besigye arrested and detained for protesting the election results. Of course we have come to expect these actions from Museveni in Uganda. What I am even most troubled by is what is taking place in Senegal, which was once the pillar of democracy in Africa.

When Abdoulaye Wade was democratically elected as President of Senegal in 2000, it was a huge step forward for democracy in Africa. President Wade adopted a new constitution and instituted term limits for the first time in Senegalese history. In 2012 President Wade was defeated in a democratic election by his Prime Minister Macky Sall. The United States and the larger international community praised Wade for his quick concession and praised peaceful transition of power. President Macky Sall affirmed his commitment to democracy announcing that he would shorten term limits from 7 to 5 years. President Obama visited Senegal in June of 2013 and praised President Sall for his commitment to democracy in shortening the presidential mandate and praised the country's rule of law.

Unfortunately in the past few years much has changed and we are witnessing a backslide in what was once Africa's brightest democratic success story. When the opposition party, the Senegalese Democratic Party, designated former President Abdoulaye Wade' son, former Minister Karim Wade, as their candidate for the next presidential election; President Sall had Karim Wade arrested and detained. President Macky Sall then reestablished a special court by presidential decree that had been abolished by Senegalese law and not heard a case in thirty years. This newly established special court sentenced Mr. Wade to six years in prison. He remains in prison today, sentenced without appeal. In April 2015, the United Nations Working Group of Arbitrary Detention determined that Mr. Wade was arbitrarily arrested and that his detention was in violation of international law. Last month the UN Working Group reaffirmed its finding and called on President Sall's regime to release Karim Wade and comply with international law. Sall has ignored the UN Working Groups request.

Last week the backslide continued even further as President Macky Sall reneged on his commitment to shorten term limits. Instead of holding elections next year, after five years per his commitment, he announced that he would serve until 2019. He claims that this decision was based on the opinion - just an opinion - of the Constitutional Council that he had himself sought.

In light of the trend toward democracy in Africa as exemplified by Nigeria and Guinea, it is very concerning that one of the United States' closest allies and Africa's strongest democracies appears to be retrogressing. The destabilization of democracy in Senegal could have significant consequences in the entire region. The United States must get in front of this negative trend before spreads across Africa and it is too late. The U.S. should call for President Sall to honor the request of the UN Working Group and release his political rival Mr. Wade and also keep his pledge of a 5 year presidential mandate. President Obama has said that Africa is more important than ever to security and prosperity in the U.S. We have worked very hard in implementing and prioritizing democracy and democratic succession in Africa. The Obama administration must not let our hard work be compromised in Senegal, we have worked too hard and come too far.

<image001.gif>

Vinoda Basnayake

Of Counsel and Chair of DC Government Relations

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From: elisabeth feliho [mailto[redacted]
Sent: Tuesday, February 23, 2016 5:20 AM
To: Vinoda Basnayake; Bob Crowe
Cc: Cheikh Tidiane Sy; Mohamed Seydou Diagne; El Hadji Amadou Sall
Subject: Revised letter. Arbitrary detention of Mr. Wade

Dear Vinoda and Bob,

Please see attached the last version of the revised draft letter. We have made some modifications and amendments we submit to your proposal. You can finalize the letter as it suits you. We strongly recommend to wait Wednesday or Tuesday this week before sending the letter as Amnesty International will issue on Wednesday 24th February its worldwide report on human right situation. It is highly probable that major statement will be made on Mr. Wade case in the report on Senegal, which will give us more input for the letter.

Many thanks and best regards.

EF

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From: Lesley Groff [redacted]
Sent: 5/4/2016 6:06:21 PM
To: Jefffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Larry Summers - Foreign Affairs - The Fusion of Civilizations

Importance: High

Begin forwarded message:

From: Kelly Friendly <[redacted]>
Subject: Larry Summers - Foreign Affairs - The Fusion of Civilizations
Date: May 4, 2016 at 2:05:48 PM EDT
To: [redacted]
Reply-To: [redacted]

The Fusion of Civilizations

The Case for Global Optimism

Foreign Affairs
May/June 2016 issue
By Kishore Mahbubani and Lawrence H. Summers

The mood of much of the world is grim these days. Turmoil in the Middle East, causing hundreds of thousands of deaths and millions of refugees; random terrorist attacks across the globe; geopolitical tensions in eastern Europe and Asia; the end of the commodity supercycle; slowing growth in China; and economic stagnation in many countries-all have combined to feed a deep pessimism about the present and, worse, the future.

Historians looking back on this age from the vantage point of later generations, however, are likely to be puzzled by the widespread contemporary feelings of gloom and doom. By most objective measures of human well-being, the past three decades have been the best in history. More and more people in more and more places are enjoying better lives

than ever before. Nor is this an accident-because despite Samuel Huntington's foreboding, what has occurred over recent generations is not a clash of civilizations but a fusion of civilizations.

To put it simply, the great world civilizations, which used to have detached and separate identities, now have increasingly overlapping areas of commonality. Most people around the world now have the same aspirations as the Western middle classes: they want their children to get good educations, land good jobs, and live happy, productive lives as members of stable, peaceful communities. Instead of feeling depressed, the West should be celebrating its phenomenal success at injecting the key elements of its worldview into other great civilizations.

The march of reason, triggered in the West by the Enlightenment, is spreading globally, leading to the emergence of pragmatic problem-solving cultures in every region and making it possible to envisage the emergence of a stable and sustainable rules-based order. There is every reason to believe, moreover, that the next few decades can be even better for humanity than the last few-so long as the West does not lose confidence in its core values and retreat from global engagement. The greatest danger of the current pessimism, therefore, is that it might become a self-fulfilling prophecy, leading to fear and withdrawal rather than attempts to reinvigorate the existing global system.

The origins of the contemporary era lie in the West's transformation during the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and the Industrial Revolution. No other civilization can take credit for giving birth to modernity. This was not done with some benign intent to uplift humanity in general; there were many problems along the way, and the explosion of Western power across the globe had some terrible consequences for other cultures and regions. Yet the ultimate result was the diffusion of a modern outlook that relies on science and rationality to solve problems, much to the ultimate benefit of the planet's population.

As recently as half a century ago, for example, there was a global clash of economic ideologies. Nikita Khrushchev, the former leader of the Soviet Union, could claim that the state was better at delivering basic goods to citizens than free markets were, but today such a view would be laughed at. The market economy has made Chinese and Indian workers today far more productive than they were under Mao Zedong or Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister. Societies now accept the simple fact that workers need material incentives to be productive, which has led to increased dignity and self-worth. The vast majority of humanity is literate, is at least somewhat mobile, and has access to the world's store of existing knowledge. Around half of the adults in the world own a smartphone, and there are now more connected mobile devices in total than there are people on the planet.

The spread of science and technology, meanwhile, has also improved human dignity and well-being. Most people used to experience lives that were nasty,

brutish, and short. Today, life expectancy has increased by leaps and bounds virtually everywhere. Infant and maternal mortality have dropped sharply, thanks in part to the spread of clear hygiene standards and the construction of modern hospitals. According to the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, as recently as 1988, polio was rampant in 125 countries; today that number is down to two. Aside from among the Taliban and a few pockets of upscale communities in the United States, the virtues of vaccines are accepted by all, part of a general consensus on the virtues of Western science and technology.

And reason is replacing superstition more generally. People around the world now routinely do basic cost-benefit analyses when looking for solutions to problems, leading to a gradual improvement in outcomes everywhere, from agriculture and construction to social and political life. This helps explain the dramatic long-term decline in the rates of most kinds of conflict and violence that the Harvard scholar Steven Pinker has documented.

After slavery and imprisonment, the most degrading condition a human being can experience is poverty. In 2000, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan announced as one of the ambitious Millennium Development Goals halving extreme global poverty by 2015. That goal was far exceeded, and the U.S. National Intelligence Council has predicted that extreme poverty will be reduced even further by 2030-which would constitute one of the most remarkable developments in human history. The global middle class, meanwhile, is projected to rise from 1.8 billion in 2009 to 3.2 billion in 2020 and 4.9 billion in 2030. The world's infant mortality rate decreased from an estimated 63 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1990 to 32 in 2015. This translates into more than four million fewer infant deaths each year.

Instead of optimism based on this recent progress, however, these days in the West, one more often encounters pessimism related to three current challenges: turbulence in the Islamic world, the rise of China, and intra-Western economic and political sclerosis. But the pessimism is unwarranted, because none of these three challenges is insurmountable.

MODERNIZING MUSLIMS

The Islamic world, from Morocco to Indonesia, comprises 1.6 billion citizens-more than one in five people on the planet. The vast majority of them share the common global aspirations to modernize their societies, achieve middle-class living standards, and lead peaceful, productive, and fulfilling lives.

Contrary to what some assert, Islam is fully compatible with modernization. When Malaysia built the Petronas Towers and Dubai built Burj Khalifa, they were not just erecting physical structures but also sending a metaphysical message: we want to be part of the modern world in all dimensions. Many Islamic societies have educated their women. In Malaysian universities, the

women outnumber the men 65 percent to 35 percent. Even some Islamic countries that were initially reluctant to embrace modernization have begun to do so. For example, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates now feature satellite campuses of major Western universities. One reason for the shift is that the experience of other regions, such as Asia, has shown that modernization does not simply equal westernization-that it is possible to pursue, say, economic and social development while still retaining distinctive cultural characteristics.

It is true that a certain number of young Muslims will continue to choose rebellion against the modern world rather than integration into it, joining radical Islamist groups and trying to wreak havoc where they can. About 30,000 Muslim fighters from all over the world, including the West, have joined the Islamic State (also known as ISIS). But however much they constitute a major global security problem, they are dwarfed by, say, the 200 million nonradical Muslims who live peacefully in Indonesia alone. Indonesia has elected two consecutive leaders committed to integrating the country into the modern world, and its largest Muslim organization, the 50-million-plus-member Nahdlatul Ulama, has publicly challenged ISIS' actions and ideology.

The real challenge, therefore, is not the Islamic world per se but figuring out how to bolster the pro-modernization trends in that world while containing the radical trend. In retrospect, it was a mistake for the West to have remained silent when Saudi funding dramatically increased the number of radical madrasahs around the world. A comparable investment today in building a good modern school next to each radical one would create a contest for legitimacy that would likely spread Enlightenment values far and wide. Such a program could be undertaken by the UN agencies UNESCO and UNICEF at relatively modest cost, and it is only one of many possible lines of advance in attacking the problem.

CHALLENGING CHINESE

The second great challenge many worry about is the rise of China. China's success, however, can also be seen as the ultimate triumph of the West. The emperor Qianlong famously wrote to Great Britain's King George III in 1793 saying, "Our Celestial Empire possesses all things in prolific abundance and lacks no product within its own borders. There [is] therefore no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce." Two centuries later, the Chinese understand that absorbing Western modernity into their society has been crucial to their country's reemergence. It has led to rapid economic growth, new and gleaming infrastructure, triumphs in space exploration, the spectacular 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, and much more.

Even as Chinese society has accepted modernity with great enthusiasm, however, it has not abandoned its Chinese cultural roots. The Chinese look at their modern Chinese civilization and emphasize its Chineseness, seeing

no contradiction. Indeed, China is now experiencing its own cultural renaissance, fueled by its new affluence.

The duality of the Chinese story is reflected in the West's schizophrenic response to it. The Nixon administration eagerly sought better relations with China under Mao, and when Deng Xiaoping doubled down by opening up the country, the West applauded the change. The United States generously accepted Chinese products into its markets, allowed massive trade surpluses, welcomed China into the World Trade Organization in 2001, and kept global sea-lanes open so that China could trade freely. All of this enabled China to emerge as the world's number one trading power by 2013. The United States also generously allowed more than a million Chinese students to study in its universities.

Yet the rise of China has also led to deep fears. China continues to be run by a communist party that has no desire to embrace liberal democracy. China has displayed a belligerent side in some of its dealings with Japan and some members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations over territorial disputes in the East China and South China Seas. The possibility of an aggressive, militaristic China cannot be ruled out.

But we have come a vast distance since the days when Mao openly talked about the possibility of winning a nuclear war, and Chinese history suggests that Beijing will ultimately prefer to join, rather than replace or reject, the current rules-based order that the West has created. As the world's number one trading power, China has the most to lose from a breakdown of the global economic system. Historically, moreover, what the Chinese have feared most is luan (chaos). This might lead to heavy-handed efforts to preserve order domestically, but it should lead Beijing to support a rules-based order at the global level as well. Undoubtedly, as China grows more powerful, it will become more assertive. This has happened. But since China needs a few more decades of peace to complete its modernization, it has strong reasons to restrain itself militarily and avoid a conflict.

Chinese society will never become a replica of Western society. China's own culture is too rich to be absorbed into any other cultural universe. Yet a modernizing China will feature overlapping aspirations in many areas, as, for example, with the rapid spread of Western classical music. In 2008, 36 million Chinese children were studying the piano (six times the number of U.S. children doing so), and another 50 million were studying the violin. Some Chinese cities can fill the halls of 15 opera houses in one evening.

A modern China with thriving Western classical orchestras and Western-style universities provides a powerful demonstration of the fusion of civilizations. Western statesmen should allow this dynamic to gain momentum while remaining patient on other areas of change, such as in the political realm. China's development will not necessarily be linear, but in the long run, it should continue in a positive direction.

PESSIMISTIC POPULISTS

The third challenge today is a widespread loss of confidence in the West about its own systems and future potential. Sluggish growth across the developed world, stagnant incomes for much of the population, rising economic inequality, political gridlock, and the emergence of populist insurgencies on both sides of the political spectrum have fueled a widespread sense that Western models of governance and economic management are floundering.

Many of these problems are real and important. But they are not beyond the capacity of determined leadership to solve, nor do they represent fundamental weaknesses of the Western model. So the pessimism strikes us as dramatically overdone, like previous bouts of declinism and worry that the West's best days were past. The greatest danger, in fact, is that the widespread pessimism will become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Gloomy Western policymakers and publics are more likely to see threats than opportunities and to turn away from the world rather than continue to lead it successfully.

This is notable in the rising opposition, for example, to the Trans-Pacific Partnership, a major trade deal that would help extend and deepen the liberal order across a broad swath of the globe. It is evident in the increasing suspicion of immigrants and refugees and in the growing support for closing borders. And it can be seen in the fraying and potential unraveling of international institutions such as the European Union, formerly a model of progressive international integration.

It would be a terrible shame if the West walked away from the very international order that it created after World War II and that has facilitated so much security, prosperity, and development over the decades. Instead, it should try to reinvigorate that order, with three moves in particular: working with China and India, bolstering international rules, and accentuating the positive global trends that get lost in all the hysteria about the negative ones.

Why China and India? Because they have the largest populations and economies in the developing world, are led by strong, reform-minded leaders, and are approaching the future with dynamism, optimism, and hope. Both understand that they need to take on greater responsibilities in confronting global problems, and as last fall's Paris climate agreement demonstrates, they are already starting to do so.

Although China's rise has been one of the universally acknowledged wonders of the age, India's recent rise has been impressive as well, as India, too, has embraced modernization, globalization, and Enlightenment rationalism. Along the way, India has maintained the world's largest democracy, successfully accommodated an amazingly diverse cultural and

demographic mosaic, and kept its head and its values even under repeated terrorist attacks.

Although both are Asian powers, they differ so much that developing the capacity to work closely with both, and learning from each, would be a major step forward in mastering the management of a truly global order. The rapid spread of Western-style universities and orchestras in China will provide new bridges between China and the West. The exceptionally successful ethnic Indian community in the United States will provide bridges with India. And all this cooperation will accentuate the process of civilizational fusion.

In contrast to China and India, Russia has held back from thoroughly embracing modernity, even though the Soviet Union started modernizing before China and India. Russia hesitated to join the World Trade Organization and has not yet accepted that ungrudging participation in the current rules-based order can facilitate its own progress. The more Beijing and New Delhi prosper, however, the more persuasive will be the case for Moscow to follow their lead.

As it works closely with the major developing powers, the West should also step up its efforts to construct a robust rules-based world in general. In 2003, former U.S. President Bill Clinton said that Americans should try "to create a world with rules and partnerships and habits of behavior that we would like to live in when we're no longer the military, political, economic superpower in the world." If Clinton's fellow citizens could accept such advice, the citizens of most other countries would be willing to do the same. And this might be easier to achieve than many believe.

Much of today's global multilateral architecture was a valuable gift from the West to the world. Yet the major Western powers have also made sure that these institutions have never grown strong enough or independent enough to make real trouble for their creators. UN secretary-generals have been creatures of the permanent members of the Security Council, the leaders of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have been drawn exclusively from the United States and Europe, and dominance in these financial institutions has occasionally been exploited to achieve extra-financial goals. These policies should be reconsidered, for the legitimacy of the system depends on the perception that its rules are developed by and applied fairly and equally to all, rather than that they cater to the narrow interests of a few. Picking strong leaders for the major international institutions and keeping those institutions' operations from being undermined or politicized would be a major step forward.

Western policymakers, finally, should work to highlight the good things that are happening around the world rather than harp on the bad things. Hundreds of millions of people have emerged from poverty in recent decades even as military conflicts have decreased. The convergence of global aspirations means that a vast majority of countries want to see evolution

trump revolution in the reshaping of the global architecture. The appearance of pressing transnational problems should drive a convergence of interests toward cooperation in finding common solutions. And the presence of large, well-educated middle classes in countries around the globe will help keep governments on the right track.

There is every reason to be confident that the condition of the world will continue to improve as pragmatism and the use of reason become universal. Western universities have been a crucial driver of this trend. It is not just that their curricula have been copied around the world; the entire ecosystem of a modern research university is being replicated, and it is the graduates of these Western-style universities who have in turn introduced modern methods into education, public health, economic management, and public policy more generally. Global management consulting firms have also contributed to progress, spreading best practices and good ideas from the West to "the rest," and increasingly from the rest back to the West. As a result, even formerly desperate and dysfunctional countries, such as Bangladesh and Ethiopia, are now confidently entering the modern universe.

In short, despite the daily headlines that scream doom and gloom, the world is actually coming together, not falling apart. So far, the fusion of civilizations has been driven primarily by the injection of Western DNA into other civilizations. Over time, the flow of culture and ideas is likely to go in both directions. This has already happened in cuisine, where global influences have thoroughly penetrated Western kitchens, and something similar should happen across cultural sectors.

There will be challenges. There could even be major setbacks. The fusion of civilizations and the social and economic changes associated with it can seem threatening to some, creating opportunities for demagogues to exploit popular fears, even in the heart of the advanced industrial world. But increasingly open and enlightened societies are likely to avoid this danger. In the twenty-first century, the world will be governed more by the authority of ideas than by the idea of authority. In short, the progressive direction of human history, which has lifted the human condition to heights never seen before, is set to continue.

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Lawrence H. Summers, 79 JFK Street #8, Cambridge, MA 02138

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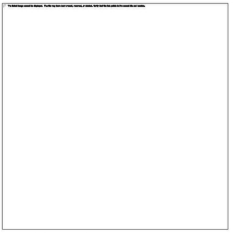

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From: Darren Indyke [redacted]
Sent: 5/20/2016 3:54:08 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Tweet from steven hoffenbergw (@stevenhoffenber)

Importance: High

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: steven hoffenberg <[redacted]>
Date: May 19, 2016 at 11:04:10 PM EDT
To: [redacted]
Cc: Alan Fraade <[redacted]>
Subject: Fwd: Tweet from steven hoffenbergw (@stevenhoffenber)

DARREN INDYKE ESQ .

JEFF EPSTEIN IS AT HOME IN NEW YORK CITY HAVING SEX WITH UNDERAGE GIRLS TO DAY !!!!!

THE TRUMP RACE WILL TELL ALL !!!!!!!

GET READY FOR ,

HOFFENBERG VS JEFF EPSTEIN LAW SUIT IN FRONT OF FEDERAL COURT JUDGE ROBER T SWEET S D N Y VERY SOON !!!!!! PONZI CRIMES AT TOWERS FINANCIAL BY JEFF EPSTEIN & STEVEN HOFFENBERG .

JEFF EPSTEIN WILL FACE THE PONZI CRIMES IN THE ABOVE LAW SUIT VERY SOON .

YOU ARE CRAZY FOR NOT SETTLING THE ABOVE CASE RIGHT NOW WITH THE TOWERS VICTIMS WHO YOU DID LEGAL WORK FOR WITH ROBERT GOLD ESQ .

THINK NOW AS THE ABOVE LAW SUIT FINAL DRAFT MAY BE READY TO FILE NEXT W EEK .

PLEASE ASK JEFF EPSTEIN TO STAY AT HIS HOME
IN NYC FOR THE LAW SUIT SERVICE ON JEFF EPSTEIN BY THE PROCESS SERVER WHO WILL BE AT 9 EAST 71 STREET NYC TO SERVE JEFF EPSTEIN VERY SOON .

TOTAL COVERAGE OF THE LAW SUIT WILL BE PICKED UP BY ALL OF THE MEDIA AT T HE FEDERAL COURT IN NEW YORK CITY .

HAVE A NICE DAY MR INDYKE

Steven J. Hoffenberg
New York Post Publishing INC.

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From: Stevenhoffenberg <[redacted]>
Date: May 19, 2016 at 10:43:26 PM EDT
To: [redacted]
Subject: Tweet from steven hoffenbergw (@stevenhoffenber)

steven hoffenbergw (@stevenhoffenber)

5/19/16, 10:42 PM
CLINTON CRIMES RAPING LITTLE GIRLS TRUMP SUPER PAC GET OUR JOBS BACK INC ADS SHOWS CLINTON CRIMES

Download the official Twitter app here

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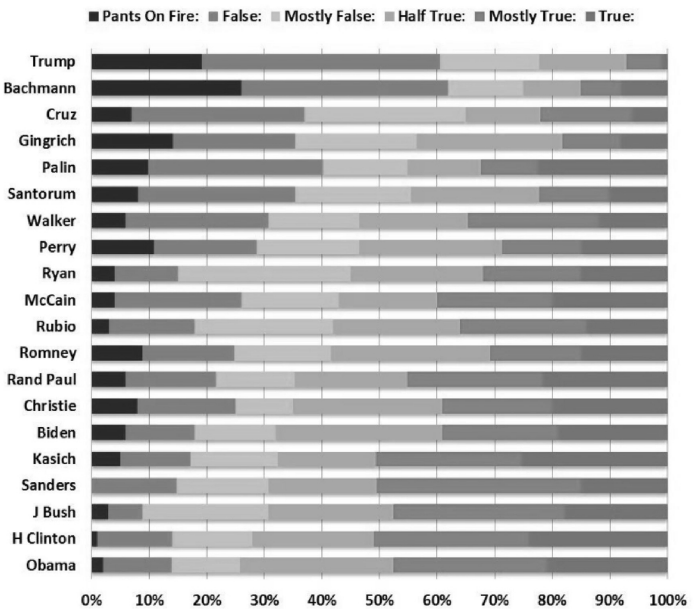
Who Lies More: A Comparison

PolitiFact, an independent fact-checking website, has graded more than 50 statements since 2007 from each of these candidates. Here is how they rank.



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14 61

From: Darren Indyke [redacted]
Sent: 7/23/2016 11:38:22 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: T V ADS POUNDING CLINTON & JEFF EPSTEIN RAPES OF UNDERAGE LITTLE GIRLS COVER UP SEX ABUSE CRIMES BY THE WHITE HOUSE

Importance: High

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: steven hoffenberg <[redacted]>
Date: July 23, 2016 at 6:52:03 PM EDT
To: [redacted]
Subject: Fwd: T V
ADS POUNDING CLINTON & JEFF EPSTEIN RAPES OF UNDERAGE LITTLE GIRLS COV ER UP SEX ABUSE CRIMES BY THE WHITE HOUSE

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Begin forwarded message:

From: steven hoffenberg <[redacted]>
Date: July 23, 2016 at 6:44:11 PM EDT
To: "Players2 ." <[redacted]>
Subject: T V
ADS POUNDING CLINTON & JEFF EPSTEIN RAPES OF UNDERAGE LITTLE GIRLS COV ER UP SEX ABUSE CRIMES BY THE WHITE HOUSE

ROGER

MY CLOSE FRIEND MARTY FEINBERG OWNS WINNER MEDIA THE T V AD AGENCY !!!!

THE T V AD AGENCY IS WORKING ON THE MASSIVE ATTACK AD TELLING HOW CLINT

ON DID COVER UP THE JEFF EPSTEIN RAPES OF THE LITTLE GIRLS .

CLINTON DID RAPE THE LITTLE GIRLS WITH JEFF EPSTEIN !!!!!

BOTHS CLINTONS ARE IN THE HUGE WASHINGTON D C LEADERS CRIMES COVER WITH NO F B I ARREST OF JEFF EPSTEIN !!!!!

RAPES OF LITTLE GIRLS NON STOP ARE IN THE T V ADS !!!!!

WIN PRESIDENT TRUMP !!!!

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U.S. District Court
Southern District of New York (Foley Square)
CIVIL DOCKET FOR CASE #: 1:16-cv-04642-RA

Doe v. Trump et al
Assigned to: Judge Ronnie Abrams
Cause: 28:1332lb Diversity-Libel, Assault, Slander

Date Filed: 06/20/2016
Jury Demand: Plaintiff
Nature of Suit: 320 Assault Libel & Slander
Jurisdiction: Diversity

Plaintiff

Jane Doe
Proceesing under a pseudonym

represented by **Thomas F. Meagher**
Meagher Emanuel Laks Goldberg & Bovino, LLP
One Palmer Square, Suite 325
Princeton, NJ 08542
(914) 337-5200
Email: tmeagher@thomasfmeagheresq.com
ATTORNEY TO BE NOTICED

V.

Defendant

Donald J. Trump

Defendant

Jeffrey E. Epstein

Date Filed	#	Docket Text
06/20/2016	1	COMPLAINT against All Defendants. (Filing Fee $ 400.00, Receipt Number 0208-12438637)Document filed by Jane Doe. (Attachments: # 1 Affidavit Declaration of Plaintiff Jane Doe, # 2 Affidavit Declaration of Tiffany Doe)(Meagher, Thomas) (Entered: 06/20/2016)
06/20/2016	2	CIVIL COVER SHEET filed. (Meagher, Thomas) (Entered: 06/20/2016)
06/20/2016	3	REQUEST FOR ISSUANCE OF SUMMONS as to Donald J. Trump, re: 1 Complaint. Document filed by Jane Doe. (Meagher, Thomas) (Entered: 06/20/2016)
06/20/2016	4	REQUEST FOR ISSUANCE OF SUMMONS as to Jeffrey E. Epstein, re: 1 Complaint. Document filed by Jane Doe. (Meagher, Thomas) (Entered: 06/20/2016)

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06/21/2016		*****NOTICE TO ATTORNEY REGARDING PARTY MODIFICATION. Notice to attorney Thomas F. Meagher. The party information for the following party/parties has been modified: Jane Doe. The information for the party/parties has been modified for the following reason/reasons: party text was omitted;. (dgo)** (Entered: 06/21/2016)
06/21/2016		*****NOTICE TO ATTORNEY REGARDING CASE OPENING STATISTICAL ERROR CORRECTION: Notice to attorney Thomas F. Meagher. The following case opening statistical information was erroneously selected/entered: County code New York; Fee Status code due (due);. The following correction(s) have been made to your case entry: the County code has been modified to XX Out of State; the Fee Status code has been modified to pd (paid);. (dgo)** (Entered: 06/21/2016)
06/21/2016		CASE OPENING INITIAL ASSIGNMENT NOTICE: The above-entitled action is assigned to Judge Ronnie Abrams. Please download and review the Individual Practices of the assigned District Judge, located at http://nysd.uscourts.gov/judges/District. Attorneys are responsible for providing courtesy copies to judges where their Individual Practices require such. Please download and review the ECF Rules and Instructions, located at http://nysd.uscourts.gov/ecf_filing.php. (dgo) (Entered: 06/21/2016)
06/21/2016		Magistrate Judge James C. Francis IV is so designated. (dgo) (Entered: 06/21/2016)
06/21/2016		Case Designated ECF. (dgo) (Entered: 06/21/2016)
06/21/2016	5	ELECTRONIC SUMMONS ISSUED as to Donald J. Trump. (dgo) (Entered: 06/21/2016)
06/21/2016	6	ELECTRONIC SUMMONS ISSUED as to Jeffrey E. Epstein. (dgo) (Entered: 06/21/2016)
06/30/2016	7	ORDER AND NOTICE OF INITIAL CONFERENCE: Initial Conference set for 9/9/2016 at 03:15 PM in Courtroom 1506, 40 Centre Street, New York, NY 10007 before Judge Ronnie Abrams. (As further set forth in this Order.) (Signed by Judge Ronnie Abrams on 6/30/2016) (cf) (Entered: 06/30/2016)

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XI JINPING, CHINA AND THE GLOBAL ORDER:
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CHINA'S 2018 CENTRAL FOREIGN POLICY WORK CONFERENCE

THE HON. KEVIN RUDD
26TH PRIME MINISTER OF AUSTRALIA
PRESIDENT OF THE ASIA SOCIETY POLICY INSTITUTE, NEW YORK

AN ADDRESS TO THE LEE KUAN YEW SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF SINGAPORE

TUESDAY 26 JUNE, 2018

On 22-23 June 2018, the Chinese Communist Party concluded its Central Conference on Work Relating to Foreign Affairs, the second since Xi Jinping became General Secretary of the Party and Chairman of the Central Military Commission in November 2012. The last one was held in November 2014. These are not everyday affairs in the party's deliberations on the great questions of China's unfolding global engagement.

These conferences are major, authoritative gatherings of the entire leadership, designed to synthesise China's official analysis of international trends, and assess how China should anticipate and respond to them in the prosecution of its own national interests. This one, like the last one, was presided over by Xi Jinping and attended by all seven members of the politburo standing committee, plus ex-officio member Vice President Wang Qishan, together with all other eighteen members of the regular politburo, in addition to everybody who is anybody in the entire Chinese foreign, security, military, economic, trade, finance, cyber and intelligence community, as well as the central think tank community.

It's a meeting that's meant to be noticed by the entire Chinese international policy establishment, because if there is to be any new directive concerning China's place in the world, it's likely to be found somewhere in Xi Jinping's 3,000 character report to this conference.

Of course, the entire deliberations of the conference are not made public. Three-and-a-half years ago, only a selected part of it was broadcast and reported in the central media. The same this time as well. And unlike in Washington, the Chinese system doesn't leak every twelve hours. There is, therefore, an often hazardous reading of the tea leaves in interpreting what it all means, discerning what is new, what is new-ish, and what is not.

WHAT IS NEW?

How does the 2018 Work Conference compare with the one in 2014? The 2014 iteration represented the formal, official funeral of Deng Xiaoping's international policy dictum of the

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previous 30 years of "hide your strength, bide your time, never take the lead". It also heralded the beginning of a new period of confident, independent international policy activism by Beijing. In part this change reflected Xi Jinping's greater centralisation of political power in the Chinese system. In part it reflected the Chinese system's deep conclusion that American global power was in relative decline and that the United States would not confront China militarily if China sought to expand its regional military presence. In part it reflected a Chinese institutional conclusion that China had finally become an indispensable global economic power to most countries in the world, thereby enabling China to begin to project its economic influence bilaterally, regionally and also multilaterally. It also was an expression of Xi Jinping's personal leadership temperament, which is impatient with the incremental bureaucratism endemic to the Chinese system, and with which the international community had become relaxed, comfortable and thoroughly accustomed.

For those who follow these events closely and have written on the importance of this significant departure from China's traditional strategic framework dating from the 2014 conference, a number of developments since then have been illustrative of this overall change in the style, content and direction of China's international policy approach. China worked overtime in 2014-16 to expand its military position in the South China Sea with a rapid program of island reclamation. China took the idea of the New Silk Road and turned it into a multi-trillion dollar trade, investment, infrastructure and wider geo-political and geo-economic initiative, engaging 73 different countries across much of Eurasia, Africa and beyond. China signed up most of the developed world in the first large-scale non-Bretton Woods multilateral development bank called the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), capitalised it and launched it so that it now has a balance sheet already approaching the size of the Asian Development Bank.

China has also become for the first time a multilateral diplomatic activist, launching diplomatic initiatives of its own beyond its own immediate sphere of strategic interest here in the East Asian hemisphere, as well as actively participating in other initiatives such as the JCPOA on Iran, rather than declining to reach beyond its own narrowly defined core national interests as we have often seen in the past. China has also developed naval bases in Sri Lanka, Pakistan and now Djibouti (the latter with some 5,000 troops based there), as well as participating in naval exercises with the Russians in the Sea of Japan, the Mediterranean and even the Baltic.

And now in the most recent National People's Conference in March 2018, we have the decision to establish China's first ever International Development Cooperation Agency to manage China's burgeoning aid programs across the developing world. Of course, these leave to one side the activities of Chinese state financial institutions, other Chinese SOE's as well as Chinese mixed investment funds operating on every continent and in every region of the world.

It would be wrong, analytically, to say that all these suddenly began after the 2014 Central Conference on Work Relating to Foreign Affairs. Some began in the two years before then after Xi first became General Secretary in late 2012. And some have their antecedents in the late Hu Jintao period. But my point is that they all either began, were intensified or else were formally publicly legitimised by the conclusions of the last Central Conference. In short, the

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system was given the mandate to contest, assert, and where possible to lead in the various councils of the world. And this was new.

Furthermore, anyone who continues to entertain the fanciful idea, which I still sometimes seen in Western commentary, that these changes are not the product of a well-considered Chinese grand strategy, is simply choosing to ignore the clear evidence of clearly defined policy purpose systematically at work in the field. Our Chinese friends think things through carefully. They observe carefully. Not just what is happening in the headlines, which is the permanent obsession of the Western political establishment. But what is happening, in what Xi Jinping would describe as "the underlying historical trends" in international relations. And then, after a period of detailed internal reflection, consideration, and where necessary consensus building within the system, a new direction is set.

That indeed is what these Central Foreign Policy Work Conferences are all about. They sum up where the system has got to in its analysis. And then what the system intends to do about it. It's part of the rolling system of policy analysis, implementation and review that characterises the entire Chinese public policy system, both foreign and domestic. It is both one of the great strengths of the Chinese system. But also one of its great weaknesses if the conclusions reached prove it be analytically flawed, or unsustainable in practice. It takes a lot to turn the Chinese ship of state around once that course has been set at the top.

So what changes with the 2018 Central Conference? Is it more of the same? Or simply an intensification of the trajectory? Or a change in content and tone. The answer is all of the above—a blend of continuity and change.

A NEW ROLE FOR PARTY IDEOLOGY IN FOREIGN POLICY

First, the press reporting of the conference asserts the absolute centrality of the party to the country's foreign policy mission. This is not entirely new. But the emphasis on the role of the party is much stronger than before. In the recent past, the country's international policy establishment, like its econocrats, have seen themselves, and have been seen by the Chinese political establishment, as a technocratic elite. That is now changing in foreign policy as much as it has already changed in economic policy.

This is part of a broader trend in Xi Jinping's China, whose focus is to rehabilitate the party from moral death from corruption on the one hand, and practical death from policy irrelevance on the other.

Xi has been concerned that the party had become marginal to the country's major policy debates given the technocratic complexity inherent to most of the country's contemporary challenges. That is why, for example, we now see a revitalisation of theory over practice, a reassertion of the power of the major institutions of the party over the major departments of state, and once again of political ideology over mere technocratic policy.

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Nor does Xi Jinping intend presiding over the party's "death by a thousand cuts" as it contends with a range of unfolding political forces unleashed by a combination of the market economy, social liberalisation and foreign influence.

No—Xi Jinping intends for the party to defy the trend-line of Western history, to see off Fukuyama's end of history with the inevitable triumph of Western liberal-democratic capitalism and to preserve a Leninist state for the long term as the most effective means of ensuring that China prevails in its domestic and international challenges. That is why there is lengthy treatment in this conference on, to use the language of the Xinhua report, "Upholding the authority of the CPC Central Committee as the overarching principle and strengthening the centralised, unified leadership of the Party on external work."

In case we missed the emphasis, Xi Jinping also states that "diplomacy represents the will of the state, and diplomatic power must stay with the CPC Central Committee, while external work is a systematic project." Xi calls "for implementing reform of the institutions and mechanisms concerning foreign affairs under the decision of the Central Party leadership and enhancing party-building in institutions abroad so as to form a management mechanism catering to the requirements of the new era."

The conference also emphasised that China's diplomacy would now be a "diplomacy of socialism with Chinese characteristics" and as such would take Xi Jinping thought from the domestic into the foreign policy domain. In the past, this language of "socialism with Chinese characteristics" applied to the overall Chinese ideological system, usually interpreted as China's own form of state capitalism. But now it is applied to diplomacy, and it infers something else.

It seems to mean conforming diplomacy with a wider ideological worldview which lies beyond the simple policy pragmatism we have seen for decades guiding most elements of Chinese foreign policy in the prosecution of China's national interests. There now seems to be a new national and-or global vision that now sits above the simple maximisation of national interests. This seems more than the routine incantations of the China Dream, the party's centenary objectives for 2021, and the national centenary mission for 2049 with which we have become familiar since Xi came to power. At this stage, this new overarching ideological mission may be inchoate, but the fact that it is as yet not fully formed does not mean that it does not exist.

Lest there be any doubt on this count, the ranking foreign policy technocrat attending the Work Conference, former Foreign Minister and State Councillor Yang Jiechi, and now Director of the Foreign Policy Office of the Party Central Committee, refers explicitly to the ideological significance of this conference. It is worth quoting Yang's remarks at the conference at some length. He states that the most important outcome of this conference is that:

> *"It established the guiding position of Xi Jinping thought on diplomacy. Xi Jinping thought on diplomacy is an important part of Xi Jinping Thought on Socialism with Chinese Characteristics for a New Era...It is a major theoretical achievement in the thoughts on state governance in the area of*

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diplomacy by the CPC Central Committee with Comrade Xi Jinping at the core, and a fundamental guideline for China's external work in the new era...We should integrate our thoughts and actions into General Secretary Xi Jinping's important address and Xi Jinping thought on diplomacy, and make new advances in China's external work."

To an international foreign policy audience, this may all seem a little arcane. That's because in the internal ideological deliberations of a one party state, it is arcane. But we would be blind not to see that there is something new at play here. It is unclear whether this means Chinese foreign policy is likely to be more Marxist in its conceptualisation, or even its execution? Whether it likely to be more Nationalist? Whether it will seek to more actively promote the Chinese development model of "authoritarian capitalism" as a model for the world, in competition with the "liberal democratic capitalism" of the West? Whether it is a much more unformed worldview which will ultimately take shape around Xi Jinping's as-yet-deliberately-vague concept of "a global community of common destiny," which is now the subject of intense work within China's think tank community, and with the international academic community.

Or whether it is something more mechanistic than that altogether, involving a desire to fire up China's current diplomatic establishment into a more invigorated, imaginative, creative, even forceful effort to shape the future global rules-based order more in China's image, rather than China being the permanent "price -taker" for rules already determined elsewhere by others. Particularly where elements of the existing order are seen to represent a continuing and unwelcome challenge to the legitimacy of China's domestic political order, for example in areas such as the rule of law, human rights and democracy.

A NEW IDEOLOGICAL CONFIDENCE THAT HISTORY FAVOURS CHINA

There is a second element to the June 2018 Conference which grows out of the first. It is Xi's deeply Marxist, dialectical-materialist view of history based on permanently evolving "contradictions" between what dialecticians call thesis, antithesis and synthesis. In Xi's view, this in turn gives rise to defined "laws" of historical development which are both prescriptive and predictive.

This may sound like old-fashioned Marxism. That's because it is. The intellectual software of generations of Chinese leaders has been shaped by this conceptual framework for interpreting and responding to what they define as scientific, objective reality. And Xi Jinping belongs to that tradition. Remember he has already convened special study sessions of the politburo on understanding both dialectical and historical materialism in the past.

According to the conference report: "Xi suggested to not only observe the current international situation, but also review the past, summarise historical laws, and look towards the future to better understand the trend of history." Furthermore, according to the same report in Xinhua, to obtain "an accurate understanding of the overall situation, Xi underlined not only the observation of detailed phenomena, but also a deep appreciation of the essence of the overall

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situation in order not to get lost in complexity and the changing international situation." Xi concludes on this count by stating that "throughout human history, the development of the world has always been the result of contradictions intertwining and interacting with each other."

Once again, all this will seem more than a little arcane. But in the ideological dialect of the Communist Party, it seems to mean several things. First, that there is nothing random about what is unfolding in the world today. Second, these reflect certain immutable laws of political and economic development. Third, the business of Chinese foreign policy is to use this dialectal prism to understand precisely what is happening in the world today, why it is happening and what to do about it. And fourth, applying these disciplines to the current period, it means that the global order is at a turning point with the relative decline of the US and the West, with this coinciding with the fortuitous national and international circumstances currently enabling China's rise.

To use Xi's own language, this: "has been in the best period of development since modern times, while the world is undergoing the most profound and unprecedented changes in a century" adding that "the two aspects are intertwined and interact with each other." Xi refers to the current period as a period of unprecedented strategic opportunity for China and the current mission of the party. Although this is not itself a new term, Xi says the party's mission is to extend this period. To do this, he calls for the party to engage in "in-depth analysis of the law of how the international situation changes as the world comes into this transitional period, as well as developing an accurate grasp of the basic characteristics of the external environment China is facing at this historical juncture in order to better plan and facilitate the country's work on foreign affairs."

In other words, what is being said here is that China now has the wind at its back. Of course there are formidable obstacles ahead. But a dialectical analysis of history causes China to conclude that the forces of reaction facing the US and the West are greater. Just as the contradictions operating domestically within the US and the West (in their particular political systems) are greater as well. Which in turn renders China's overall domestic and international circumstances much better by comparison in the emerging contest between the two. All of which, again in this view, pushes towards a new historical synthesis more in China's (and Chinese socialism's) favour.

You will all be forgiven if you think this all sounds more like medieval theology than modern international relations. And it's anyone's guess what any of this actually will have to do with concrete foreign policy reality. But we often forget that how one-party states, and in particular Marxist states, choose to 'ideate' reality actually matters. It's how the system speaks to itself. It's the political lingua franca among political and policy elites.

And the important thing here is that the message from Xi Jinping to his international policy elite is one of great confidence. Not just because China wills it to be so, but because from a Marxist theoretical perspective, which in their view articulates certain immutable 'laws' of political and economic development, the forces of history are now with China. Furthermore,

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this is a call to greater international policy activism, rather than retrenchment in response to the rise of Trump. In other words, the conclusion is that the great trends of history, or to use an old Soviet term, the 'correlation of forces', are moving China's way.

TOWARDS A SHARPER CHINESE DIPLOMACY

A third element of the 2018 Work Conference is its injunction to the country's international policy institutions and personnel to get with the Xi Jinping project. Xi seems to have the Foreign Ministry in his sights when he says that "the reform of the institutions and mechanisms concerning foreign affairs is the internal demand of advancing modernisation in the state governance system and governance capabilities." It will be recalled from above that "party-building" within the country's foreign policy institutions will be a core part of that.

On personnel, Xi Jinping reminds the nation's diplomats that they are first and foremost "party cadres." This has a certain ideological retro to it all. Indeed it's been a long time since I've heard Chinese diplomats refer to their seniors as cadres. In fact I'm not sure that over the last 35 years that I can. To quote the Xinhua report: "Stressing that cadres are the decisive factor after setting the political course, Xi called for a strong contingent of foreign affairs personnel that are loyal to the CPC, the country and the people and are politically solid, professionally competent and strongly disciplined in their conduct. He called on foreign affairs cadres to enhance their ideals and their training so as to upgrade their competency and overall quality..."

Does this presage a new type of Chinese foreign ministry diplomat abroad? Perhaps. It's long been reported that Xi has been frustrated by the performance of parts of his foreign policy establishment. He sees them proceeding at a glacial pace. Whereas China's strategic challenges and opportunities are urgent. Once again, this tends to point in the direction of greater foreign policy activism in the future in a system that is struggling to keep up with the political and policy vision of its leader.

CHINA LEADING THE REFORM OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Fourth, the sharpest substantive new development to emerge from the 2018 Foreign Policy Work Conference is what is says about global governance.

In the 2014 Work Conference, Xi referred to an impending struggle for the future structure of the international order. He did not elaborate on this back then. But much work has gone on within the Chinese system since on three inter-related concepts: the international order (guoji zhixu); the international system (guoji xitong), and global governance (quanqiu zhili).

Of course, these mean different but overlapping things in English too. Broadly speaking, in Chinese, the term "international" or "global" order refers to a combination of the UN, the Bretton Woods Institutions, the G20 and other global plurilateral or multilateral institutions on the one hand; and the US system of global alliances to enforce the US definition of international security on the other. The term "international system" tends to refer to the first

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half of this international order—namely the complex web of multilateral institutions which operate under international treaty law and which seek to govern the global commons on the basis of the principle of shared sovereignty. As for "global governance", it tends to refer to the actual performance, for good or for ill, be it effective or ineffective, of the "international system" so defined.

It is deeply significant that at the 2018 Work Conference, Xi Jinping states boldly that a core component of his new ideology of a "diplomacy of socialism with Chinese characteristics" would be for China to: "lead the reform of the global governance system with the concepts of fairness and justice." This is by far the most direct, unqualified and expansive statement on China's intentions on this important question we have seen.

China, like the rest of the international community, is acutely conscious of the dysfunctionality of much of the current multilateral system. It also sees the US walking away from much of the system as well: from the JCPOA which was agreed to by the UN Security Council; from the UN's Paris Agreement on Climate Change; its withdrawal from the UN Human Rights Commission; its open defiance of the Refugees Convention; and its challenging of the underlying fabric of the WTO.

Nature, as we know, abhors a vacuum. International relations even more so. And we all saw Xi Jinping's riposte to President Trump on climate change and trade at Davos 18 months ago just after President Trump's election. If China is indeed serious about leading the reform of global governance, its attitude to various of these multilateral institutions will be radically different to the historical posture of the US. Take for example the Human Rights Council in Geneva, which China would like to see emasculated. Mind you, so too now, apparently, does the current US administration!

The reference to "China leading the reform of global governance" in this conference is not an accident. It also reflects a growing Chinese diplomatic activism in a number of UN and Bretton Woods institutions around the world as China begins to seek to recast these institutions, their cultures, their work practices and their personnel in a direction more compatible with China's core national interests. As I have written before, rather than China having to consistently resist the pressures of "Westernisation" inherent in the existing laws, institutions and culture of the current international system, particularly when these prove to be incompatible with the retention of a Marxist-Leninist Chinese state, the resolve of China's leadership now seems to be to use its newfound global power to refashion those institutions within the international system that may be most problematic for China on the home front.

As for the principles of fairness and justice that Xi refers to as the core principles that will guide China's reform of global governance, these terms historically imply China's preference for a more "multipolar" international system in which the unilateral voice of the United States is reduced. China has already developed a strong constituency in Africa, parts of Asia and Latin America in support of this. 'Multipolarity' in Chinese strategic parlance is code for the dilution of American power in the post-war international system.

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THE CENTRALITY OF CHINESE NATIONAL INTERESTS

Lest anyone gets too starry-eyed about China's intentions for reforming global governance, in Xi Jinping's description of the core principles of its new "diplomacy of socialism with Chinese characteristics," Xi concludes his list of ten governing principles with the following: that China must take its "core national interests as the bottom line to safeguard China's sovereignty, security and development interests".

Xi makes plain that China's foreign policy is unapologetically nationalist. Xi assumes that all other countries' foreign policies are nationalist as well.

Of course, China's definition of its core national interests has evolved over time. As have other nations. It now includes, for example, the South China Sea. A decade ago, that was not a feature of Chinese official statements defining China's core interests. Now it is. As for any state, therefore, the concept of "core national interests" varies over time and will be defined by the government of the day.

CONCLUSION

But we will soon see how the 2018 Central Foreign Policy Conference translates into different Chinese foreign policy behaviours on the ground. If the 2014 Conference is an effective guide, we will see a heightened period of Chinese foreign policy activism. However the precise content of that activism remains to be seen. But what we are seeing is the slow, steady emergence of a more integrated Chinese worldview which links China's domestic vision with its international vision - and a vision which very much reflects the deep views of China's paramount leader Xi Jinping.

The first policy terrain where we are likely to see this is in the existing institutions of global governance. But it will not be restricted to this area. The text of the report of the 2018 Central Conference on Work Relating to Foreign Affairs suggests that we will also see this across China's bilateral relations, its engagement with regional institutions, as well as its approach to major power relations as well - all of which are likely to be met with an increasingly forthright Chinese diplomacy.

The challenge for the rest of the international community is to define what type of future international order, system and governance it wants. And to take China's invitation seriously to engage the Middle Kingdom in a frank and forthright discourse on what the region and the world precisely want in any future "global community of common destiny".

What does the European Union want? What does ASEAN want? What does the East Asia Summit want? What does the African Union want? What does the Organization of American States want? What does the Gulf Cooperation Council want? What exactly does America want, with or without Trump?

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And in this dialogue, how will the values already entrenched in the UN Charter, Bretton Woods and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the founding instruments of various regional organisations, be preserved for the future?

The future of the global order is now in a state of some flux. In part induced by the recent posture of the United States. In part induced by the rise of China. China it seems has a clear script for the future. It's time for the rest of the international community to do the same.

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HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026865

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 8/1/2018 1:34:23 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Trump urges Attorney General Sessions to stop Mueller probe 'right now'

Importance: High

https://www.cnbc.com/2018/08/01/trump-urges-attorney-general-sessions-to-stop-mueller-probe-right-now.html

Trump urges Attorney General Sessions to stop Mueller probe 'right now'

President Donald Trump speaks during a joint news conference with Italy's Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte in the East Room of the White House in Washington, July 30, 2018.

Carlos Barria | Reuters

President Donald Trump speaks during a joint news conference with Italy's Prime Minister Giuseppe Conte in the East Room of the White House in Washington, July 30, 2018.

President Donald Trump on Wednesday called on Attorney General Jeff Sessions to end Robert Mueller's Russia probe "right now," escalating his attacks on the inquiry.

"Attorney General Jeff Sessions should stop this Rigged Witch Hunt right now," the president wrote in a post on Twitter. "Bob Mueller is totally conflicted, and his 17 Angry Democrats that are doing his dirty work are a disgrace to USA!"

This is breaking news. Please check back for updates.

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CNN

CNN – Quest Means Business
New Tariffs — Trade War
Robert Lawrence Kuhn, September 18, 2018

CNN

HOST: Now from Beijing, Robert Lawrence Kuhn is a long-time advisor to China's leaders and the author of "How China's Leaders Think". Thank you so much for joining us. We appreciate it. Your reaction to Jack Ma's prediction and do you agree? **RLK: The public stance of China has to be strong. The legitimacy of the government and of the Communist Party is based on two primary factors. One is the economic development.**	
RLK: China is celebrating this year 40 years of reform and opening up really having created an economic miracle, an astonishing 50 times increase of GDP per capita. So that has been terrific. The second area is national pride and national rejuvenation. And frankly, China as almost every other country, if the two come into conflict, the latter has to prevail, especially in China with a history of 100 years of bullying, as they say, by foreign powers, mostly Western, and then of course Japan.	

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RLK: This has caused a deep scar in the Chinese psyche. So you have all of these factors coming together — but I can tell you the public stance of the government, of Jack Ma we just heard, is very strong and they have to be.

RLK: If you look at what President Trump said, that is not a public posture for seeking solution. Not just saying tariffs will go up to 25 percent in January will go up, but then threatening if you retaliate at all, we're going to levy tariffs on everything else [$500+ billion Chinese goods]. That's a very aggressive stance and China really has no choice.

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RLK: But behind the scenes, I talked to economists, the leading economists officials, every day. Everybody wants a solution and they want it a lot sooner than 20 years. But number one, they have to have a government in Washington that are people they can talk to, that they will have confidence that what they say will be implemented. And the Chinese want a solution because many of the problems, if we look at the problems, solutions are consonant with what China needs itself, opening up markets further is one of them.	
RLK: Economists tell me all the time that China needs to open markets. That more competitiveness within China — that's good for China, but they can't look like they're subservient or bowing to foreign pressures. We can go through each of the issues that are critical: China has made progress in intellectual property. Is it perfect? Of course not, but they know they really need to improve that. They will reduce forced technology transfer.	

CNN

RLK: What they will not do is change their industrial model, which is government support for future industries. So that's a sticking point, but I believe that they will open their markets further and this is critical. **HOST: So how do you find compromise when on the one hand, as you've described, you've got a country that wants to come across as a superpower equal to that of the United States, so any concessions would make them look weak. On the other hand, there's not much love lost for China here.**	
HOST: In the United States, as you know, Republicans and Democrats alike, some that may not even agree with most of President's Trump's policies can't go out necessarily and throw their arms around China and support China openly to the voters. So where do you come up with a middle ground to where both sides look like they're walking away with something?	

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RLK: Certainly that's the objective. You're absolutely right: There's no issue in American politics that the all sides of the spectrum agree upon more than on China. In fact, on every other issue, one could say from the Bernie Sanders / Elizabeth Warren, Democrats on the left, to Donald Trump Republicans on the far right, they disagree on virtually everything we can say except on China. So that's the reality we are dealing with.	
RLK: Nobody expects this to be resolved before the midterm elections. That's for sure. But if we look at the details, if the people who really know what's going on look at the detail, we look at the real issues, we have the trade deficit, sure, but most people in the U.S recognize that it's a simplistic number.	

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RLK: The trade deficit has a lot of things in there that are not accurate. You look at the iPhone, China will get 6, 10 percent of that, the rest are components that go into China. Services are 40 billion dollars — what Chinese tourists and students pay in the US — not counted in the trade deficit, which is a very complicated number. It also benefits the US because we have a lot of good products at cheaper prices.	
RLK: But there are five real reasons that are problematic to the US with respect to China: closed markets; intellectual property protection; industrial espionage, which includes cyber theft; forced technology transfer in JVs; and government support for future industries. Those are five real issues that the smart people in America are focusing on. And legitimately so.	

CNN

RLK: But there are five real reasons that are problematic to the US with respect to China: closed markets; intellectual property protection; industrial espionage, which includes cyber theft; forced technology transfer in JVs; and government support for future industries. Those are five real issues that the smart people in America are focusing on. And legitimately so.

RLK: But these are, I believe, solvable — because intellectual property rights, China's improving. Industrial espionage, they're reducing and they have reduced. It needs to be more. Tech transfer, I think that will be eliminated.

RLK: The two critical issues are government support of nascent industries in China and the opening of markets. I think ultimately those two can be traded. The US can recognize that China can do some of those things with certain restrictions and really open their markets more. I think that's the ultimate trade.

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HOST: As you mentioned, it's a long-term process, not anything we're going to see resolved in the next few months or even years. Though many people would say it would be easier from the American perspective if the president wasn't approaching it as I go it alone, a type of relationship and getting out of TPP. But that's for another conversation. Robert, we appreciate you joining us.	

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CNN – CNN Today

New Tariffs — Trade War

Robert Lawrence Kuhn, September 18, 2018

CNN

HOST: Robert Lawrence Kuhn joining us via skype from Beijing. He's the author of *How China's Leaders Think* and a longtime advisor to Chinese leaders and corporations. Robert, we appreciate you joining us. First off, you know it seems like Trump's strategy here is to force China into concessions with these tariffs. What's China's view on that?	
RLK: China's view is that the economic ties between China and the rest of the world, the United States in particular, is very important for the peace and prosperity of the world.	

CNN

RLK: And indeed for the entire economic relationships and standards of living of all people. There are real issues and I think we need to discuss them. But right now, China is sending signals by what it's doing, that it wants to ratchet down the trade war. It recognizes that it cannot be unresponsive.

RLK: In China, the legitimacy of the government and indeed of the Communist Party is based upon two cardinal factors. One is the economy. This is the 40th year of China's reform and opening up — truly an economic miracle, an astonishing increase in standards of living.

CNN

RLK: The GDP per capita has gone up more than 50 times in these 40 years. And so that's number one. But number two is national rejuvenation, national pride. This is what the government and the Party has brought to China in terms of its position in the world. So it cannot back down and look weak in terms of these tariff attacks. But given that, given that environment, the Chinese response is very carefully calibrated.	
RLK: China levying tariffs on $60 billion is not dollar for dollar, the way the first $50 billion was. But what it is, in fact, is in proportion — because $60 billion is roughly 40 percent of the roughly $150 billion of the total US exports to China, just as $200 billion is roughly 40 percent of the little over $500 billion of the total China exports to the US.	

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RLK: So it's a proportional response. The rhetoric in the press is also milder. US has not been called so much of bullying anymore. Also some of China's tariffs are 5 percent as well as 10 percent, whereas the US tariffs are all 10 percent [going up to 25 percent]. So China is sending a signal that it wants to ratchet this down.	

CNN

HOST: So, if China is sending these signals then, Robert, is there a chance that China would actually come to the table and continue to have these trade talks as they've been scheduled for the coming days?

RLK: Unlikely that the top trade negotiator would come under these circumstances, because then it looks like they're coming under the threat of a gun to their head, an analogy that has been used. Possibly that a lower level delegation would come. It's unlikely though that we'll see any real movement before the midterm elections.

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RLK: I think there has to be some backchannel working. To put the real situation on the table, there are five major issues that the US is concerned about in addition to the trade deficit. The trade deficit is actually complicated because there are services of $40 billion dollars that Chinese tourists and students pay. It's not excluding the transfer pricing of components that are shipped into China. So the trade deficit, which benefits a lot of American consumers with cheaper products at a good quality is not as relevant as popular opinion would suggest.	
RLK: Most experts do not really focus on the trade deficit. American experts focus on five things: the lack of open Chinese markets; intellectual property protection, industrial espionage, including cyber theft; tech transfer being forced (in joint ventures);, and Chinese government subsidies for critical technologies or industries.	

CNN

RLK: If we look at these, China's making real progress in intellectual property, reducing cyber theft — more needs to be done. Not requiring tech transfer. The big one, which they won't change, is government subsidy for nascent technologies of the future. Such government-industry cooperation is part of the Chinese system — that's beyond their red line.	
RLK: But China should be able to open their markets — and we should be able to have a trade between seriously open markets, which even Chinese economists say is good for the Chinese economy and very good for the world and American companies — and some sort of a recognition that China will continue to subsidize industries. That's where it will happen, we hope soon.	

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HOST: Yeah. So then if there is room for a trade deal from an expert like you, that there's room for both sides to agree to a deal that would benefit both the United States and China. How would you advise President Trump in terms of his tactic and how he should approach China? **RLK: You know, I am not going to be an expert in advising President Trump on tactics. I'm not sure he's amenable to advice and he has his own style.**	
RLK: And many people in the US — let's put it on the table — who disagree with Trump on virtually every other policy — support Trump either overtly or quietly on his approach to China. And that's because there's general recognition in the US — from Bernie Sanders Democrats all the way on the left to the rightwing Republicans all the way on the right who favor Trump — that something needs to be done to alter the US trade relationships, and the US' overall relationships, with China.	

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RLK: So Trump recognizes that and he is getting political credit for that — whether people like it or not. **There's unlikely to be anything before the midterms, but if President Trump is doing what he's doing, he needs to recognize that these issues that I articulated are really the critical issues. And China will be willing to make changes on them. They've already made changes on many of them, like on intellectual property rights, as I said**	
RLK: . But if Trump can recognize what is really needed and what China will do, then Trump can get a huge win out of this, which is actually at the same time beneficial to China. That's a small needle hole at this point though which to look. But I think, ultimately, that's what will happen. **HOST: Robert Lawrence Kuhn, thank you very much for your expertise. I appreciate it.**	

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BBC World News

New Tariffs — Trade War

Robert Lawrence Kuhn, September 18, 2018

BBC WORLD NEWS

HOST: China imposes another $60 billion of tariffs on US imports a day after President Trump announces tariffs on $200 billion of Chinese goods. Well, let's get more on that story now. We're joined from Beijing by Robert Lawrence Kuhn who advises China's leaders and multinational corporations. He's also the author of "How China's Leaders Think". How do they think about this? It's difficult to know where this might end.	
RLK: Let's look at what just happened. China retaliated with $60 billion worth of U.S. goods that it was putting tariffs on, but half of it was five percent, half was 10 percent, which is less than the American side, which was 10 percent on all. And the $60 billion is proportional in the sense that it is about 40 percent of the total US exports to China. Just as the $200 billion was about 40 percent of the little bit more than $500 billion that China exports to the US. So that's the proportionality.	

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RLK: There's a lot of talk there might have been more countermeasures like selling treasury bonds or disrupting American companies. That hasn't occurred yet. China is sending signals that it's ratcheting down the escalation, not trying to escalate it. China has to respond. The government of China, the Communist Party of China, the leading Party, the ruling party here, has two big facets that justifies its legitimacy.	
RLK: One is the economic growth. This is the 40th anniversary of reform and opening up — China's economic miracle. Increasing GDP per capita is almost 50 times, making the standards of living of the vast majority of people quite decent. Second area is national rejuvenation, national pride. And so the trade war affects both. You have economics, and the pride: the economics, the tariffs, are certainly suboptimal in all respects for all countries, but China must respond because it	

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has to maintain the dignity of the country, but it does so in a way to signal that it wants this to resolve. **RLK: It won't resolve soon. No one expects it before the mid-term elections. But it's very important to understand from the US point of view what the real issues are and where we seek the solution.** **HOST: What are the real issues?**	
RLK: There are five real issues and I do not include the trade deficit — because, obviously the trade deficit is complicated. You have components coming from other countries that is counted as part of the trade deficit, but China gets no benefit from them. An iPhone for example. Maybe, China gets 6 or 10 percent of the cost of roughly $350 for a $1000 retail price. China has also service purchases that's not included in the trade deficit, something like $40 billion per year — tourists, students.	

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RLK: But there are five big issues that are really critical. Opening up of China's markets which have been closed. They're making some progress, not enough. Intellectual property: this is an area that China really has made substantial progress. Again, not enough, need to do more, but they've made substantial progress. This is affecting Chinese companies and China knows it needs to improve IP protection.	
RLK: Third is industrial espionage, a very sensitive area. Cyber theft: China has decreased it. It's a complicated area. It needs to do more. Hard to know what the government does and doesn't do, but everybody knows that's looked at.	

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RLK: Fourth is technology transfer. And then government support of new technologies. The last is the most sensitive one.	
HOST: Robert Lawrence Kuhn, we're going to have to leave it there. Lots to talk about. We do appreciate your time.	

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 10/15/2018 6:56:57 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: The Unsteady Undertow Commands the Seas (Temporarily)
Attachments: The Unsteady Undertow Commands the Seas (Temporarily).pdf; Untitled attachment 572865.htm

Importance: High

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
tel [redacted]
fax [redacted]
cell [redacted]

Begin forwarded message:

From: Judie Taylor <[redacted]>
Subject: The Unsteady Undertow Commands the Seas (Temporarily)
Date: October 15, 2018 at 2:36:30 PM EDT
To: [redacted]

Sunday Night Insight
October 14, 2018

The Unsteady Undertow Commands the Seas (Temporarily)

Sharmin Mossavar-Rahmani	Chief Investment Officer
Brett Nelson	Head of Tactical Asset Allocation
Maziar Minovi	Managing Director
Andrew Dubinsky	Vice President
Michael Murdoch	Vice President
Mary Rich	Vice President

The 7.8% intraday peak-to-trough decline in US equities between September 21st and October 11th has rattled investor confidence. Numerous headlines of stock market "carnage" have further eroded their confidence. As a result, some of our clients have asked whether this drop signifies the beginning of the end of a nearly 10-year bull market.

We do not think so. So far, this pullback is actually smaller than the two prior downdrafts we experienced in late January and in mid-March, neither of which derailed the US economy nor the bull market. The steady factors we highlighted in our annual Outlook—such as economic growth, benign inflation, robust earnings, and low probability of recession—have not dissipated. Furthermore, while the investor focus has shifted to the risks around the unsteady undertow, most of these factors are, on balance, less concerning today than they were at the beginning of 2018.

Of course, that is not the case across all geopolitical concerns. While trade tensions with Mexico and Canada have abated, those with China have certainly deteriorated and will continue to do so for the

foreseeable future. But, in aggregate, there has been more improvement than deterioration, in our view.

In this Sunday Night Insight, we will provide a brief update on the steady factors and unsteady undertow. We then conclude with our view that the steady factors will likely continue to win this tug-of-war between the two.

Steady Factors

While the headlines warn of equity market carnage, the facts do not support such alarming headlines. The S&P 500 is still up 5.1% on a year-to-date total return basis and financial conditions remain at easier levels today than they did when the Federal Reserve began this tightening cycle in 2015, despite the recent decline in equities and 0.76 percentage point increase in 10-year Treasury yields year-to-date. Most importantly, as highlighted by Federal Reserve Chairman, Jerome Powell, we are in "extraordinary times" of steady growth and low inflation.

Economic Growth

Economic growth remains firm in the US. Both the Institute for Supply Management leading indexes for manufacturing and non-manufacturing remain at very strong levels. Current activity indicators of real GDP growth average about 3.5% for the third quarter and closer to 4% for the fourth quarter. Forecasts for third quarter real GDP average 3.8% and fourth quarter forecasts are about 2.8%. While growth is slowing from the 4.2% estimate of the second quarter, it is still forecast to be above trend and we believe a modest slowdown is certainly preferable to continued growth at a pace that was likely unsustainable and possibly even inflationary.

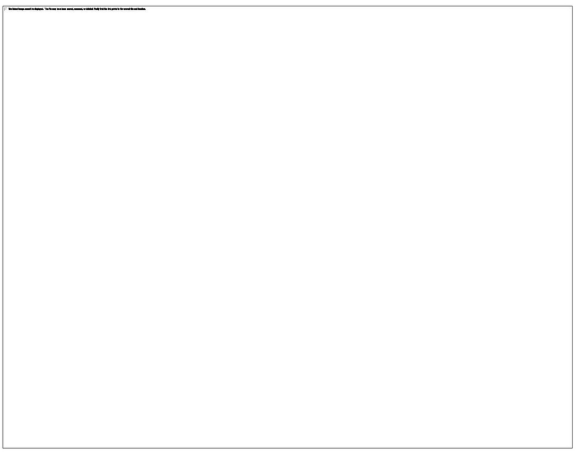
In aggregate, the economic data since the intraday peak of US equities on September 21st does not point to any worrisome slowdown in GDP growth or the pace of employment. In fact, while the recent 134K increase in non-farm payrolls was less than expectations, revisions to earlier months offset the modest headline miss and the unemployment rate still fell to 3.7%. Furthermore, this 134k increase is above the estimated sustainable level of employment growth based on population growth and changes in labor force participation, which our colleagues in Goldman Investment Research estimate is around 96k. Importantly, a modest slowdown in the 3-month average of non-farm payrolls, which currently stands at a very robust 190k jobs, is more likely to keep inflation in check.

Robust Earnings and Buybacks

Continued above-trend economic growth is supporting solid corporate fundamentals. While many are quick to dismiss this strength to US tax reform, it is only half the story. Earnings before interest and taxes (EBIT) expanded by a very healthy 12% in the first half of this year and are expected to grow by double-digits again in the third quarter. This robust organic profit growth is also fueling sizable corporate buybacks—a key source of equity market support. Our colleagues on the corporate buyback desk expect the highest dollar amount for buybacks on record in 2018, with $1tn in authorizations and $850bn in executed buybacks.

Even so, such robust earnings growth has begun to foster concern that we have reached a peak in EPS growth. While we do expect the pace of growth to slow next year, a local peak in earnings

growth has not signified an imminent peak in the S&P 500 historically. In fact, about 3/4ths of market peaks occurred more than two years after the peak in the growth rate of earnings. Moreover, stock market returns have remained healthy during this period, with high odds of a positive outcome over the subsequent 6-24 months (see Exhibit 1). In short, the market ultimately follows the path of earnings and while their growth rate may be slowing, their absolute level is still rising.

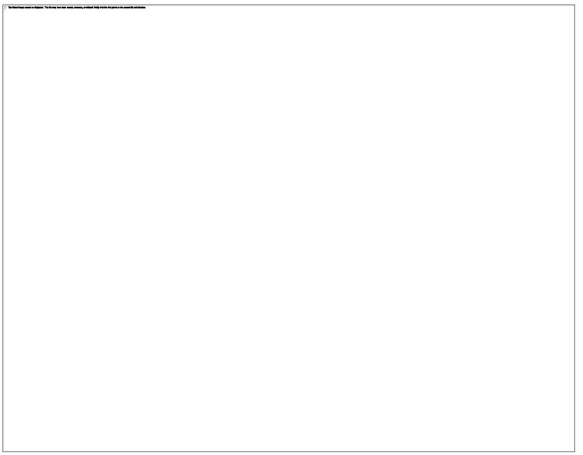


Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

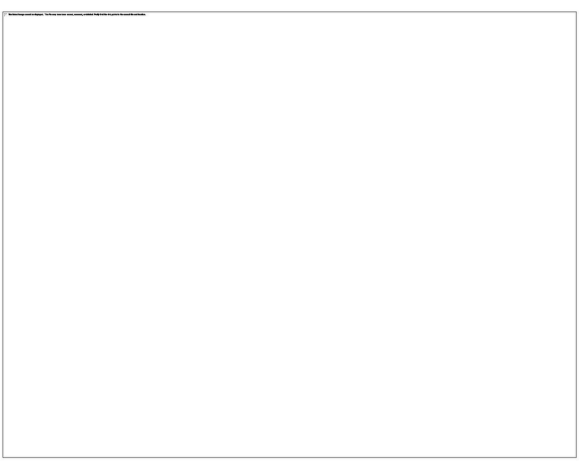
Inflation and Interest Rates

Inflation data has remained at relatively low levels for all of 2018, as shown in Exhibits 2 and 3. In fact, some of the most recent data released in October have ticked slightly lower. Average hourly earnings dropped to 2.8% from the prior month's level of 2.9%. Headline CPI dropped to 2.3% from 2.7% and Core CPI ex-food and energy remain at a low 2.2%, unchanged from the prior month. The Federal Reserve's preferred inflation indicator, Core PCE, also remains low at 2.0% which is in line with the Federal Reserve's target, and unchanged from the prior month.

While 10-year Treasury yields have risen by 0.76% (or 76 basis points) over the course of 2018, we do not think the resulting 3.2% yield is enough to derail US economic growth. Keep in mind that most of the recent increase since late August was due to stronger real growth rather than runaway inflation expectations. We expect interest rates to range between 3.0% and 3.5% in 2019 with a midpoint of 3.25%, barring any major geopolitical conflicts such as one between US and China and or escalating conflicts in the Middle East.



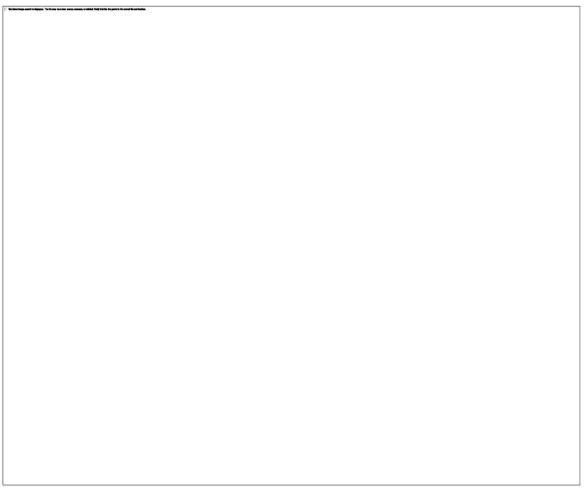
Note: Average hourly earnings is available for the private sector starting in 2006 and is released in the monthly employment report. The BLS hourly earnings data for production and nonsupervisory employees, ~80% of the private sector, is available back to 1964.
Source: Investment Strategy Group, Haver.



Source: Investment Strategy Group, Haver.

Of course, the recent backup in interest rates is providing equity investors with another source of angst. Yet our work suggests there are several reasons why rates could continue to rise before becoming a material headwind for stocks. First, the 4% trend growth rate of nominal US GDP—reflecting 2% real growth and 2% inflation—remains comfortably above the 10-year Treasury yield of

3.2% (i.e. the cost of borrowing). Stocks typically struggle when the cost of borrowing exceeds the nominal growth of the economy (see Exhibit 4). Second, the recent backup in interest rates was driven primarily by improving real growth expectations, not higher inflation. This distinction is critical, because higher rates in response to improving real growth tend to benefit earnings sufficiently to overcome the downward pressure they place on valuation multiples. Finally, it will take a number of years before higher rates meaningfully impact aggregate S&P 500 interest expense, considering 91% of S&P 500 debt is fixed-rate and only 13% matures over the next two years.



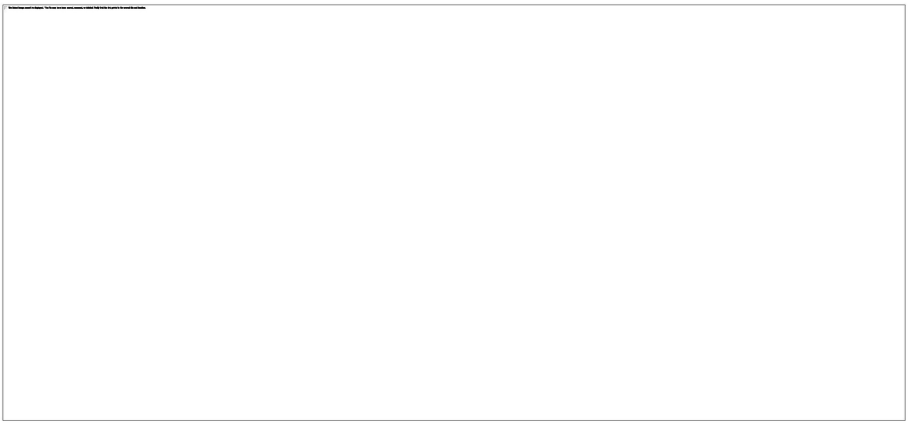
Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

Low Probability of Recession

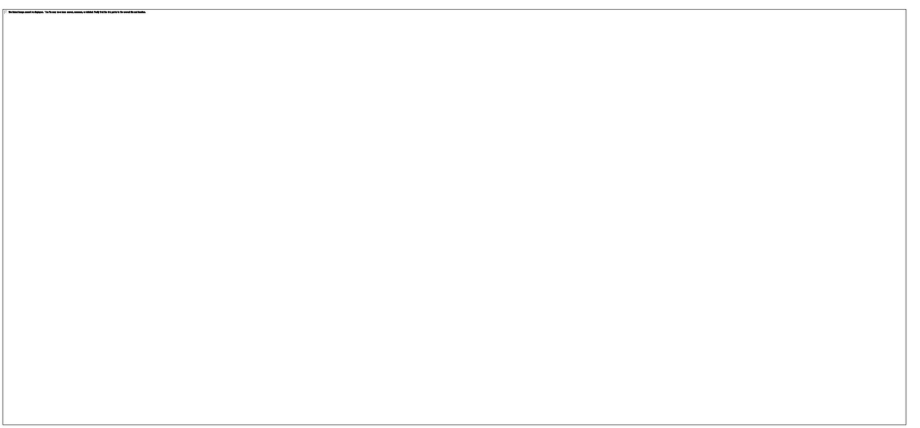
We continue to maintain a low, 10%, probability of recession driven by:

- The positive trend of leading economic indicators
- Low levels of inflation
- The continued slow but steady pace of Federal Reserve interest rate hikes. We believe that Federal Reserve Chairman Powell's recent commentary indicates that the FOMC will continue to be driven by data and financial market conditions. Their stated goal is to extend this expansion "indefinitely."[1] While the Federal Reserve dots point towards four more interest rate hikes by the end of 2019, we do not think that such hikes materially increase the odds of a recession in an economy that continues to grow at levels that are generally regarded as above trend growth in the US.

Recent steepening of the yield curve. We have highlighted two measures of the yield curve as sign-posts we watch as an early harbinger of a recession. Both have steepened since their lows, as shown in Exhibits 5 and 6.



Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.



"Near-Term Forward Spread" is the implied 3-month forward yield 18-months from now.
Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

Unsteady Undertow

As market observers attempt to explain the recent drop in US equities, the risks of geopolitical factors have garnered considerable attention. Potential US retaliation over the recent disappearance of a Saudi journalist has only added fuel to the fire of worries given the risk that oil exports could be used as a political weapon in a world with tighter oil supply thanks to impending US sanctions on Iran.

As we review the geopolitical developments of 2018, it is clear that some of the risks have abated while others have increased. With the exception of a significant spike in oil prices due to the impact of sanctions on Iran or any escalation in US-Saudi tensions, we believe that the net impact of these shifts is not material enough to derail the US economic expansion or bull market.

Risks that have abated

Mexico: the election of the left-of-center populist president (Andrés Manuel Lopes Obrador referred to as AMLO) has reduced fear of a reversal of recent reforms. While concerns about fiscal profligacy and reverting to a nationalist energy policy that reduces oil production may reappear, AMLO does not take office until the end of the year.

Brazil: The strong showing of Jair Bolsonaro, a law-and-order former army captain, in the first round of elections and the latest data that points to a 75% probability of Bolsonaro becoming the next president of Brazil has provided a boost to the Brazilian real. His current standing has substantially reduced the election of another left-wing worker's party candidate who would keep the status quo in Brazil.

NAFTA: The agreement on a revised NAFTA deal between the US, Canada, and Mexico on September 30th meaningfully reduced the risk of the US withdrawal from NAFTA. While the new agreement, US-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), has not been ratified by the Mexican and Canadian national parliaments nor by the US congress, and a divided congress after the mid-term elections may lead to some uncertainty, we believe it is likely to be ratified.

US-EU Trade Friction: Tension between the US and European Union eased significantly after a July 2018 deal between European Commission President Juncker and President Trump to "work together toward zero tariffs, zero non-tariff barriers and zero subsidies on non-auto industrial goods". The coast is not totally clear given the threat of auto tariffs, but we do not anticipate any significant increase in trade rhetoric in the near future.

Risks that have increased

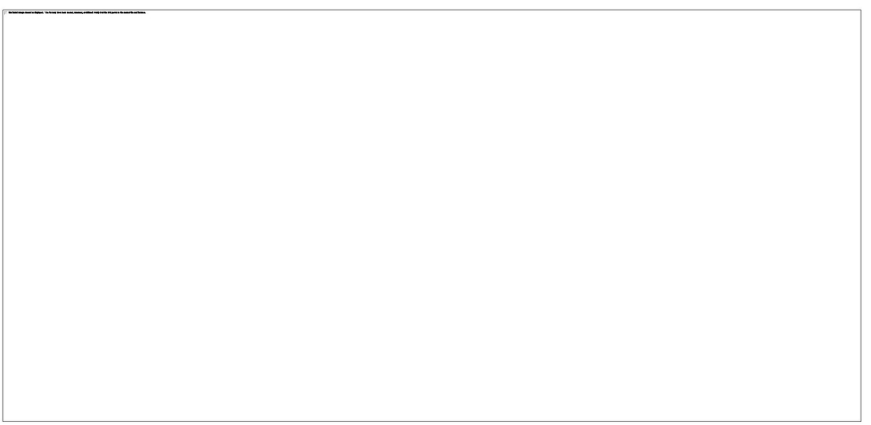
China: The trade war with China continues to escalate and as we have stated before, we believe that it cannot be resolved simply by China importing more US goods. The issues range from:

- A large and growing trade deficit with China
- Industrial policies & unfair trade practices that reduce competition, such as subsidies and "dumping good at below-market prices"
- "Made in China 2025" policies which "harm US companies"

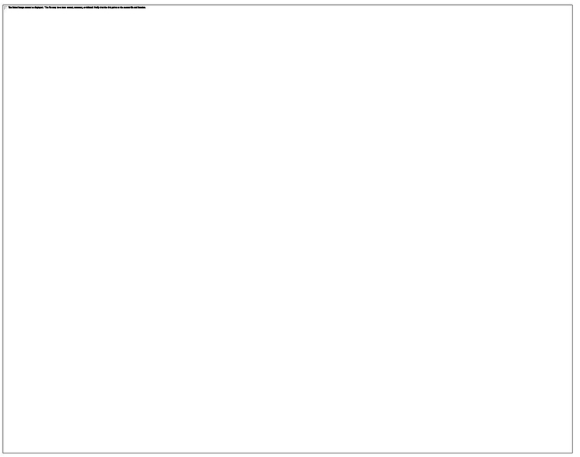
- Uneven tariff rates and the banning of some US goods
- Intellectual property theft
- Forced technology transfer
- Strategic US technology acquisitions
- Outright cyber theft
- Foreign ownership restrictions

Recent headlines that the trade war may be escalating to a cold war are not without merit, as we believe that US-China relations are changing on a more structural basis and will have a longer-term impact. On a short-term basis, however, US exposure to China is limited with merchandise exports, corporate profits and foreign claims at about 1% of GDP. As seen in Exhibit 7, the Chinese equity markets have also deteriorated much more significantly than US markets in 2018.

Of course, specific stocks with greater exposure to China through higher sales have underperformed the S&P 500 by about 6% since the latest tariffs were imposed on $200bn of Chinese products, as shown in Exhibit 8.



Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.



Note: High China sales basket is aggregated and defined by Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research.

Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

Italy: Concerns about Italy have risen to peak levels since the election of a populist government in May and credit default swaps have increased to reflect these higher risks. The government's expansive fiscal plan, with a proposed budget deficit of 2.4% of GDP, may be rejected by the European Union commission and result in rating downgrades. While the EU is likely to manage this situation in its usual incremental and reactive way, the possibility of new elections in late 2019 reigniting euro viability questions will keep Italy on our radar screens.

BREXIT: It is hard to know whether Brexit risks are unchanged, higher or lower given the minute by minute headlines out of the UK. Our base case remains that while the internal politics of the Conservative party will keep uncertainty at elevated levels and the European Union will not compromise on its key tenants of free movement of goods, services, and people, the two sides will agree to a deal that defers the difficult choices on the shape of a final agreement with the EU until late 2020.

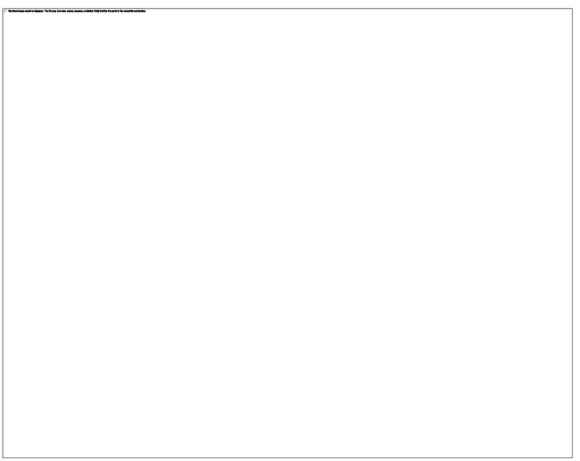
The Middle East: Risks in the Middle East have not changed substantially with respect to Iraq, Syria, or even the impositions of sanctions on Iran. However, the disappearance of the Saudi journalist who entered the Saudi Embassy in Turkey on October 2nd has the potential to raise risks to global oil supply. While there has been a global uproar, it is not yet clear whether the US will impose serious sanctions or Saudi Arabia would retaliate by reducing oil exports if the US finds sufficient evidence regarding the alleged killing of the Saudi journalist. The recession in 1973-74 was partly due to the quadrupling of oil prices due to the Arab Oil Embargo. Later in that decade, the Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War also led to a 2.5 times spike in oil prices that, along with Federal Reserve tightening by then Chairman Paul Volcker, led to a US recession. While we think it is unlikely that Saudi Arabia would react so aggressively in the face of serious US reprisals, we note that it remains a real risk.

Some Notable Observations

US Equities Have Been Shunned All Along

In both our 2018 *Outlook* and mid-year update, we highlighted the surprising absence of inflows into US equities based on flows into mutual funds and Exchange-Traded Funds. As shown in Exhibit 9, flows into US equities were negative in 2018, even before the recent downdraft. In fact, US equities have seen outflows of $81 billion through August 2018 (based on the most recent comprehensive data), while non-US developed equities and emerging market equities have had inflows of $72 billion and $20 billion respectively. This is further evidence of our view that while sentiment and short term positioning among speculators and hedge fund managers shifts frequently, more stable investors have shunned US equities during this long bull market in favor of other developed and emerging market equities and global bonds.

This steady outflow of assets from US equities has been offset by record levels of stock buybacks by US companies given high levels of profitability and incremental cash from repatriation of overseas earnings, as mentioned above.



Note: Based on ICI weekly estimates through August 30,2018. Flows exclude reinvested dividends.
Source: Investment Strategy Group, ICI.

Some Headwinds Facing the FANGMAN Stocks Will Persist

The basket of FANGMAN (i.e. Facebook, Apple, Netflix, Google, Microsoft, Amazon and Nvidia) stocks have dropped across the board from their respective peak price levels, with Facebook's 29% decline the largest and Apple's 4% decline the smallest among the group. Even so, each of the

stocks, with the exception of Facebook, still have positive year-to-date returns and have outperformed the S&P 500, as shown in Exhibit 10.

This is not a recommendation to buy or sell individual securities but rather an assertion that these stocks represent a small portion of S&P 500 earnings. Anyone looking to buy or sell single name equities should consult Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research.
Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

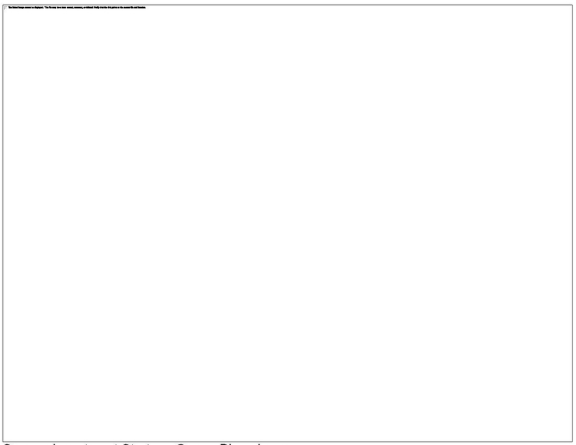
Nevertheless, we believe that some of the headwinds that have plagued this sector will continue. These include:

- Data privacy issues impacting a broad range of companies, including Facebook, Google, Twitter, Alipay and Tencent.
- High likelihood of greater regulatory scrutiny in the US[2] and Europe as policy makers increasingly believe that these companies will not address "the privacy and security issues of social media users"[3] on their own.
- Increased focus by ESG investors (Environment, Social, and Governance) that many of the technology and social media companies are falling short on social and governance issues.

While this basket of stocks may or may not lead the market in the future, it is important to note that they represent only 10% of S&P 500 earnings.

Investment Implications

The recent market downdraft has understandably rekindled fears that the longest bull market in history is coming to an end. While there are no certainties in investing, we do not think the odds support that conclusion based on our read of the steady and unsteady factors discussed above. Keep in mind that about 75% of historical US bear markets—defined here as equity market declines of 20% or more—have occurred during economic recessions. In fact, US equity returns have remained favorable until about five to six months prior to the onset of recession, highlighting the penalty for prematurely exiting the market (see Exhibit 11). With only 10% odds of recession over the next year, we think the economic backdrop remains favorable for stocks.



Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

Of course, none of the supportive factors discussed above precludes further bouts of equity volatility. As we highlighted at the beginning of the year, the historical probability of a 5% or greater correction from current valuation levels was 96%. Yet these statistics alone do not justify underweighting equities, since such pullbacks often occur after sizable equity rallies, as this year reminds us.

Moreover, such pullbacks are quite normal historically. After all, stocks have suffered a median of two pullbacks of at least 5% and one of at least 10% per calendar year in the post-WWII period, leaving both the frequency and magnitude of this year's dips in line with past experience. Most importantly, years that experienced a similar number of pullbacks as 2018 nonetheless ended with a median gain of 6% and had 77% odds of a positive return.

Conclusion

Although we have painted a less alarmist view of recent market weakness, we are by no means Pollyannaish. While bull markets do not die of old age, they do become more susceptible to ailments over time. Yet as we survey the tug of war between the steady factors and the unsteady undertow, we do not think the balance of risks is strong enough to topple the ongoing US expansion and the continued growth of corporate earnings it supports.

That said, this viewpoint does not preclude further market volatility and the market may still make new lows if the current downdraft persists. But history suggests the bull market is likely to continue until about 5-6 months prior to the end of this economic expansion. Thus, it will take a significant increase in the odds of an imminent recession to provide the trigger—that has been lacking thus far—to tactically underweight equities. In the interim, we continue to recommend that clients maintain their strategic allocation to US equities.

Sources: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg, Datastream, Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research, Haver.

Endnotes:

(1) Kate Davidson and Sarah Chaney, "Fed Chair Powell Sees 'Remarkably Positive Set of Economic Circumstances,'" The Wall Street Journal, October 3, 2018.

(2) Statement by the Acting Director of FTC's Bureau of Consumer Protection Regarding Reported Concerns about Facebook Privacy Practices, March 26, 2018.

(3) Senator Mark. R Warner, Press Release, September 28, 2018

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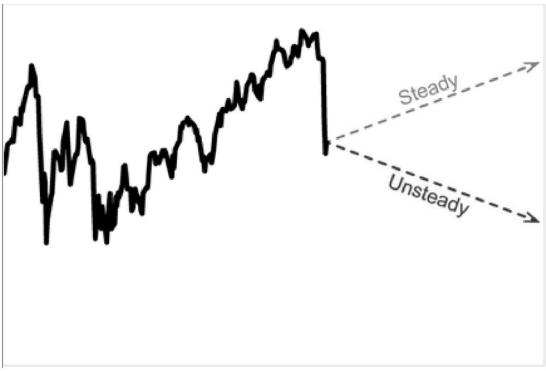
Sunday Night Insight
October 14, 2018

The Unsteady Undertow Commands the Seas (Temporarily)



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Brett Nelson Head of Tactical Asset Allocation
Maziar Minovi Managing Director
Andrew Dubinsky Vice President
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Mary Rich Vice President

The 7.8% intraday peak-to-trough decline in US equities between September 21st and October 11th has rattled investor confidence. Numerous headlines of stock market "carnage" have further eroded their confidence. As a result, some of our clients have asked whether this drop signifies the beginning of the end of a nearly 10-year bull market.

We do not think so. So far, this pullback is actually smaller than the two prior downdrafts we experienced in late January and in mid-March, neither of which derailed the US economy nor the bull market. The steady factors we highlighted in our annual Outlook—such as economic growth, benign inflation, robust earnings, and low probability of recession—have not dissipated. Furthermore, while the investor focus has shifted to the risks around the unsteady undertow, most of these factors are, on balance, less concerning today than they were at the beginning of 2018.

Of course, that is not the case across all geopolitical concerns. While trade tensions with Mexico and

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Canada have abated, those with China have certainly deteriorated and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future. But, in aggregate, there has been more improvement than deterioration, in our view.

In this Sunday Night Insight, we will provide a brief update on the steady factors and unsteady undertow. We then conclude with our view that the steady factors will likely continue to win this tug-of-war between the two.

Steady Factors

While the headlines warn of equity market carnage, the facts do not support such alarming headlines. The S&P 500 is still up 5.1% on a year-to-date total return basis and financial conditions remain at easier levels today than they did when the Federal Reserve began this tightening cycle in 2015, despite the recent decline in equities and 0.76 percentage point increase in 10-year Treasury yields year-to-date. Most importantly, as highlighted by Federal Reserve Chairman, Jerome Powell, we are in "extraordinary times" of steady growth and low inflation.

Economic Growth

Economic growth remains firm in the US. Both the Institute for Supply Management leading indexes for manufacturing and non-manufacturing remain at very strong levels. Current activity indicators of real GDP growth average about 3.5% for the third quarter and closer to 4% for the fourth quarter. Forecasts for third quarter real GDP average 3.8% and fourth quarter forecasts are about 2.8%. While growth is slowing from the 4.2% estimate of the second quarter, it is still forecast to be above trend and we believe a modest slowdown is certainly preferable to continued growth at a pace that was likely unsustainable and possibly even inflationary.

In aggregate, the economic data since the intraday peak of US equities on September 21st does not point to any worrisome slowdown in GDP growth or the pace of employment. In fact, while the recent 134K increase in non-farm payrolls was less than expectations, revisions to earlier months offset the modest headline miss and the unemployment rate still fell to 3.7%. Furthermore, this 134k increase is above the estimated sustainable level of employment growth based on population growth and changes in labor force participation, which our colleagues in Goldman Investment Research estimate is around 96k. Importantly, a modest slowdown in the 3-month average of non-farm payrolls, which currently stands at a very robust 190k jobs, is more likely to keep inflation in check.

Robust Earnings and Buybacks

Continued above-trend economic growth is supporting solid corporate fundamentals. While many are quick to dismiss this strength to US tax reform, it is only half the story. Earnings before interest and taxes (EBIT) expanded by a very healthy 12% in the first half of this year and are expected to grow by double-digits again in the third quarter. This robust organic profit growth is also fueling sizable corporate buybacks—a key source of equity market support. Our colleagues on the corporate buyback desk expect the highest dollar amount for buybacks on record in 2018, with $1tn in authorizations and $850bn in executed buybacks.

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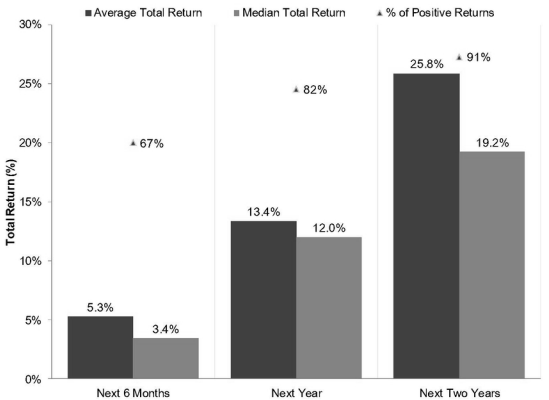
Even so, such robust earnings growth has begun to foster concern that we have reached a peak in EPS growth. While we do expect the pace of growth to slow next year, a local peak in earnings growth has not signified an imminent peak in the S&P 500 historically. In fact, about 3/4ths of market peaks occurred more than two years after the peak in the growth rate of earnings. Moreover, stock market returns have remained healthy during this period, with high odds of a positive outcome over the subsequent 6-24 months (see Exhibit 1). In short, the market ultimately follows the path of earnings and while their growth rate may be slowing, their absolute level is still rising.

1. Average / Median S&P 500 Returns Following Peaks in Earnings Growth



Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

Inflation and Interest Rates

Inflation data has remained at relatively low levels for all of 2018, as shown in Exhibits 2 and 3. In fact, some of the most recent data released in October have ticked slightly lower. Average hourly earnings dropped to 2.8% from the prior month's level of 2.9%. Headline CPI dropped to 2.3% from 2.7% and Core CPI ex-food and energy remain at a low 2.2%, unchanged from the prior month. The Federal Reserve's preferred inflation indicator, Core PCE, also remains low at 2.0% which is in line with the Federal Reserve's target, and unchanged from the prior month.

While 10-year Treasury yields have risen by 0.76% (or 76 basis points) over the course of 2018, we do not think the resulting 3.2% yield is enough to derail US economic growth. Keep in mind that most of the recent increase since late August was due to stronger real growth rather than runaway inflation expectations. We expect interest rates to range between 3.0% and 3.5% in 2019 with a midpoint of 3.25%, barring any major geopolitical conflicts such as one between US and China and or escalating conflicts in the Middle East.

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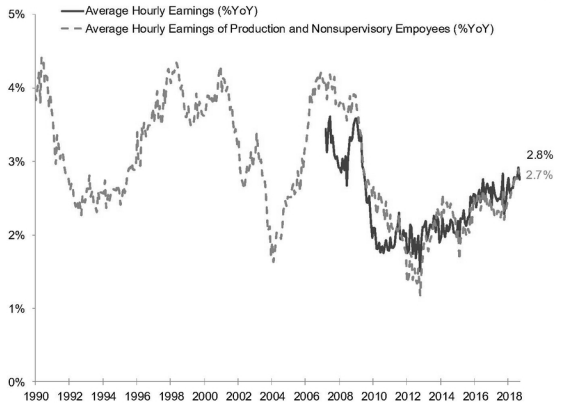
2. Average Hourly Earnings



Note: Average hourly earnings is available for the private sector starting in 2006 and is released in the monthly employment report. The BLS hourly earnings data for production and nonsupervisory employees, ~80% of the private sector, is available back to 1964.
Source: Investment Strategy Group, Haver.

3. Measures of Core Inflation: Core PCE and Core CPI

Source: Investment Strategy Group, Haver.

Of course, the recent backup in interest rates is providing equity investors with another source of angst. Yet our work suggests there are several reasons why rates could continue to rise before becoming a material headwind for stocks. First, the 4% trend growth rate of nominal US GDP—reflecting 2% real growth and 2% inflation—remains comfortably above the 10-year Treasury yield of

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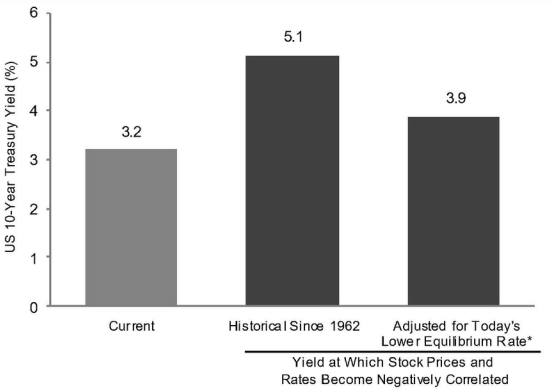
3.2% (i.e. the cost of borrowing). Stocks typically struggle when the cost of borrowing exceeds the nominal growth of the economy (see Exhibit 4). Second, the recent backup in interest rates was driven primarily by improving real growth expectations, not higher inflation. This distinction is critical, because higher rates in response to improving real growth tend to benefit earnings sufficiently to overcome the downward pressure they place on valuation multiples. Finally, it will take a number of years before higher rates meaningfully impact aggregate S&P 500 interest expense, considering 91% of S&P 500 debt is fixed-rate and only 13% matures over the next two years.

4. Inflection Point for Negative Correlation Between Stock Prices and Bond Yields



**Adjusts for the reduction of 1.25 percentage points in the long-run equilibrium nominal rate, in line with the shift in Federal Reserve projections since 2012.*

Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

Low Probability of Recession

We continue to maintain a low, 10%, probability of recession driven by:

- The positive trend of leading economic indicators
- Low levels of inflation
- The continued slow but steady pace of Federal Reserve interest rate hikes. We believe that Federal Reserve Chairman Powell's recent commentary indicates that the FOMC will continue to be driven by data and financial market conditions. Their stated goal is to extend this expansion "indefinitely."[1] While the Federal Reserve dots point towards four more interest rate hikes by the end of 2019, we do not think that such hikes materially increase the odds of a recession in an economy that continues to grow at levels that are generally regarded as above trend growth in the US.
- Recent steepening of the yield curve. We have highlighted two measures of the yield curve as sign-posts we watch as an early harbinger of a recession. Both have steepened since their lows, as shown in Exhibits 5 and 6.

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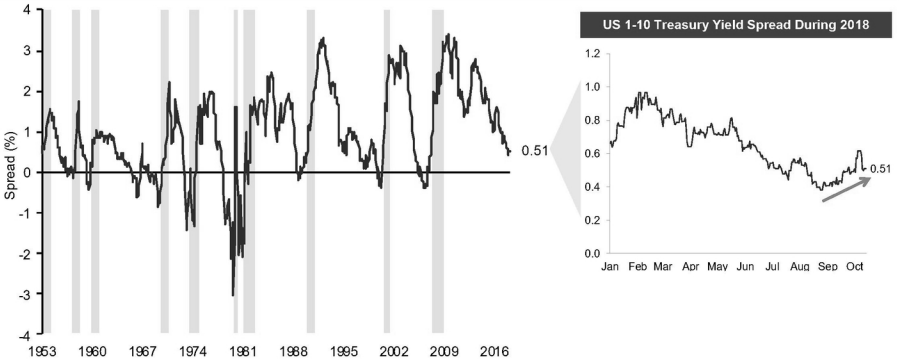
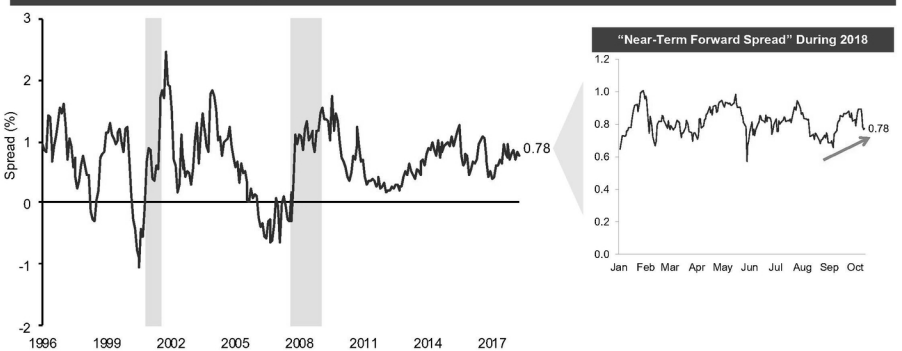
5. US 1-10 Treasury Yield Spread – Through October 12, 2018



Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

6. "Near-Term Forward Spread"* – Through October 12, 2018



*"Near-Term Forward Spread" is the implied 3-month forward yield 18-months from now.
Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

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Unsteady Undertow

As market observers attempt to explain the recent drop in US equities, the risks of geopolitical factors have garnered considerable attention. Potential US retaliation over the recent disappearance of a Saudi journalist has only added fuel to the fire of worries given the risk that oil exports could be used as a political weapon in a world with tighter oil supply thanks to impending US sanctions on Iran.

As we review the geopolitical developments of 2018, it is clear that some of the risks have abated while others have increased. With the exception of a significant spike in oil prices due to the impact of sanctions on Iran or any escalation in US-Saudi tensions, we believe that the net impact of these shifts is not material enough to derail the US economic expansion or bull market.

Risks that have abated

Mexico: the election of the left-of-center populist president (Andrés Manuel Lopes Obrador referred to as AMLO) has reduced fear of a reversal of recent reforms. While concerns about fiscal profligacy and reverting to a nationalist energy policy that reduces oil production may reappear, AMLO does not take office until the end of the year.

Brazil: The strong showing of Jair Bolsonaro, a law-and-order former army captain, in the first round of elections and the latest data that points to a 75% probability of Bolsonaro becoming the next president of Brazil has provided a boost to the Brazilian real. His current standing has substantially reduced the election of another left-wing worker's party candidate who would keep the status quo in Brazil.

NAFTA: The agreement on a revised NAFTA deal between the US, Canada, and Mexico on September 30th meaningfully reduced the risk of the US withdrawal from NAFTA. While the new agreement, US-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA), has not been ratified by the Mexican and Canadian national parliaments nor by the US congress, and a divided congress after the mid-term elections may lead to some uncertainty, we believe it is likely to be ratified.

US-EU Trade Friction: Tension between the US and European Union eased significantly after a July 2018 deal between European Commission President Juncker and President Trump to "work together toward zero tariffs, zero non-tariff barriers and zero subsidies on non-auto industrial goods". The coast is not totally clear given the threat of auto tariffs, but we do not anticipate any significant increase in trade rhetoric in the near future.

Risks that have increased

China: The trade war with China continues to escalate and as we have stated before, we believe that it cannot be resolved simply by China importing more US goods. The issues range from:

- A large and growing trade deficit with China
- Industrial policies & unfair trade practices that reduce competition, such as subsidies and "dumping good at below-market prices"
- "Made in China 2025" policies which "harm US companies"

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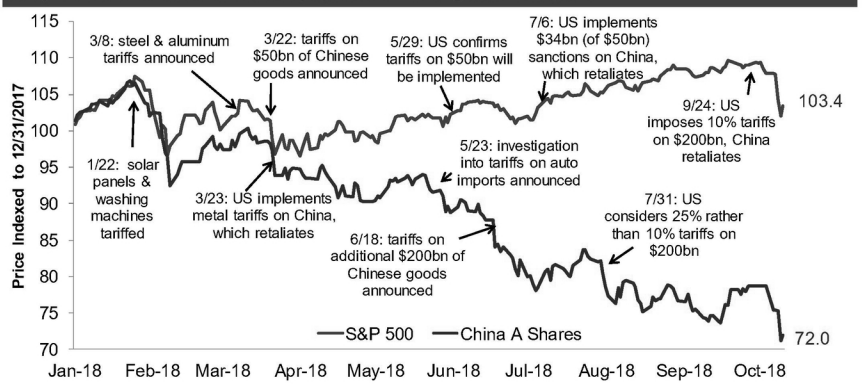
- Uneven tariff rates and the banning of some US goods
- Intellectual property theft
- Forced technology transfer
- Strategic US technology acquisitions
- Outright cyber theft
- Foreign ownership restrictions

Recent headlines that the trade war may be escalating to a cold war are not without merit, as we believe that US-China relations are changing on a more structural basis and will have a longer-term impact. On a short-term basis, however, US exposure to China is limited with merchandise exports, corporate profits and foreign claims at about 1% of GDP. As seen in Exhibit 7, the Chinese equity markets have also deteriorated much more significantly than US markets in 2018.

Of course, specific stocks with greater exposure to China through higher sales have underperformed the S&P 500 by about 6% since the latest tariffs were imposed on $200bn of Chinese products, as shown in Exhibit 8.

7. Impact of 2018 US Trade Actions on Equity Markets – Through October 12, 2018



Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

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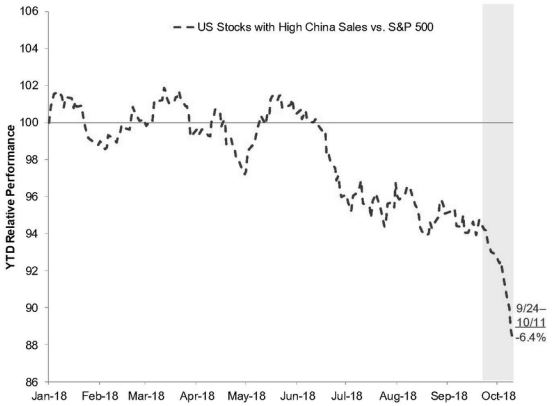
8. US Stocks with High China Sales vs. S&P 500



Note: High China sales basket is aggregated and defined by Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research.
Source: Investment Strategy Group, Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research, Bloomberg.

Italy: Concerns about Italy have risen to peak levels since the election of a populist government in May and credit default swaps have increased to reflect these higher risks. The government's expansive fiscal plan, with a proposed budget deficit of 2.4% of GDP, may be rejected by the European Union commission and result in rating downgrades. While the EU is likely to manage this situation in its usual incremental and reactive way, the possibility of new elections in late 2019 reigniting euro viability questions will keep Italy on our radar screens.

BREXIT: It is hard to know whether Brexit risks are unchanged, higher or lower given the minute by minute headlines out of the UK. Our base case remains that while the internal politics of the Conservative party will keep uncertainty at elevated levels and the European Union will not compromise on its key tenants of free movement of goods, services, and people, the two sides will agree to a deal that defers the difficult choices on the shape of a final agreement with the EU until late 2020.

The Middle East: Risks in the Middle East have not changed substantially with respect to Iraq, Syria, or even the impositions of sanctions on Iran. However, the disappearance of the Saudi journalist who entered the Saudi Embassy in Turkey on October 2nd has the potential to raise risks to global oil supply. While there has been a global uproar, it is not yet clear whether the US will impose serious sanctions or Saudi Arabia would retaliate by reducing oil exports if the US finds sufficient evidence regarding the alleged killing of the Saudi journalist. The recession in 1973-74 was partly due to the quadrupling of oil prices due to the Arab Oil Embargo. Later in that decade, the Iranian Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War also led to a 2.5 times spike in oil prices that, along with Federal Reserve tightening by then Chairman Paul Volcker, led to a US recession. While we think it is unlikely that Saudi Arabia would react so aggressively in the face of serious US reprisals, we note that it remains a real risk.

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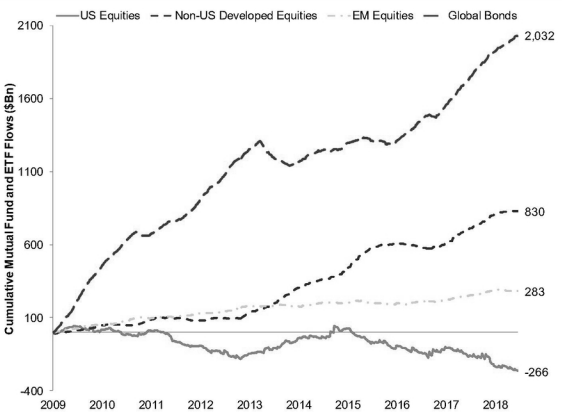
US Equities Have Been Shunned All Along

In both our 2018 *Outlook* and mid-year update, we highlighted the surprising absence of inflows into US equities based on flows into mutual funds and Exchange-Traded Funds. As shown in Exhibit 9, flows into US equities were negative in 2018, even before the recent downdraft. In fact, US equities have seen outflows of $81 billion through August 2018 (based on the most recent comprehensive data), while non-US developed equities and emerging market equities have had inflows of $72 billion and $20 billion respectively. This is further evidence of our view that while sentiment and short term positioning among speculators and hedge fund managers shifts frequently, more stable investors have shunned US equities during this long bull market in favor of other developed and emerging market equities and global bonds.

This steady outflow of assets from US equities has been offset by record levels of stock buybacks by US companies given high levels of profitability and incremental cash from repatriation of overseas earnings, as mentioned above.

9. Cumulative Mutual Fund and ETF Flows (US$bn)



Note: Based on ICI weekly estimates through August 30,2018. Flows exclude reinvested dividends.
Source: Investment Strategy Group, ICI.

Some Headwinds Facing the FANGMAN Stocks Will Persist

The basket of FANGMAN (i.e. Facebook, Apple, Netflix, Google, Microsoft, Amazon and Nvidia) stocks have dropped across the board from their respective peak price levels, with Facebook's 29% decline the largest and Apple's 4% decline the smallest among the group. Even so, each of the stocks, with the exception of Facebook, still have positive year-to-date returns and have outperformed the S&P 500, as shown in Exhibit 10.

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10. FANGMAN Recent Performance and Contribution to S&P 500 Earnings and Market Cap

	YTD Return (Through 10/12)	% Decline From 2018 Peak	% of S&P 500 Earnings	% of S&P 500 Market Cap
1 Netflix	76.9%	-19.0%	0.0%	0.6%
2 Amazon	52.9%	-12.3%	0.2%	3.6%
3 Apple	32.8%	-4.3%	4.4%	4.4%
4 Microsoft	29.7%	-5.2%	2.4%	3.5%
5 Nvidia	27.6%	-14.8%	0.2%	0.6%
6 Google	6.4%	-12.8%	1.9%	3.2%
7 Facebook	-12.9%	-29.3%	1.3%	1.8%
FANGMAN	23.9%	-7.1%	10.4%	17.7%

This is not a recommendation to buy or sell individual securities but rather an assertion that these stocks represent a small portion of S&P 500 earnings. Anyone looking to buy or sell single name equities should consult Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research.
Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

Nevertheless, we believe that some of the headwinds that have plagued this sector will continue. These include:

- Data privacy issues impacting a broad range of companies, including Facebook, Google, Twitter, Alipay and Tencent.
- High likelihood of greater regulatory scrutiny in the US[2] and Europe as policy makers increasingly believe that these companies will not address "the privacy and security issues of social media users"[3] on their own.
- Increased focus by ESG investors (Environment, Social, and Governance) that many of the technology and social media companies are falling short on social and governance issues.

While this basket of stocks may or may not lead the market in the future, it is important to note that they represent only 10% of S&P 500 earnings.

Investment Implications

The recent market downdraft has understandably rekindled fears that the longest bull market in history is coming to an end. While there are no certainties in investing, we do not think the odds support that conclusion based on our read of the steady and unsteady factors discussed above. Keep in mind that about 75% of historical US bear markets—defined here as equity market declines of 20% or more—have occurred during economic recessions. In fact, US equity returns have remained favorable until about five to six months prior to the onset of recession, highlighting the penalty for prematurely exiting the market (see Exhibit 11). With only 10% odds of recession over the next year, we think the economic backdrop remains favorable for stocks.

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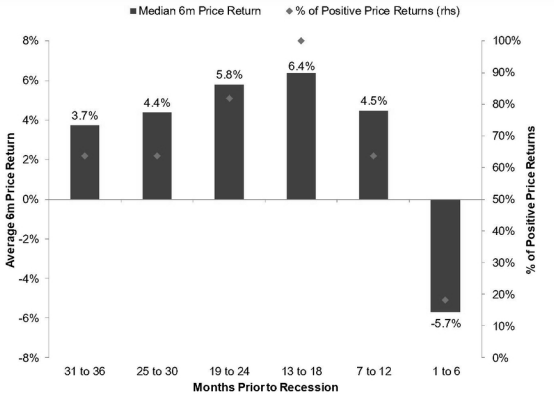
11. S&P 500: Returns Based on Time Until Next Recession



Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg.

Of course, none of the supportive factors discussed above precludes further bouts of equity volatility. As we highlighted at the beginning of the year, the historical probability of a 5% or greater correction from current valuation levels was 96%. Yet these statistics alone do not justify underweighting equities, since such pullbacks often occur after sizable equity rallies, as this year reminds us.

Moreover, such pullbacks are quite normal historically. After all, stocks have suffered a median of two pullbacks of at least 5% and one of at least 10% per calendar year in the post-WWII period, leaving both the frequency and magnitude of this year's dips in line with past experience. Most importantly, years that experienced a similar number of pullbacks as 2018 nonetheless ended with a median gain of 6% and had 77% odds of a positive return.

Conclusion

Although we have painted a less alarmist view of recent market weakness, we are by no means Pollyannaish. While bull markets do not die of old age, they do become more susceptible to ailments over time. Yet as we survey the tug of war between the steady factors and the unsteady undertow, we do not think the balance of risks is strong enough to topple the ongoing US expansion and the continued growth of corporate earnings it supports.

That said, this viewpoint does not preclude further market volatility and the market may still make new lows if the current downdraft persists. But history suggests the bull market is likely to continue until about 5-6 months prior to the end of this economic expansion. Thus, it will take a significant increase in the odds of an imminent recession to provide the trigger—that has been lacking thus far—to tactically underweight equities. In the interim, we continue to recommend that clients maintain their strategic allocation to US equities.

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Sources: Investment Strategy Group, Bank for International Settlements, Bloomberg, Datastream, Goldman Sachs Global Investment Research, Haver, International Monetary Fund, Teneo Intelligence.

Endnotes:

(1) Kate Davidson and Sarah Chaney, "Fed Chair Powell Sees 'Remarkably Positive Set of Economic Circumstances,'" The Wall Street Journal, October 3, 2018.
(2) Statement by the Acting Director of FTC's Bureau of Consumer Protection Regarding Reported Concerns about Facebook Privacy Practices, March 26, 2018.
(3) Senator Mark. R Warner, Press Release, September 28, 2018

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From: paul krassner [redacted]
Sent: 12/20/2018 8:09:23 PM
To: Danny Goldberg [redacted]; Kevin Bright [redacted]; Caryl Ratner [redacted]
Subject: Fwd:

Importance: High

AMERICA'S FINEST NEWS SOURCE

Video Politics Sports Local Business Entertainment

Ho, Ho, Ho! Send Me $100 Billion By Christmas Or I Will Detonate A Dirty Bomb In 5 Major Cities!

Season's greetings from your old friend Santa! My, my, it seems the Christmas season comes a bit earlier each year, doesn't it? Yes, it certainly does. And with the hours ticking away until we make the Yuletide gay, jolly old Saint Nick has a very important message for all his boys and girls.
Read more...

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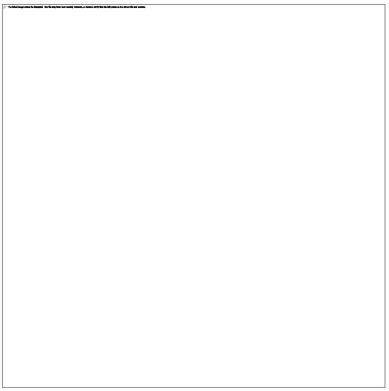
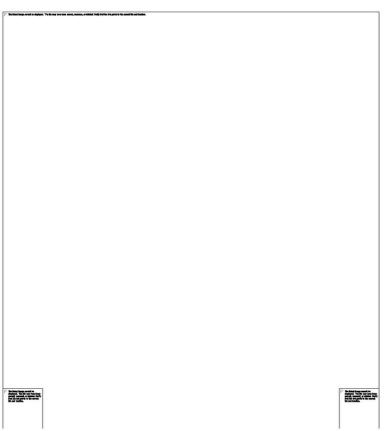
Voyeur Researchers Recommend At Least 7 Hours Of Watching Someone Sleep Per Night

Winner Of ‘The Voice’ Excited To Use $50 Chili’s Gift Card

Man Spends Long Day At Work Waiting To Go Home And Be Lonely



Raiders Announce Plan To Play 2019 Home Games In Jon Gruden's Backyard



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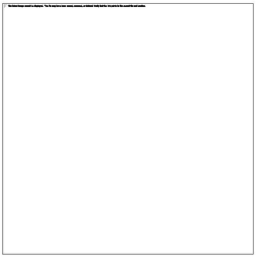
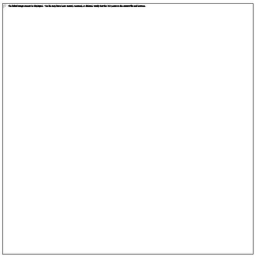


News in Brief

Firefighter Excitedly Checks Drop-Off Bin To See If They Got Any Babies While They Were Out

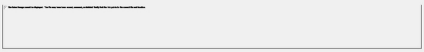
Infographic

The Trump Presidency In 2018



News in Brief

Ecstatic Pope Francis Finally Lands Role As Mary In St. Peter's Christmas Pageant



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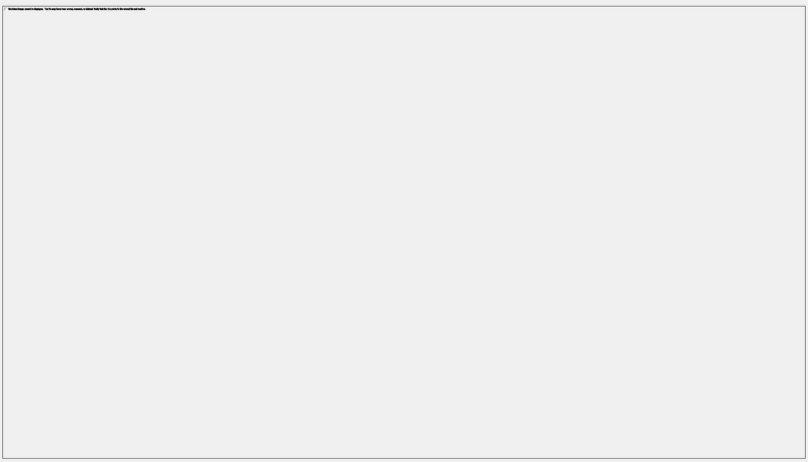
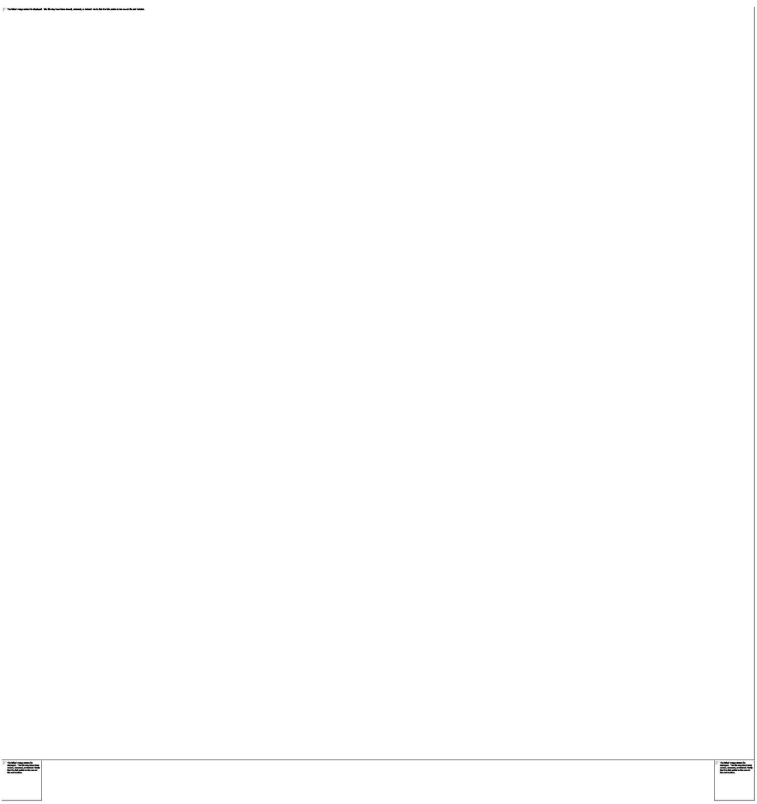


UCF Deserves A Shot To Be Utterly Destroyed In The College Football Playoff

SHARE THIS WITH FRIENDS OR SPAM YOUR ENEMIES



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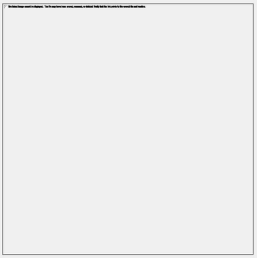

5 Things To Know About 'Aquaman'

Should The NFL Offer To Reinstate Kareem Hunt If He Promises To Play Extra Hard?

The Origins Of Popular Christmas Songs

AMERICAN VOICES

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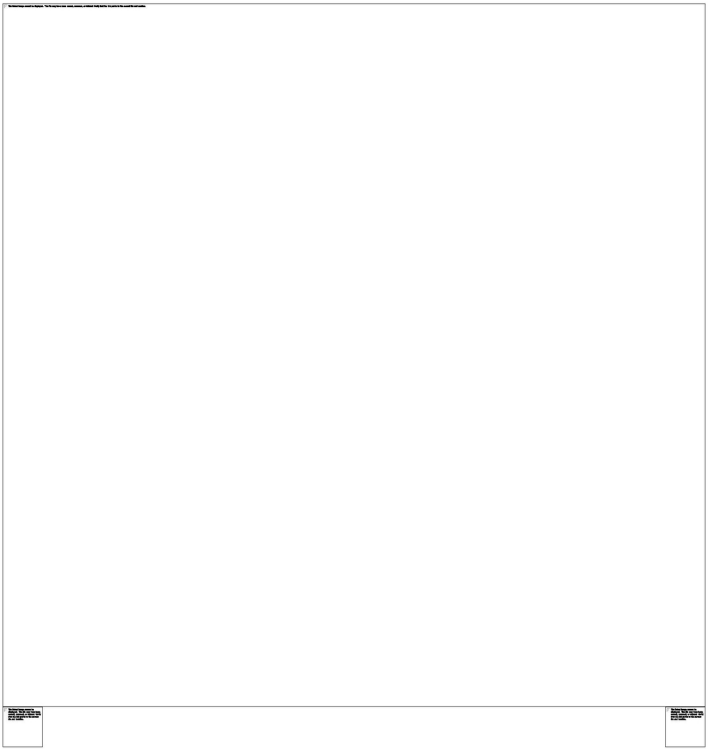
Gun Deaths In U.S. At 40-Year High

Merriam-Webster Names 'Justice' Word Of The Year



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From: Larry Visoski [redacted]
Sent: 12/23/2018 10:57:55 PM
To: Je vacation [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: LSJ Trip

Jeffrey
Since Pres Trump didn't come to PBI Yet,
For you departure to LSJ on Dec 26th,, should Darren and Dave pick you up in PBI? Or do you prefer Boca for departure, at this time no TSA issue in PBI,,

Let me know if you prefer PBI or Boca for departure Wed Dec 26th?

Thx
Larry

Sent from my iPhone

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 1/10/2019 8:23:40 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Trump's ex-lawyer Michael Cohen will testify at House Oversight Committee before entering prison

Importance: High

https://www.cnbc.com/2019/01/10/ex-trump-lawyer-michael-cohen-to-testify-to-house-oversight-committee.html

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
te[redacted]
fax[redacted]
cell [redacted]

From: Richard Kahn [redacted]
Sent: 1/23/2019 7:12:03 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Michael Cohen says he's postponing testimony over threats by Trump

Importance: High

https://nypost.com/2019/01/23/michael-cohen-says-hes-postponing-testimony-over-threats-by-trump/?utm_source=maropost&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=news_alert&utm_content=20190123&tpcc=nypbreaking&mpweb=755-7579323-719004712

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
tel [redacted]
fax [redacted]
cell [redacted]

From: Richard Kahn [[redacted]]
Sent: 2/8/2019 1:23:55 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Tax expert tells Congress there is 'a lot to find' in Trump's returns

Importance: High

>
>
> https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/congress/tax-expert-tells-congress-there-lot-find-trump-s-tax-n969121
>
>
> Richard Kahn
> HBRK Associates Inc.
> 575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
> New York, NY 10022
> Tel 212-971-1306
> Fax 212-320-0381
> Cell 917-414-7584

From: paul krassner [redacted]
Sent: 3/30/2019 4:23:32 AM
To: Steven Gaydos [redacted]
Subject: Re: IMPORTANT

Importance: High

THE LAST LAUGH

Sarah Silverman on Al Franken, Louis C.K., Losing Her Hulu Show and More

In the premiere episode of 'The Last Laugh' podcast, Sarah Silverman speaks out for the first time about her Hulu show's cancelation and goes to bat for her friend Al Franken.

<matt-wilstein-author.jpg>
Matt Wilstein

03.26.19 4:12 AM ET

Photo Illustration by The Daily Beast/Getty

Subscribe to *The Last Laugh* on Apple Podcasts

Wearing a rainbow-striped hoodie and a "Beer Nuts" baseball cap, Sarah Silverman strode into our Burbank recording studio ready to talk.

It had been just a few weeks since Hulu had unceremoniously canceled her weekly show *I Love You, America* and the comedian's emotions were still a bit raw. But her unflappable sense of humor was fully intact as she recounted to me how she found out the bad news and ended up revealing more than ever before about how the streaming service treated her over the past year.

During our long conversation for the first-ever episode of my new podcast *The Last Laugh*, Silverman also spoke frankly about what it has been like to see her friend Al Franken accused of alleged sexual

misconduct and attempted to clarify the controversial comments she made to Howard Stern about Louis C.K. She reflected on some of her most iconic roles and looked ahead to what comes next.

Highlights from the interview are below and you can listen to the whole thing right now by subscribing to *The Last Laugh* on Apple Podcasts, the Himalaya app or wherever you listen to podcasts.

On the 'heartbreaking' cancelation of I Love You, America

"It came as a surprise. We were so sure we were getting picked up. We're all super bummed about it. I know that they did love the show, but I think what it cost compared to its popularity or the eyes that they had on it didn't—you know, the people that make the decisions there don't have any connection to the show. And it is just so heartbreaking because I kind of feel cut off at the knees."

<LRG_DSC02899_fvmyha.jpeg>

Sarah Silverman on 'The Last Laugh'

Cassandra Church/Starburns Audio

On the 'bullshit' allegations against Al Franken

"I can only just be honest and say, if I didn't know Al Franken, I'd probably be like yeah, go girl, me too, fuck that shit. Because I do know him, I don't feel that way. So maybe I'm too close to it and just seeing the dots not the big picture. But I just can't believe it. The U.S.O. thing is bullshit and if you watch the sketch they did, give me a fucking break. He may be guilty of doing pedestrian comedy, I guess, but he apologized and she accepted his apology. But it does seem that the Republican Party—and I don't think this is something to emulate at all—doesn't apologize, denies everything, admits nothing and everyone keeps their job. And I hate that that's what we teach our children. But if you apologize and say, 'I want there to be an ethics investigation on me and I want to do everything by the book, this is my truth but I'm open to [the fact] that these women felt this way, I want to make this right,' I don't know why that person then loses their job."

•

BURN IT DOWN

Sarah Silverman Throws Hulu Under the Bus: 'F*ck It'

Matt Wilstein

<190321-wilstein-sarah-silverman-tease_tjmvn0.jpeg>

•

GIVING THANKS

Why Sarah Silverman Is ‘Thankful’ for Trump

Matt Wilstein

<SS_tulqlf.jpeg>

On looking like an ‘asshole’ after commenting on Louis C.K.

“My experience with Louis as a teenager perhaps informs his pathology a bit. But in no way is it analogous to crimes, to assaults, he subsequently committed that mirror it, that come from it. I was just speaking about my own experience. And the headline was, ‘He jerked off in front of me and I didn’t care.’ And that’s so cold and insulting and awful to the women who were hurt by his actions. So if you clicked on it, they quoted me. But if you didn’t, and nobody does, it just makes me look like an asshole. And me looking like an asshole is the least of it. It hurt people and there was stuff that I said that I don’t think I was articulating the spirit of what I meant.”

<IMG_8787_vrvikb.jpeg>

'The Last Laugh' host Matt Wilstein and Sarah Silverman

On performing stand-up about being single without sounding 'hacky'

RELATED IN ENTERTAINMENT

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Sarah Silverman Throws Hulu Under the Bus: 'F*ck It'

<190318-last-laugh-trailer-tease_q5y2es.jpeg>

Comedians Reveal Their Realest Selves on 'The Last Laugh'

<SM_4_gq9fyv.jpeg>

Seth Meyers Proves Trump Is the Real 'Husband From Hell'

"It's such an '80s comedienne premise, but then it was also my truth so I was trying to reconcile with it. It's hard to not be meta about it, because just to say 'I'm single' on stage. There's something that feels so inherently hacky about it that I feel like I have these guilt pangs and then it just becomes a whole other bit. It's always weird to navigate. I've always been in relationships for big chunks of time and every time I come out I'm like a generation older and I don't know what my station is."

Next week on *The Last Laugh* podcast: *Arrested Development* and *Veep* star Tony Hale.

From: JONATHAN FARKAS [redacted]
Sent: 4/18/2019 1:39:23 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com

Importance: High

Told you Barr would protect Trump known him for 50 years
Sent from my iPhone

Richard Kahn
HBRK Associates Inc.
575 Lexington Avenue, 4th Floor
New York, NY 10022
tel [redacted]
fax [redacted]
cell [redacted]

On May 22, 2019, at 5:47 AM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

how much info is in the ny state returns compared to fed re trump taxes

--

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Goldman Sachs

Investment Management Division

Risk of a US-Iran Military Conflict and Other Geopolitical Risks

May 23, 2019

Investment Strategy Group

Discussion Topics

I. US Policy on Iran

II. Iranian Actions and Current Economic Conditions

III. Potential for US-Iranian Military Conflict

IV. Implications for the Global Oil Market

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Risks to Our Views *(Presented in our 2019 Outlook)*

- In the near term, the most likely source of a domestic shock is the fallout from one of the investigations—by multiple state attorneys general and the House of Representatives—of President Trump.

- The ebb and flow of these investigations will inevitably lead to great market volatility. But there is greater likelihood that exogenous shocks will come from external sources, rather than domestic ones.

- External exogenous shocks
  - Trade War with China (*5/17/2019 ISG Client Call*) or continued slowing growth in China
  - Brexit
  - Auto Tariffs
  - Russia
  - Middle East
  - North Korea
  - Cyberattacks
  - Terrorism

Source: Investment Strategy Group.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_026946

Timeline: US-Iran Tensions Rise

Recent Key Events in US-Iran Relations

Date	Category	Event
7/14/2015	JCPOA	JCPOA* finalized between Iran and P5+1
10/13/2017	JCPOA	President Trump de-certifies compliance of Iran with JCPOA
5/8/2018	JCPOA	President Trump withdraws from the nuclear agreement
8/6/2018	Sanctions	Reimposition of sanctions on Iran (precious metals, currency, sovereign debt)
11/4/2018	Sanctions	Sanctions imposed on Iranian petroleum, shipping sector, energy sector, etc. Six-month waivers issued to eight countries that purchase Iranian oil
4/8/2019	Diplomatic Action	US announces it will designate the IRGC as a foreign terrorist organization
5/2/2019	Sanctions	Waivers for Iranian oil purchases not renewed
5/3/2019	Military	US intelligence suggests mobilization of Iranian forces, including photos showing IRGC loading missiles onto ships
5/5/2019	Military	Bolton announces US to deploy carrier strike group and bomber task force to the Persian Gulf, promising "any attack on US interests or on those of our allies will be met with unrelenting force" including attacks "by proxy, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, or regular Iranian forces"
5/8/2019	JCPOA	Iran announces it will end compliance with parts of the JCPOA, including uranium enrichment
5/8/2019	Sanctions	US imposes sanctions on Iranian industrial metals sector
5/9/2019	Military	Acting Defense Secretary Shanahan presents updated military plan to send up to 120 thousand troops to the Middle East if Iran attacks US forces or accelerates work on nuclear weapons
5/12/2019	Military	3-4 oil tankers reportedly damaged in a "sabotage" attack off the coast of the UAE
5/14/2019	Military	Houthi drones attack Saudi cross-country oil pipeline
5/15/2019	Diplomatic Action	US withdraws embassy staff from Iraq
5/19/2019	Military	A rocket is fired into Baghdad's Green Zone near the US embassy
5/21/2019	Military	A Houthi drone attacks an arms depot at the Najran airport in southern Saudi Arabia

* JCPOA: "Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action"
Source: Investment Strategy Group, White House, US Treasury, *New York Times*, Bloomberg, *Wall Street Journal*.

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Does the US Have a Clear Strategy?

"The United States is [sending] a message to the Iranian regime that any attack on US interests or on those of our allies will be met with unrelenting force. The US is not seeking war with the Iranian regime, but we are fully prepared to respond to any attack, whether by proxy, the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, or regular Iranian forces."

— *NSA John Bolton announcing the deployment of a carrier strike group to the Persian Gulf, May 5, 2019*

"President Trump has sought to put the brakes on a brewing confrontation with Iran in recent days, telling the acting defense secretary, Patrick Shanahan, that he does not want to go to war with Iran, administration officials said, while his senior diplomats began searching for ways to defuse the tensions."

— *New York Times, May 16, 2019*

"Our aim is not war. Our aim is a change in the behavior of the Iranian leadership."

— *Secretary of State Pompeo, May 12, 2019*

"The Fake News Media is hurting our Country with its fraudulent and highly inaccurate coverage of Iran. It is scattershot, poorly sourced (made up), and DANGEROUS. At least Iran doesn't know what to think, which at this point may very well be a good thing!"

— *President Trump, May 17, 2019*

"Will the president let himself be pushed into a parlous war by John Bolton, who once buoyed the phony case on WMDs in Iraq?"

— *Maureen Dowd, New York Times, May 18, 2019*

Source: Investment Strategy Group, Twitter, *New York Times*, Politico.

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Eurasia Group: "The Three Principal Players Have Different Perspectives"

National Security Advisor John Bolton

- "Bolton wants a crisis. He hopes to use the pressure as a maximum containment strategy to cripple the Iranian economy, increasing domestic opposition to the government, and making regime change more likely.
- … 'forcing' the Americans to engage in military intervention for Bolton [is] a useful pretext to bombing key nuclear facilities that would set the Iranian program back years or more."

Secretary of State Mike Pompeo

- "Pompeo wants the band back together. He doesn't believe the United States can credibly induce the Iranians towards a more constructive posture by themselves, and accordingly wants a tougher, common front to force better terms from Iran from a position of strength.
- Pompeo hopes the Europeans and other allies will be more supportive of broader American pressure against Iran, and a multilateral coalition can come back together."

President Trump

- "President Trump wants a breakthrough on his terms. He wants to use American power to force the Iranians into direct negotiations, and pull off a better agreement than Obama did."

Source: Investment Strategy Group, Ian Bremmer, "EG Update," Eurasia Group, May 20, 2019. Emphasis added.

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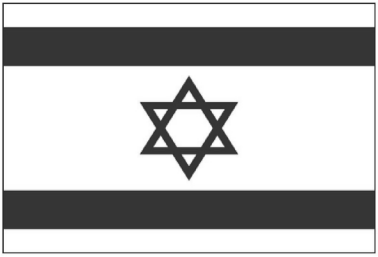
What is the Impact of Other Countries' Interests in the Region?



Source: Investment Strategy Group.

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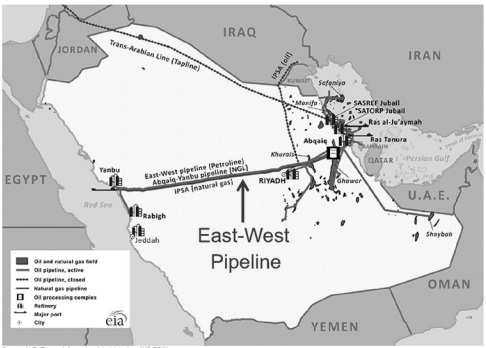
Recent Attacks Put the US on High Alert

Investment Management Division

Goldman Sachs

1. Saudi Oil Tanker Al Marzoqah, Damaged in Reported Act of Sabotage

2. Saudi Arabia Major Oil and Natural Gas Infrastructure



Source: U.S. Energy Information Administration, IHS EDIN

- May 12: 3-4 oil tankers are reportedly damaged in a "sabotage" attack off the coast of the UAE
- May 14: Houthi rebels use drones to attack Saudi oil pumping stations on the East-West Pipeline
- May 19: A rocket is fired into Baghdad's Green Zone less than a mile from the US embassy
- May 21: A Houthi drone attacks the Najran airport in southern Saudi Arabia

Source: Investment Strategy Group, Reuters, EIA, *New York Times*.

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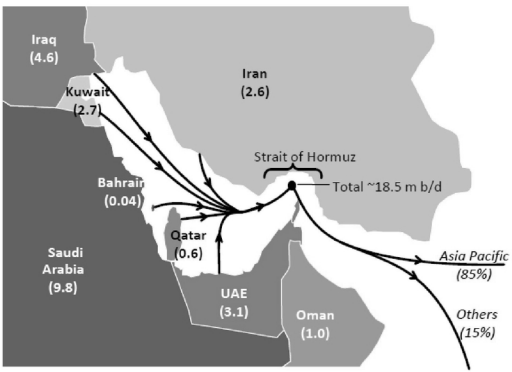
Iran Threatens to Close the Strait of Hormuz

Strait of Hormuz: April 2019 Crude Oil Production Per Country and Export Flows



- A third of world's LNG and a fifth of global oil production goes through the Strait of Hormuz.
- "Iran relies on the Strait not only for its oil exports, but also for the imports of some needed food and medical products."[1]

(1) Michael Ratner, "Iran's Threats, the Strait of Hormuz, and Oil Markets: In Brief," Congressional Research Service, August 6, 2018.
Source: Investment Strategy Group, Goldman Sachs Enterprise Risk Management, EIA, Bloomberg.

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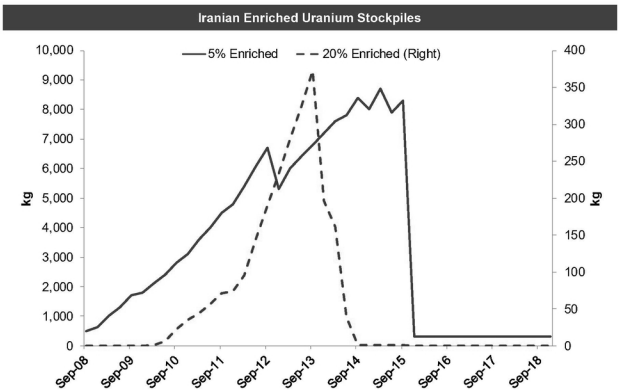
Iran Set to Restart its Nuclear Program



- A key criterion in the development of the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) is the time Iran needs to produce enough weapon-grade uranium for a nuclear weapon, called breakout time. Iran agreed to refine uranium to no more than 3.7% enrichment and eliminated its stocks of weapons-grade 20%-enriched uranium.
- On May 8th, President Rouhani announced a series of steps to resume the production of nuclear centrifuges and the accumulation of nuclear material within 60 days.

Source: Investment Strategy Group, Arms Control Association, International Atomic Energy Agency, JCPOA, Bloomberg.

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Iranian Economy Hit Hard by Sanctions

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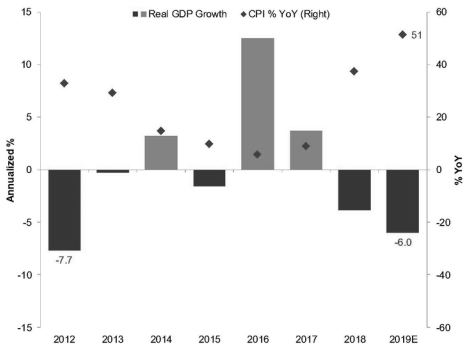
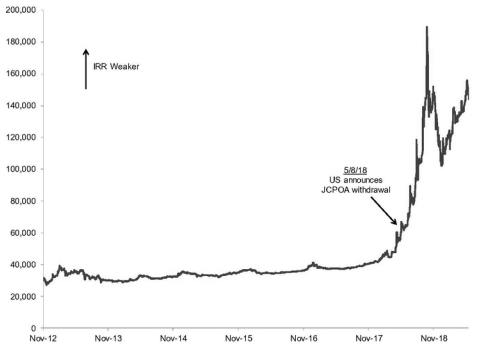
1. Iran Annualized Real GDP Growth and Inflation[1]



2. Iranian Rial (Mid) to USD – Unofficial Market Rate



- The IMF forecasts that Iranian real GDP growth in 2019 will be the weakest since 2012 at -6%, even as annualized inflation is running at around 50%.
- The Iranian rial is trading near its all-time low against the US dollar, according to unofficial market rates. Since the end of 2017 the rial has depreciated by roughly -70%, compared to a -45% peak devaluation for the Turkish lira in 2018.

(1) 2019 inflation as of April 2019.
Source: Investment Strategy Group, IMF, Statistical Center of Iran, Haver, Bonbast, Bloomberg.

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US Military Signals Readiness to Respond

Abraham Lincoln Carrier Strike Group and Kearsarge Amphibious Ready Group – May 17, 2019

- The US deployed the USS Abraham Lincoln Carrier Strike Group and a bomber task force to the Middle East in early May in response to intelligence regarding Iranian military activity.

Source: Investment Strategy Group, navy.mil, *New York Times*.

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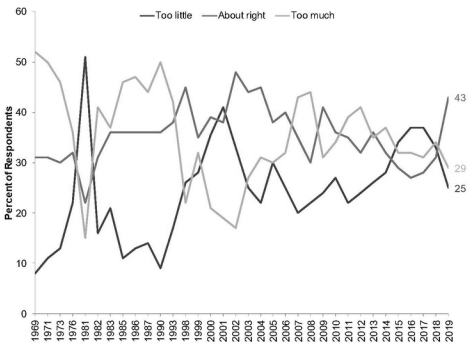
Cost of US Wars

1. Military Cost and Casualties of Recent US Conflicts

			Casualties (Thousand)**		
Conflict	Military Cost ($bn)*	Years of US Involvement	Deaths	Non-Mortal Woundings	Total
Vietnam	821	17.4	58	153	212
Persian Gulf	113	0.6	0	0	1
Iraq	822	8.8	4	32	36
Afghanistan	975	17.4	2	20	22
Syria	54	4.7	0	0	0

2. Gallup Poll: "Do you think the US is spending too little, about the right amount or too much on national defense and military purposes?"



- Total costs of the war on terror for the US (including wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria), are estimated to be $5.9 trillion.
- Over 40% of Americans think the US is spending the right amount on national defense, the highest level in 15 years, but would there be appetite for yet another costly military incursion into the Middle East?

*Costs of military operations only. Iraq & Afghanistan costs based on all overseas contingency operations as of 2018; all other estimates based on 2010 CRS report scaled by US CPI through 2018. **Deaths: Battle and other in the theater.
Source: Investment Strategy Group, Congressional Research Service, "Costs of Major US Wars," June 29, 2010; Department of Defense Casualty Status; Department of Veterans Affairs; Watson Institute at Brown University, Gallup, *New York Times*.

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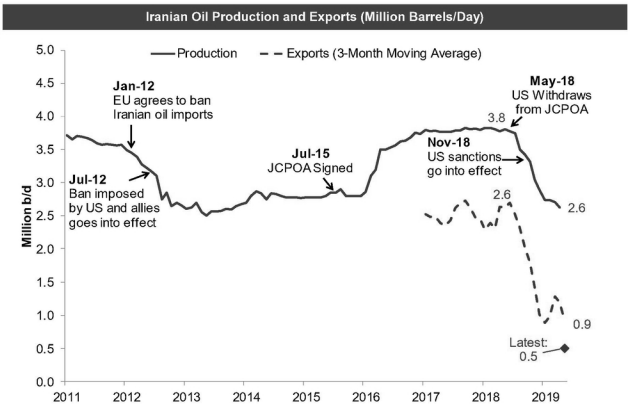
Iranian Oil Production Has Plummeted



- Since the US withdrew from the JCPOA in May 2018:
  - Iranian oil production has fallen by 1.2 million b/d
  - Exports have fallen from 2.6 million b/d to 0.5 million b/d month-to-date in May (0.9 million b/d on a 3-month moving average)
- Iran will continue to send a few hundred thousand b/d of oil exports despite harsh US secondary sanctions.

Source: Investment Strategy Group, Bloomberg, cFlow Data (Platts Global Crude).

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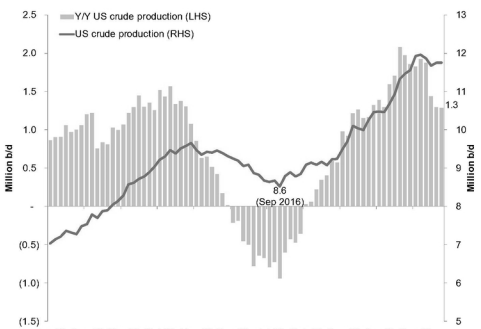
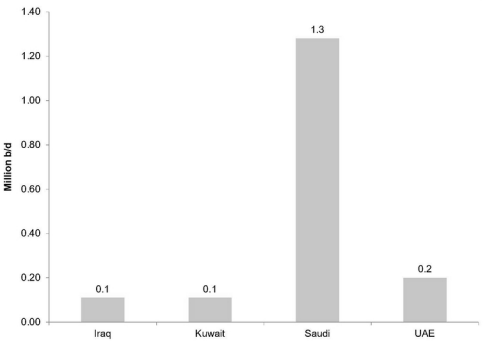
Spare Oil Production Capacity Looks Adequate

1. US Crude Oil Production



2. Spare Capacity from April 2019 Production Level to 2018 Highest Production Levels



- US oil production growth has matched or exceeded global demand growth over the past year, providing ample supplies to the market.
- In fact, OPEC had to cut production in late 2018 in order to reduce oversupply and arrest a fast decline in oil prices.
- OPEC production could be increased back to 2018 highs if the market faced a shortage. Doing so would add 1.7 million b/d from main Middle Eastern OPEC members – more than Iran's current export levels of around 0.5 million b/d.

Source: Investment Strategy Group, EIA, Bloomberg, OPEC.

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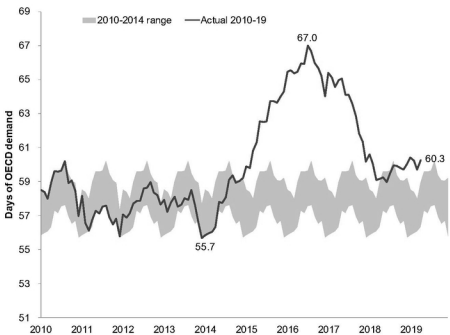
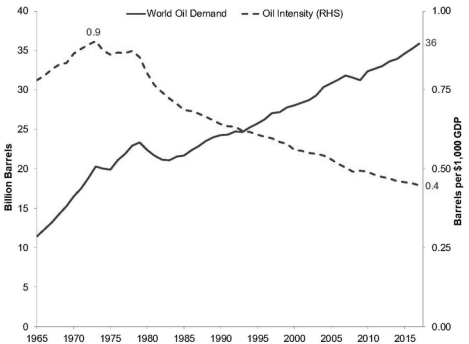
Risks of an Oil Shock Look Contained

1. OECD Inventories – Adjusted for Days of Demand



2. World Oil Demand and Oil Demand Intensity per Unit of Global GDP



- Global oil inventories look adequate, with OECD inventories still well above historical norms.
- The US could release oil from its Strategic Petroleum Reserve if needed.
- Oil consumption represents a much smaller share of the economy than in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Source: Investment Strategy Group, IEA, World Bank, BP Statistical Review.

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Key Takeaways

- The immediate threat of military engagement between the US and Iran has eased but risk of escalation or miscalculation is high.
- US agenda (and the impact of Saudi Arabia and Israel) is unclear, with administration officials offering contradictory views.
- Iran is set to resume its nuclear program with the intent of gaining leverage for future negotiations which it previously relinquished as part of the JCPOA.
- There is further potential downside for Iranian oil production and exports, but ample OECD inventories, growing US production, and OPEC spare capacity would help contain any short-term oil price shock.
- We continue to recommend that clients stay invested at their full strategic asset allocation given today's macroeconomic backdrop and low odds of a recession, but we remain vigilant about the risks to our outlook.

Source: Investment Strategy Group.

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Period	Gross Return	Net Return	Differential
1 year	6.17%	4.61%	1.56%
2 years	12.72%	9.43%	3.29%
10 years	81.94%	56.89%	25.05%

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Jeffrey's Digest

TOP STORIES FOR YOU

Why do gangs punish members who attempt to leave the gang?

Joe Crandall, lived in Compton, CA
Updated May 27

When gangs take new soldiers or gang members join a gang they are subjected to the ritual "Jumping In". Jumping in members is like the final last part of a job interview, t...

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As an aviation expert do you think that grounding of Boeing 737 MAX worldwide is an over reaction?

Wayne Magor, Principal Software Engineer (Avionics)
Updated May 23

I do not consider the grounding to be an overreaction. There appears to be some kind of problem with the aircraft. It is not normal to have 2 crashes within 5 months. Neith...

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When will the Russians send navy ships into the Iranian waters to assist Iran and counter the United States Navy?

James Shannon, Senior Chief U.S. Navy
Written May 22

Russia would certainly love to sail its Navy into the Persian Gulf. There are some realities that prevent them from accomplishing this. First and foremost, Russia's Navy ne...

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Is Tim Cook single?

Pascal Lorig, Student of industrial engineering
Updated Oct 5, 2016

Most probably no. He lives by himself. In the biography 'Becoming Steve Jobs' you get to know that even Steve Jobs was a little worried about Tim Cook since he was such a w...

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Do CEOs really need private jets?

Howard Freidman, Managing Director at BluechipJets-com
Written May 23

No, but those that can afford it understand the value.

One customer of ours is a *very* thrifty small businessman. A couple years ago, he took the plunge and purchased his fir...

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Has Donald Trump committed any crimes that a regular person would have already been arrested for?

Jay Valenci, studied at University of Pennsylvania
Written 19h ago

Absolutely yes. How do I know this? Because about 1000 bipartisan federal prosecutors signed a letter stating that the Mueller Report listed at least 10 instances of obstru...

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I have just been released from Columbia's waitlist. What can I do?

Stephen Lee, PhD in Modern European History
Updated May 17

If you've been released from the waitlist it means that the university has decided you are no longer a viable candidate. That means you have two choices:

The first choice is...

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How is life in Texas different from life in the rest of the US?

Stephan Lindgren, lived in Killeen, TX (2005-2009)
Updated Apr 5

As a veteran who has lived all over the country, but was stationed in Texas, this is what I noticed about Texas:

- Texans are more Texan than American. Texans will have plaque...

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How is Chris Kyle viewed among the Navy SEAL community?

Chris Henry
Written Jul 30, 2017

I'll throw my two cents in since I did meet him when I was in the teams and know several guys that worked with him. One of his actual best friends was in a platoon with me ...

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How are public USB charging stations modified to steal information?

Buster Smith, Computer Enthusiast since 2001
Written May 22

Wayne Mullen, the article clearly explains and answers your question:

"Let's say I'm a bad guy. I go into an airport. I'm not going to easily take apart the charging station...

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Trump Under Fire

MICHAEL WOLFF

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WHEN:
Fri, 21st Jun 2019
6:45pm - 8:00pm

WHERE:
Emmanuel Centre
9-23 Marsham Street

Michael Wolff is back. It's time to return to the madness and chaos of the Trump White House as the bestselling *Fire and Fury* author delivers wickedly entertaining insights from Year Two of the most divisive presidency in history. Discover just how close this most abnormal of presidencies has come to breaking point…

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Trump Under Fire: Michael Wolff in Conversation with Matthew d'Ancona

Praise for Michael Wolff

"A deliciously catty look inside the White House, full of wicked anecdotes and gossipy gold. It's like sitting in a hairdresser's listening to a fabulously indiscreet conversation beside you. It's The Kardashians: White House edition (Harriet Alexander *Telegraph*)

"Once again, the dirt is abundant. Donald Trump insults everyone in his orbit, repeatedly, viciously, and - always privately - they return the favor ... Siege is overflowing with such titillating material, which is sure to make it another tour de force for the Trump resistance" (*Vanity Fair*)

"Bannon's frequently shrewd observations make it clear why Wolff finds him irresistible. The author is mostly interested in Trump's psychology. He is adept at documenting the president's lunacy, and Bannon is frequently an able fellow shrink" (*Washington Post*)

Utterly gripping (*GQ*)

Rich in psychological insights (Peter Conrad *Observer*)

Michael Wolff has unearthed a mass of damning material about Donald Trump . . . Siege is filled with delicious gossip (Sarah Baxter *Sunday Times*)

Michael Wolff is the author of *Fire and Fury*, the number one *Sunday Times* and *New York Times* bestseller that for the first time told the inside story of the Trump White House. He has received numerous awards for his work, including two National Magazine Awards. The author of seven previous books, he has been a regular columnist for *Vanity Fair*, *New York*, *The Hollywood Reporter*, *British GQ*, and other magazines and newspapers.

Matthew d'Ancona is an editor at Tortoise Media and an award-winning columnist. He writes for *The Guardian*, *London Evening Standard* and *GQ*. He was previously editor of *The Spectator* and founding editor-in-chief of Drugstore Culture. His most recent book, *Post-Truth: The New War on Truth and How to Fight Back*, received global acclaim.

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Is France in decline?

Thierry Baudasse, Professor of Economics at Universite d'Orleans
Updated Jan 15

Well, do you mean economically? If so, just watch this video, it's just projections about the future made by University of Denver (Pardee Center for International Futures |...

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Why doesn't Donald Trump like Tiffany Trump?

Anthony Cady, studied at Grossmont College
Updated Jun 14

It isn't that he doesn't like Tiffany Trump. It's that Marla Maples took custody of Tiffany when she and Trump split up and she has lived with Marla outside the glitz and g...

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If 10^y=y^10, then what is y?

Nancy Mitchell
Updated Apr 30

If 10^y=y^10, then what is y?

The given equation is [math]10^y=y^{10}\text{.}[/math]

Take the *tenth* root of each side and get

[math]\pm(10^y)^{\frac{1}{10}}=\pm(y^{10})^{\frac{1}{10}}=\sqrt[10]{y^{10}} [/math]

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As a police officer, what is the most inappropriate thing someone ever did to get out of a ticket?

Peter Michael, PE/IT Petroleum Engineering & Information Technology, University of Southwestern...
Written Dec 9, 2018

Routine Traffic stop for speeding, cute little red mustang stopped; When I got to the car window her top was down and her skirt hiked up and she was busy - She looks at me ...

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What is typical jail food?

Carter, C/O (2017-present)
Written Jun 15

I work in the local jail here. I haven't been to any other facilities but apparently we feed our inmates very well compared to other counties.

Morning: cereal with fruit or ...

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In Japan, is it rude to leave a shop or restaurant without saying anything if you do not speak Japanese?

Shahriar Kabir Saki, knows Japanese
Written Feb 4, 2018

It's funny how I had this exact question just a few months ago when I first arrived in Japan. So I asked my Japanese friend and he said that after finishing your meal or pa...

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When British Airways Flight 38 was about to crash short of the runway at Heathrow Airport, why did the pilot or first officer yell out "speed bird, speed bird" just before the crash?

Tom Quetchenbach, occasional flyer
Updated Jun 2

Speedbird is the callsign of British Airways, referring to the stylized bird logo.

Captain Peter Burkill of British Airways 38 explains his radio call, “Speedbird, Speedbird...

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What do Brits think of France?

Nate White, Drinks coffee. Writes copy.
Written Mar 1

I’ll be honest. Right now, I’m pretty annoyed with France. We’re not really speaking.

The thing is, we’re supposed to be siblings. We’re supposed to be at each other’s throa...

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Is Chinese really the hardest language in the world to learn?

Sara Maria Hasbun, studied Linguistics at Columbia University
Written May 24

Shh, don’t tell anyone but...as a linguist, I can tell you that for English speakers, at least, Chinese is not considered the most difficult language to learn. In fact, I don...

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If I sat down for dinner with Queen Elizabeth would she instantly know I was a common person by my etiquette? What would she notice first?

Paul Rodgers, studied at City University London
Updated Mar 26

The most important rule the Queen follows is 'Don't embarrass your guests'.

I have heard that at a dinner some years ago she noticed a man nearby was eating his peas while h...

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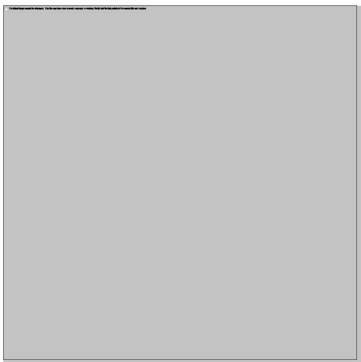

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Erdogan Rising: The Battle for the Soul of Turkey

More than 15 years before Trump ascended to the presidency, Turkey was the crucible for the new, authoritarian populism shaking the globe. Now, as elections in Istanbul suggest support for Erdogan's regime may be crumbling, *Times* correspondents **Hannah Lucinda Smith** and **Antony Loyd** turn to the future of Turkey's ailing democracy - and consider the lessons for the rest of the world.

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with Adam Phillips

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with Max Hastings

The raid of the Dambusters is one of the most exhilarating episodes in British history. In his new book *CHASTISE The Dambusters Story 1943*, our most brilliant military historian, Sir Max Hastings, uncovers the truth behind the legend.

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with Robert J. Shiller & Matthew d'Ancona

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How Empowering Women Changes the World

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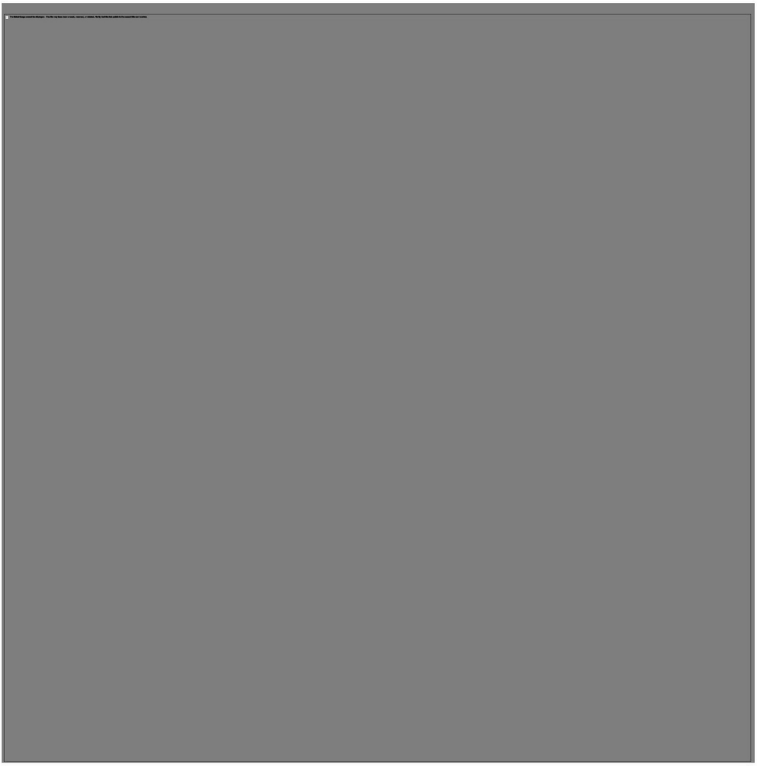

WHEN:
Wed, 17th Jul 2019
6:45pm - 8:00pm

WHERE:
Emmanuel Centre
9-23 Marsham Street

In her book, *The Moment of Lift: How Empowering Women Changes the World*, Melinda Gates makes a bold claim: when we lift up women, we lift up humanity.

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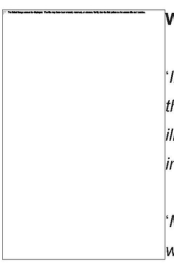
In this live In Conversation event, Melinda will introduce us to the women she's met during years of travel, humanitarian work and extensive research. She will share stories from her new book *The Moment of Lift: How Empowering Women Changes the World*: stories that are brutally honest, gut-wrenching, inspiring and triumphant. They show us how, time and time again, empowered women rise up and bring their families and communities with them.

Melinda will also share her own personal journey to achieving equality in her marriage, finding her voice and becoming an advocate for women and girls. She will explain how the women she has met have called her to action. And at this critical moment, she will call us to action too — urging us to drive progress in our homes, workplaces and communities.

This conversation will fill your heart with hope and the determination to empower yourself and others. It will also ignite your sense of urgency, leaving you convinced that equality can't wait.



WHAT THEY SAY

'*In her book, Melinda tells the stories of the inspiring people she's met through her work all over the world, digs into the data, and powerfully illustrates issues that need our attention — from child marriage to gender inequity in the workplace.*' — President Barack Obama

'*Melinda Gates has spent many years working with women around the world. This book is an urgent manifesto for an equal society where women are valued and recognized in all spheres of life. Most of all, it is a call for unity, inclusion and connection. We need this message more than ever.*' — Malala Yousafzai

'*The Moment of Lift is an urgent call to courage. It changed how I think about myself, my family, my work, and what's possible in the world. Melinda weaves together vulnerable, brave storytelling and compelling data to make this one of those rare books that you carry in your heart and mind long after the last page.*' — Brené Brown, Ph.D., author of *New York Times* #1 bestseller *Dare to Lead*

'*This book is a beautiful and concise mission statement on what we need to do to move society forward- continue to empower women. At every level and in all places women are truly the bedrock supporting their communities.*' — Trevor Noah

'*Melinda Gates's book is a lesson in listening. A powerful, poignant, and ultimately humble call to arms.*' — Tara Westover, author of *Educated*

Melinda French Gates is a philanthropist, businesswoman, and global advocate for women and girls.

As the co-chair of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Melinda sets the direction and priorities of the world's largest philanthropy. She is also the founder of Pivotal Ventures, an investment and incubation company working to drive social progress for women and families in the United States. Melinda's first book, The Moment of Lift, was published in the UK April 2019 by Bluebird, part of Pan Macmillan.

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The Computational Structure of Mental Representation

Joscha Bach
joscha.bach@hu-berlin.de

Berlin, February 26th, 2013

Now is the time for starting a new Artificial Intelligence initiative.

What is the mind?
–this is arguably the most interesting question that our species can ask itself.

Last month, a grand proposal by Barack Obama made headlines everywhere in the world: He suggested a large-scale initiative to create a detailed **map of the activity of the human brain**, at the level of individual neurons. This idea is quite similar to (and likely inspired by) Henry Markram's *Blue Brain* project in Lausanne, which recently won a 1.5Bn grant from the European Union. While this is an interesting project in its own right, it will not address the key question of cognitive science:
What is the mind? What are the building blocks and fundamental operations of thinking and perception?

Here, I would like to suggest the instigation of a project that is at once more ambitious, more narrowly targeted, and likely to yield more profound theoretical, practical and cultural insights than the *Brain Activity Mapping* initiative: **The study of the computational structure of mental representation.**

Mental representation, not neurons will inform the core our understanding of cognition.

Cognition is incidentally enabled by human nervous systems, but in its nature, it is not a chemical, biological or physiological phenomenon. Instead, **cognitive systems** are a class of **information processing** systems, **thinking** is a set of certain, functionally identifiable **operations**, over certain, functionally identifiable types of **representations**, and with respect to a set of problems and properties given by certain **environments**.

Thus, the *Structure of Mental Representation* initiative should focus on mental content, with all its dynamic, relational, conceptual, and linguistic elements, and it's grounding in perception and interaction.

The study of mental representations requires a new scientific discipline

Unraveling mental representations will be an interdisciplinary effort among several cognitive sciences, but distinct from the disciplines that we find now:

The project will differ from linguistics, for instance, in similar way as geography differs from plate tectonics. Where linguists study the intrinsic 'geography' of languages, and the structural commonalities among them, mental representations uncover the underlying dynamics that produce natural languages (as the solutions to the problem of translating between hierarchical, distributed, associative, ambiguous representations and the discrete strings of symbols that we use as a means of exchanging and organizing ideas).

Integrating concepts from linguistics, cognitive psychology and neuroscience within the methodological framework of constructionist Artificial Intelligence

Mental representations lie outside the domain of neuroscience, which mostly focuses on material descriptions of the function of the underlying substrate. They cannot be studied well within contemporary psychology, which favors an experimentalist, quantitative approach, where we need to address qualitative questions by constructing working, implementable systems. And needless to say, the study of mental representations is currently not well represented in Artificial Intelligence research, which does provide a productive methodology, but has mostly turned towards applications and narrow AI solutions.

A new common ground between AI and cognitive science researchers

Despite the lack of a common methodological ground between the cognitive sciences, we can now observe a growing consensus on how to approach the problem of modeling the mind, and its representational apparatus. During the last decade, a number of initiatives have sprung up within AI, psychology and cognitive science, each with journals, workshops and conference series, and a large personal overlap among each community. Examples include Artificial General Intelligence (**AGI**), Biologically Inspired Cognitive Architectures (**BICA**), **Cognitive Systems**, and **Cognitive Modeling** (ICCM). Among those groups, there is an emerging consensus on several paradigms:

- **Integrated architectures of cognition**. We need to study whole, working systems, both for the purpose of comparison between approaches, but mainly, because cognition is not the product of the activity of individual modular functions, but of the interaction between them.
- **Universal representations**. Representations must provide both distributed and localist aspects, to enable neural learning, information retrieval via spreading activation, as well as symbolic processing (language and planning).
- **Perceptual grounding.** Representations should be grounded in an environmental interaction context, using a bottom-up/top-down perception paradigm, to allow for

open-ended autonomous learning and language acquisition.

- **Integration of perception and action.** Environmental interaction is (at least partially) a control process that requires a modeling of the relationship between sensory data and operations performed by the system.
- **(Semi-) Universal problem solving**, enabling paradigms of learning, planning, reasoning, analogies, language acquisition and reflection.
- A **structured memory**, including provisions for a world/situation model, a protocol of environmental interactions, procedural memory, declarative and typological abstractions, a model of self, and a 'mental stage', to facilitate anticipation and planning.
- **Decision making** and **motivational mechanisms**, to address both **autonomous**, goal-directed cognition in complex, open domains, and the genesis of goals and intentions.
- The direction and modulation of **attention**, and the emergence of **emotion and affect**, which are configurational aspects of cognition that either reflect the allocation of cognitive resources, or structure social interaction.

Constraints for Mental Representations

Based on the emergent paradigm of a new generation of cognitive architectures, we can think about mental representations in a new and productive way. More specifically, we know that mental representations include perceptual and propositional/conceptual content and we are aware of many constraints. Mental representations must

- Offer support for both **connectionist** and **symbolic** processing (including compositionality and grammatical structures), with the latter one being a special case of the former
- Possess a **hierarchical structure**, bottoming out in **sensory perception**
- Cover **prototypes**, **individuals** and **abstractions**
- Include **perceptual** and **relational features**, **objects**, **situations**, and **episodic knowledge**
- Allow simulation of **dynamic processes**
- Solve the **bridge problem** between fuzzy associative hierarchies and the discrete symbol strings of **natural language**

Operations on these representations include **reinforcement learning** and **classification**, perceptual **top-down/bottom-up** processing, **abstraction**, **analogy formation**, associative and syllogistic **reasoning**, **planning**, **reflection**, **anticipation** and several modes of **reorganization**.

Creating a scientific community

The task of the *Structure of Mental Representation* initiative will at first consist in the creation of a large and competitive community, built around a set of benchmark problems.

I suggest picking a set of problems that covers most of the above architectural requirements: the **comprehension of dynamic visual sequences** (movies) and **narratives**. The evaluation of comprehension may focus both on a **discourse level** (asking the system general and specific questions about the consumed visuals or narratives) and directly, by producing **dynamic renderings** and depictions of knowledge represented within the system. At least on the discourse level, a **direct comparison** to the functional properties of **child performance** at different cognitive stages is possible.

The Comprehension Challenge

Turning the benchmark task into a regular competition allows a direct comparison between models, and offers a strong incentive for exchange of solutions among research groups. The need to for broad solutions with given material and intellectual resources will enforce a higher degree of the reuse of code and ideas than we currently see in AI architectures (outside of robotic soccer, where such competitions have turned out to be highly successful).

By structuring the comprehension tasks into different levels and sub-domains (such as basic language acquisition tasks, grammar, perceptual and logical tasks, social reasoning/theory of mind, affective evaluation, constructive problem solving, use of analogies and metaphor etc.), we can formulate consistent long-term goals and realistic short-term problems.

The Formation of a Pilot Team

To pull the *Structure of Mental Representation* initiative off the ground, we will need to create a **pilot team**, which is the object of this proposal. The pilot team has the following tasks:

- Bring a **critically sized group** of people together, with a **well-defined** set of **shared goals**
- Formulate an **initial set of hypotheses**
- Bring these in the context of an existing or hypothetical cognitive architecture, so **specifications** can be derived

- Build an **initial software infrastructure** for testing benchmark problems, and to create a common methodological ground

Composition of a pilot team

The pilot team should consist of a **scientific board**, including a mutually compatible sub-set of contemporary thinkers in the field. Its core should consist of a new generation of researchers that have the resources and impetus to work full-time on the **design**, **implementation** and **publication** of the project's infrastructure. The initial team size should not be large, but **agile** and effective (I would suggest about **five permanent researchers,** about the same number of dedicated **software developers**, and 2–3 slots for **visiting scientists** at a time).

The initial duration should be about **2.5 years**, followed be an **evaluation**, and a possible continuation of similar length.

Possible candidates for the scientific board include (in no particular order) Paul Rosenbloom (who worked with Alan Newell on the cognitive architecture Soar, and now started a new architecture), John Sowa (well-known for his groundbreaking work in semantic networks), Ben Goertzel (designer of the cognitive architecture OpenCog), Luc Steels (an AI researcher studying the emergence of natural language in communities of software agents), Jerome Feldman (who devised building blocks for a *Neural Theory of Language*), Stephen Pinker (who thought much about the relationship between language and mental representation), Stephen Kosslyn (an expert on the psychology of mental representation), Daniel Dennet, Cristiano Castelfranchi (an AI researcher specializing on mental representations of intentions and social context), and many others.

The project should start out with a number of **kickoff meetings** to invite the interaction between suitable candidates, and the formation of a core group. The eventual pilot team could be located in many possible places, however, the project should be able to draw on the vicinity of academic and other infrastructure, and the influence of a creative environment.

About me (Joscha Bach):

Driven by an interest to learn hot the mind works, I studied philosophy and psychology, graduated in computer science/artificial intelligence, lead several small academic research groups, built the cognitive architecture *MicroPsi* and obtained a PhD in cognitive science. I co-founded a couple of startup companies in Berlin, but turned back towards academia to contribute to the question of how to build a mind.

AIPAC SPEECH 2013 – MINISTER OF DEFENSE - EHUD BARAK

- Thank you for such a warm welcome.
- What an **indescribable** feeling to be surrounded by so many **true friends** in the capital of the **world's greatest** democracy.
- **Members** of the **Administration**, **Members** of **Congress**, distinguished **ambassadors, especially our ambassador** Michael Oren…. Michael, Rosey, Bob, David, Howard and Richard, **AIPAC** members… older and young…
- Good evening to **you all**.
- It is **your** toil and **your** graft – **your** unwavering support – that keep **us** safe.
- **I** have **six humble** words for **all** of you: Thank you, thank you, thank you.
- **I** would like to **express** my **personal** appreciation to President **Obama** and Secretary **Panetta** for their **resolute** backing of Israel.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_027009

- **History** will **surely** record your **immeasurable** contribution to the **strength** of Israel, and the maintenance of the **truly** special relationship between our peoples.
- On **behalf** of the people of Israel, **I** wish **Secretary Hagel all the best** in his new role.
- As Secretary of Defense he will, no doubt, **serve his country** with the **same pride** and **honor** with which he served, both on the battlefield and in Congress.
- It is great to see **so many young** activists here. Thank you for your **energetic** commitment to Israel!
- A **commitment** which is so lucidly **dictated** by the **head**… yet so deeply **underpinned** by the **heart**…
- Keep it up – **you** are the future!

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- It is thanks to the **rock solid** US-Israel **relationship**, alongside the **devotion** of the young **men and women** of the IDF, that **our** capacit**y to defend ourselves,** ha**s** bee**n guaranteed** for years to come!
- With **US** support, combined with the **ingenuity** of our scientists; Israel finds itself at the **cutting edge** of **missile defense** technology.
- The **'Iron Dome'** recently **intercepted** over 400 incoming terrorist rockets. Practically – this is like hitting a bullet… with a bullet!
- Just last week, **we** – the US **and** Israel – conducted a successful **exo**-atmospheric test of the Arrow 3 interceptor.
- The State of Israel simply would not b**e the** strong **island of stability** it is, without one crucial **constant.**
- **You!** Th**e United States of America.** It**s people**. It**s leadership**. It**s Congress**. It**s Jewish community**.

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- It **is no** secret, and I'll repeat it again, that we live i**n a tough** neighborho**od, where** there **is no mercy for the weak**. **And no second chance** for those **who cannot** defend themselves.
- Israel **is** the **strongest** country in the region **and** the **only genuinely open democracy**.
- An **unprecedented geopolitical earthquake** in the last three years has **shattered** the generations' old regional order.
- There are **two** clear **lessons** and one **insight** which **I** have drawn from this period:
- **# 1**: **Be modest with predictions……. especially** about **the future**! Take Egypt as an example; **Mubarak** was **unable** to predict it… who **did**? Who thinks he **could?**

- **#2**: When friends tell me**: Don't worry**… If worse comes to worst … the worl**d will step** forward an**d act**!

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- My answer is: **Do not** take this for granted.
- Look at **Syria** – you don't need classified intelligence; it's on **your screens**. Assad's jet fighters, tanks and artillery are **slaughtering** his own citizens. Over 70,000 Syrians killed.
- Ye**t still**… there i**s no** sense of direction an**d no** political will to act.
- **There is an extremely** relevant lesson here… **especially** for all of us in **Israel**.
- And an **insight**…
- Many believe that the **root** cause for **all** the problems in the Middle East… is our **inability** to solve the conflict with the Palestinians.
- Well, I say… **That's not true**!
- Recent developments in the Middle East have been **far beyond** our control… and **independent** of our deeds.
- **Even if** a peace agreement with the Palestinians had been **signed** and **sealed** a long time ago:

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_027013

- The Muslim Brotherhood would **still** have come to power in Egypt
- Syria would **still** be mired in a bloody civil war
- And Iran would **still** be pursuing nuclear capabilities and a hegemonic role in the Gulf

- And ladies and gentlemen,
- It is **Iran's pursuit** of nuclear capabilities which is **the greatest** challenge facing **Israel**, the **region** and the **world** today…
- A **nuclear** Iran spells the end of **any** conceivable non-proliferation regime.
- **Saudi Arabia**, **Turkey** and later **Egypt** will follow suit. In the future, even terrorist groups may try.
- Diplomatic efforts continue. Sanctions are **unprecedented and hurting**, but frankly – while exhausting all diplomatic means is **understandable** – **I** do **not** believe it will lead to

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a “moment of truth”, where the Ayatollahs will **give up** their nuclear aspirations.

- Therefore, **all options must remain** on the table.

- We have stated this **time and again**.

- And we expect **all those** who say it… to **mean** it…

- Ladies and gentlemen… **We mean it.**

- And let me repeat it: **we… mean it**.

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- A nuclear Iran is the **most** imminent and acute danger to the stability of the **entire region**. But it is **not** the only one:
- Radical Islamist **terror** is spreading rapidly.
- **And** the accumulation of **missiles** and **rockets** will **necessitate** regional **missile defense**.

- So **what** is to be **done?**
- It is an interregnum right now in Israel, and the **new** Netanyahu government will have to shape **its** approach.
- But allow me, just before **I** leave my post, to **share** with you **my** positions:
- The Middle East is a **Gestalt** – **everything depends** on **everything else**.
- Facing this array **of threats,** we have to:
- **Firstly,** start building a **'Regional Security Framework'**…

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- This should be built around the **common** challenges of **radical Islamist terror**, **border security**, **missile defense**… and of course, **Iran**.
- And being led by the **United States**, it could provide a **variety of synergies** for **all** its regional participants.
- **Secondly**, we need a **daring peace initiative** vis-à-vis the Palestinians.
- A **two-state** solution is the **only viable long-term solution**.
- It is a **compelling imperative** for us, in order to secure **our identity** and **our future** as a **Jewish** and **democratic** state; it's **not** a **favor** for the Palestinians…
- Believe **me**, **I** tried hard as Prime Minister, together with President Clinton. So I **know**, from **personal experience**, that the Palestinians are not **easy** partners for peace.
- Prime Minister Netanyahu has taken **courageous steps**, to **renew** the process **including** an **unprecedented** settlement freeze.

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- But **still** – from the **Palestinian** side… **no** proper response.
- They clearly bear **most** of the responsibility for past failures.
- And **I** know, a fully fledged agreement is **probably** not feasible today, But **if this** is the case – and only a **sincere effort** can **determine** this – we have to **try** and achieve a **reasonable**, **fair**, **interim agreement**.
- **I** strongly **believe** this is possible, while **guaranteeing** all our security and vital interests.
- But **if even an interim agreement** is unobtainable, then we should consider **unilateral steps,** in order to place a **wedge** on this **extremely** dangerous **slippery slope** towards a **binational** state.
- It involves **demarcating** a line **within** the land of Israel… Within which we will have the **settlement blocs** and a **solid Jewish majority** for generations to come.

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- **As well as** setting **security arrangements**, and a solid Israeli, long-term **military presence** along the River Jordan.
- **Rest assured**… our **security** should not – and **will not** – be compromised under **any** of these alternatives.
- Tough decisions **must** be taken; but **it is** possible.
- And as our sages teach us: *"If not now… **when**?"*

- **I strongly** believe that this intertwined **strategic triangle**:
- **First,** The **Regional Security Framework**
- **Second**, a reinvigorated **political process** with the Palestinians…
- And **third**: tackling **Iran**.
- This **triangle,** is the **most effective** approach to deal with the **challenges** on our horizon.

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- **Israel**, has **also** been experiencing its own tremors of **change**.
- In the summer of 2011, the people of Israel **took to the streets**… demanding a more equal allocation of the burden.
- Just last month, **53** new, fresh members of the Knesset **were sworn in**, about **half** the serving members of Knesset … (Present company included!)**… were out**.
- **That** is what I call **democracy in action**.
- A democracy **I am** proud of.
- A democracy **you** can be proud of.
- **I** am **confident** that Prime Minister Netanyahu will **lead** his **new** government with the **same dedication** and **responsibility** which he led the **last**.

- Ladies and gentlemen,

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- **I** was born 71 years ago, at the height of World War II; the Nazi crematoria in Europe were working **day** and **night**.
- And **now**… in **2013**, **I** am ending my tenure as the Minister of Defense of a **strong, independent Jewish state.**
- **Look** at what we – **as a nation** – have achieved… **Who** would have believed it then?
    - Today we have an **agile** and **adaptive** high-tech and **export oriented** economy.
    - A **start-up** culture flourishes on an **eruption** of talent and an underlying **entrepreneurial** spirit.

- I am **optimistic,** and my **vision** for Israel is **clear**:
- A **strong**, self-confident, thriving **Jewish**, **democratic** state, living in **peace** and **security** with its **neighbors**.
- An **exemplary state** and **world leader** in science, technology, education and culture.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_027021

- A country in which **our** children will **want** to live, and **your** children will be **proud of**.

- Ladies and gentlemen,
- We are at a **decisive juncture in our history**…
- As President Kennedy noted during the Cuban Missile Crisis:
    - "The **path** we have **chosen** for the **present** is full of **hazards**, as **all paths are**. But **it is** the **one most** consistent with our **character** and **courage** as a nation…"
- **I** believe **we possess** the **character** and **courage as a nation** to make those **tough** decisions for the **future, peace** and **security** of the **State of Israel**.
- Please **allow** me to end with the millennia old blessing:
    - השם עוז לעמו ייתן, השם יברך את עמו בשלום
- May the Lord bestow his people with **courage**; may the Lord bless his people with **peace**.

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- Thank you…

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_027023

Scientists create human embryos to make stem cells

For the first time, scientists have created embryos that are genetic copies of living people to make stem cells, which may help treat many diseases but also raises concerns about human cloning.

By Melissa Healy, Los Angeles Times

5:43 PM PDT, May 15, 2013

Advertisement

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For the first time, scientists have created human embryos that are genetic copies of living people and used them to make stem cells — a feat that paves the way for treating a range of diseases with personalized body tissues but also ignites fears of human cloning.

If replicated in other labs, the methods detailed Wednesday in the journal Cell would allow researchers to fashion human embryonic stem cells that are custom-made for patients with Alzheimer's disease, diabetes and other health problems.

Theoretically capable of reproducing themselves indefinitely, these stem cells could be used to grow replacements for a wide variety of diseased cells — those of the blood, skin, heart, brain, muscles, nerves and more — that would not risk rejection by the patient's immune system.

The report also raises the specter that, with a high-quality donor egg, a bit of skin, some careful tending in a lab and the womb of a willing surrogate, humans have cracked the biological secret to reproducing themselves.

That is an objective American scientists have squarely renounced as unethical and scientifically irresponsible. At the same time, most acknowledge that such "reproductive cloning" will one day prove too tempting to resist.

In the hope that other researchers will validate and extend their results, the scientists at Oregon Health & Science University provided an exceptionally detailed account of their techniques. For anyone with a well-equipped fertility lab, the comprehensive guide could also be a useful handbook for cloning a baby.

OHSU cell biologist Shoukhrat Mitalipov led a team of 23 scientists who methodically culled the lessons learned from stem cell research on amphibians, mice and rhesus monkeys — as well as from the abundant failures of others in the field. They devised a welter of new techniques to use the DNA of a fully formed skin cell in its most primitive embryonic form.

The approach they used — called somatic cell nuclear transfer — effectively strips an egg of its chromosomes and packs it instead with DNA from a donor.

Nurtured by a stew of nourishing chemicals and zapped with two jolts of electrical current, many of the eggs began to divide and grew for five to six days. At that point, the embryos had 64 to 200 cells, including a dense inner cell mass from which stem cells were extracted.

In past efforts to coax such an assemblage of components to life, researchers have burned through dozens of donor eggs without getting any embryos even to the 16-cell stage at which stem cells become a remote possibility.

This time, the researchers said their methods were so efficient that they could create at least one embryonic stem cell line from each batch of eggs donated by 10 female volunteers. In one case, a single donor produced eight eggs of such exceptional quality that researchers were able to derive four embryonic stem cell lines.

The volunteers, between the ages of 23 and 31, donated their eggs anonymously and were "financially compensated for the time, effort, discomfort and inconvenience associated with the donation process," the study authors wrote.

The success of the experiments rekindled debate among bioethicists, who have long anticipated that human cloning would become a reality.

In 2002, a commission of bioethicists established by then-President George W. Bush unanimously urged a ban on reproductive cloning. But the panel was deeply divided about the propriety of "therapeutic cloning" for research and medical treatment.

Though 13 states have passed laws banning reproductive cloning, the United States is one of just a few industrialized countries that has not prohibited the practice. Seven states also have banned therapeutic cloning. Oregon is not one of them.

The OHSU team's success underscores the urgent need for federal rules that spell out consistent national limits on therapeutic cloning and put a clear ban on the technology's use in fertility clinics, said Johns Hopkins University bioethicist Jeffrey Kahn.

Researchers are also likely to step up their demand for donated eggs so they can conduct similar experiments. That lends urgency to the need for standardized practices for compensating women who donate their eggs. Some states, including California, have set strict limits on such payments, while others have allowed a market for donated eggs to flourish unregulated, Kahn added.

Among the methodological innovations outlined in the Cell paper was a trick that stem cell scientist Michael D. West, who was not involved in the study, dubbed "the Starbucks effect."

The OHSU team added caffeine to the growth medium that nourished the eggs after they were stripped of their original DNA and awaited the new DNA from a skin cell. Unlike its stimulating effect on coffee-drinkers, the caffeine chemically slowed the rush to divide and grow that had doomed earlier efforts.

The OHSU scientists also studied which batches of donated eggs were most likely to thrive and survive long enough to produce stem cells. Finding that eggs fared best when they were part of a medium-sized harvest, the researchers fine-tuned their regimen of egg-stimulating drugs so that more of the women produced about 10 eggs per cycle.

In all, the researchers produced six lines of embryonic stem cells from six separate embryos, said OHSU infertility specialist Dr. Paula Amato, one of the paper's authors.

Four of them contained the nuclear DNA of a single donor whose skin cells were purchased from a commercial lab, and a fifth came from a separate donor whose cells were bought the same way.

The sixth donor was a patient with Leigh syndrome, a genetic disorder that results in severe and mostly fatal neurological degeneration in a child's first years of life.

The embryonic stem cell lines faithfully reproduced the nuclear DNA of the person who contributed the skin cell. The expectation is that when cells or tissues made from these stem cells are transplanted into that person, they will slip past his or her immune system unnoticed.

The stem cells showed "no gross chromosomal abnormalities," the authors wrote, and appeared every bit as capable of differentiating into a variety of cell types as embryonic stem cells made the old-fashioned way, from excess embryos obtained from fertility clinics.

"This is extremely important," Dr. Irving Weissman, a stem cell researcher at Stanford University, said of the new results.

Stem cell researcher Dr. Robert Lanza echoed that praise, calling the OHSU team's work "a major scientific achievement."

Lanza, the chief scientific officer of Advanced Cell Technology Inc., said it remained to be seen whether embryonic stem cells generated this way were more useful for studying and treating diseases than stem cells created by reprogramming adult cells to an embryonic state.

The method for creating such induced pluripotent stem cells, or iPS cells, was recognized with a Nobel Prize last year.

But there are lingering questions about whether iPS cells are safe for patients. Scientists use a cancer-causing virus to reprogram the cells, raising concerns that they could cause tumors in patients. And in 2011, when scientists at UC San Diego created iPS cells and reintroduced them into donor mice, the animals' immune systems rejected them.

"Some experts are now saying that somatic cell nuclear transfer may be the only way to truly reprogram cells," Lanza said.

melissa.healy@latimes.com

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From: Pritzker, Tom [redacted]
Sent: 5/23/2013 3:15:37 AM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Fwd: Pritzker Alert
Attachments: image001.jpg

Importance: High

I clearly did something wrong in my last life to have to deal w this bullshit. AND I warned her.

-------- Original message --------
From: "Eisenberg, Marshall E." <[redacted]
Date:
To: "Pritzker, Tom" <[redacted]>,"Miller, Glen" <[redacted]
Subject: Fwd: Pritzker Alert

Sent from my iPhone

Begin forwarded message:

From: "Kaczorowski, Monice M." [redacted]
Date: May 22, 2013, 8:54:07 PM CDT
To: "Eisenberg, Marshall E." [redacted], "Richman, Lawrence I." [redacted]
Subject: Pritzker Alert

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May 22, 2013

Section: in-the-loop

Obama nominee Penny Pritzker's $80 million mistake
President Obama's billionaire nominee to head the Commerce Department, Penny Prizker, understated her income by $80 million.
Emily Heil

Hey, these things happen: Penny Pritzker, President Obama's nominee to lead the Commerce Department, understated her income by some $80 million and had to file a correction to her government-filed disclosures, Bloomberg is reporting.

That might sound like a lot of money, but it's all relative. Pritzker, whose family founded the Hyatt hotel chain, is worth about $1.5 billion. So it's easy to see how a few million – or 80 – could go missing.

Maybe she left it in the other purse?

A spokeswoman told Bloomberg that the $80 million was "a substantial amount" and that Pritzker's advisers corrected the error as soon as they realized it.

Per Bloomberg: "Documents released last week show Pritzker received $32.2 million for a decade's worth of consulting on the restructuring of domestic trusts," but new filings indicated she made at least $80 million more than that.

Monice M. Kaczorowski
Chief Knowledge Officer
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[cid:image001.jpg@01CE572E.7E4D4B70]<http://www.linkedin.com/pub/monice-kaczorowski/6/44/367/>

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From: Pritzker, Tom [redacted]
Sent: 5/23/2013 11:45:14 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: Pritzker Alert

Importance: High

Always fun.

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Wednesday, May 22, 2013 11:37 PM
To: Pritzker, Tom
Subject: Re: Pritzker Alert

nice to see you , please come more often

On Wed, May 22, 2013 at 11:15 PM, Pritzker, Tom <[redacted] wrote:
I clearly did something wrong in my last life to have to deal w this bullshit. AND I warned her.

-------- Original message --------
From: "Eisenberg, Marshall E." <[redacted]
Date:
To: "Pritzker, Tom" <[redacted]>,"Miller, Glen" <[redacted]>
Subject: Fwd: Pritzker Alert

Sent from my iPhone

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From: "Kaczorowski, Monice M." <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]>>
Date: May 22, 2013, 8:54:07 PM CDT
To: "Eisenberg, Marshall E." <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]>>, "Richman, Lawrence I." <[redacted]<mailto:[redacted]>>
Subject: Pritzker Alert

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Monice M. Kaczorowski
Chief Knowledge Officer
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Chicago IL ▪ 60602-3801
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[redacted] fax
[redacted]n<mailto[redacted]>
[redacted]http://www.ngelaw.com<http://www.ngelaw.com/>>
[cid:image001.jpg@01CE572E.7E4D4B70]<http://www.linkedin.com/pub/monice-kaczorowski/6/44/367/>

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From: ehud barak [redacted]
Sent: 9/16/2013 11:12:33 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [Jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Fwd: Summers withdraws from Fed race

Importance: High

A major blow to a friend. Lest BO takes him to replace JL.
Now he'll probably be free in the next few days. EB

Sent from my iPad

Begin forwarded message:

From: "FT Breaking News" <FT@emailbriefings.ft.com>
Date: 15 בספטמבר 2013 23:50:52 GMT+03:00
To: [redacted]
Subject: Summers withdraws from Fed race
Reply-To: "FT Breaking News" <FT409AS2.6532248@emailbriefings.ft.com>

To view this email as a webpage, click here

Sunday September 15 2013

BREAKING NEWS

Summers withdraws from Fed race

Lawrence Summers has taken himself out of the running to be the next chair of the Federal Reserve, withdrawing his name after opposition from key Democratic senators indicated they would oppose his nomination.

Mr Summers, a former Treasury Secretary and senior economic adviser to Barack Obama in his first term, galvanised opposition among left-of-centre Democrats who painted him as symbol of the wrongs of financial deregulation.

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From: ehud barak [redacted]]
Sent: 9/17/2013 8:55:54 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

23rd -yes. 24th probably but early. I have Clinton GI on 9am and fly to Singapore on 3pm. Lets discuss it tomorrow. Best
EB

Sent from my iPhone

On Sep 16, 2013, at 21:55, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

can you do breakfast with ariane rothscild on morinig of 23. and if you wnat kissinger china guy at brakfast 24.

--
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From: Lisa New [redacted]]
Sent: 10/5/2013 5:59:23 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Absolutely. 23rd is great. I teach my seminar that day at 1 but could tape in the morning or after class--in my office (very private), or at the Harvardx studios (less) or in the Woodberry poetry room (the nicest place). . If Woody wanted, we could bring some students into the taping or just do the two of us...

Woody is absolutely welcome to come to the seminar, of course

John McCain, Tony Kushner, Al Gore have all signed on the last 2 days...crazy

Lisa

On Sat, Oct 5, 2013 at 1:50 PM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:
does the 23 work in cambridge

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Elisa New
Powell M. Cabot Professor of American Literature
Harvard University
148 Barker Center
12 Quincy Street
Cambridge, MA
O2138
[redacted]

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 10/5/2013 7:26:32 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Or we could do the taping at my house. That would be totally delightful too

On Sat, Oct 5, 2013 at 1:59 PM, Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:

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Elisa New
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[redacted]

From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 10/6/2013 2:59:43 AM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Jeffrey,
For taping in Cambridge? For breakfast and taping at my house. Depends on what woody is up for. My ideal would be a 1/2 hour-40 minute conversation, but we could do a quick taping in 15 minutes ...my team can be ready

And , just to remind,could also come to do taping in ny on 24th because I'm coming to New York the evening of 23rd for a YIVO event--to which you would both be most welcome I'm sure (YIVO is the largest collection of materials from Jewish Eastern Europe)
Lisa

Sent from my iPhone

On Oct 5, 2013, at 8:36 PM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

how much time should i allocate?

On Sat, Oct 5, 2013 at 3:26 PM, Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
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On Sat, Oct 5, 2013 at 1:59 PM, Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:
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From: Lisa New [redacted]
Sent: 10/6/2013 12:57:52 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

This event is at the apartment of the chairman of the YIVO board. My plan had been to take the 4 or 5 shuttle and cab right here

Sent from my iPhoneg

On Oct 6, 2013, at 6:20 AM, Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

ill check ,, what time do you have to be in ny on the 23 rd? ? .

On Sat, Oct 5, 2013 at 10:59 PM, Lisa New <[redacted]> wrote:

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From: Steve Bannon [redacted]
Sent: 6/10/2018 12:23:04 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Trump promises to host Italian prime minister Giuseppe Conte at White House to honor him

Importance: High

https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.usatoday.com/amp/687949002

It Begins

From: Steve Bannon [redacted]
Sent: 6/10/2018 12:35:20 PM
To: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re: Trump promises to host Italian prime minister Giuseppe Conte at White House to honor him

Importance: High

Putin in vienna --your guy setting up and hosting
Sent via BlackBerry by AT&T

From: "jeffrey E." <jeevacation@gmail.com>
Date: Sun, 10 Jun 2018 06:37:25 -0600
To: Steve Bannon[redacted]
Subject: Re: Trump promises to host Italian prime minister Giuseppe Conte at White House to honor him

good work

On Sun, Jun 10, 2018 at 6:23 AM Steve Bannon <[redacted]> wrote:

> https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.usatoday.com/amp/687949002
>
> It Begins

--

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From: [redacted]
Sent: 1/12/2012 3:23:25 PM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Re: B 727 thought

Importance: High

you want me to call Tarek, instead? just to confirm.

In a message dated 1/12/2012 10:21:24 A.M. Eastern Standard Time, jeevacation@gmail.com writes:

> Call
>
> Sorry for all the typos .Sent from my iPhone
>
> On Jan 12, 2012, at 4:12 PM [redacted] wrote:
>
> Jeffrey,
> this may be a long shot to save the Boeing deal, or if you think its a dead deal, disregard this.
> I thought there was a connection between Tarek and myself, I do believe one concern was operation of Boeing with flight crew. I know its his problem not ours, but may help make the sale happen,.
> I wrote this email for your review, if you think its worth sending, please critique, and let me know,. thank you:
>
> Mr. Tarek El Sayed,
>
> I hope this email finds you well, and believe worth communicating my thoughts to you.
>
> I was surprised to hear that you decided against the purchase of our Super Boeing 727. I personally thought it was a great match for your business needs in Qatar. If for any reason your decision was based on crew issues and charter needs in the Middle East, I'd like to share some information that might prove beneficial to making you reconsider this purchase.
>
> The pilot candidates I have lined up for your interview along with the possibility of David Rodgers joining your flight department were as follows:
>
> (at no time did I disclose location or persons to the following pilot candidates to protect your privacy.)
>
> Robert Breslin, who is the former Chief Pilot of Mr. Donald Trump, Mr. Breslin flew the Boeing 727 and Boeing 757 owned by Mr Trump. Mr Breslin is a fine man of 40 years of age estimate, with extensive VIP Boeing operations.
>
> James Bartakowski, who has extensive flying experience in the Middle east, Africa and Europe régime. Mr. Bartakowski has also been involved in charter operations in Africa and Middle East and has contacted me on several recent occasions with charters for our Boeing 727, James has indicated there is the possibility of 40 – 60 hours per month charter operations for larger transport category aircraft in your area. I believe there is a growing need for charter in the business community in Qatar and neighboring countries.
>
> Bruce Jafahri, who is a current Boeing 727 captain who lived in Doha for two years, and familiar with international operations of Boeing 727 aircraft. Mr. Jafahri currently lives in California and ready for a new opportunity. Bruce is current in the Boeing 727 and also flew Captain on the Boeing 747. Well qualified individual and personable.
>
> Mr. El Sayed, as you have seen during our demo flight, our Boeing 727 is in impeccable condition, quite cabin and will provide many years of charter and business flights your company. I believe the large business jet future in Qatar is growing and you will be leading its path, and your initial investment in this purchase will not come close with other aircraft options on the market as you may have seen already.
>
> We are currently completing the C2C check on the Boeing, and as we have done in the past, assure you it will be a fine aircraft when it leaves Flight Star Maintenance repair facility.
>
> Sincerely,

Lawrance Visoski

Chief Pilot, JEGE Inc.

=

From: Weingarten, Reid [redacted]
Sent: 1/23/2012 3:16:01 PM
To: 'jeevacation@gmail.com' [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Don't believe it

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, January 23, 2012 07:54 AM
To: Weingarten, Reid
Subject:

dershowiz tells me obama called him to ask him what was going on in israel. ? we should discuss.

--
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From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:21:03 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein (jeevacation@gmail.com) [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: FW: Tix for Jeffrey
Attachments: image003.jpg; Auktionsblatt.pdf; TXT AIDS Solidarity Gala_E.pdf

Importance: High

It was not easy as people from LifeBall are very difficult. But I go it (they even now approved you - they needed to do a background check believe it or not! – as on that dinner will be president of Austria, Clinton etc) for two tickets – for you and your guest for a price that you do not need to buy a table (as they do not sell individual seats).
Guy below is a good friend and he is a CEO of amFAR (amFAR has a joined dinner) – so he helped.

The nice thing about these tickets is that they are the most VIP. It includes reception, dinner, gala and after all party access.
I have the same ones (through Bill).
I also got two additional for you but it turns out that they are not the same level so I reached to Kevin for help.

The price is 2,500Euro per ticket (this is very reduced price as I think the regular one for this is 15K and it is hard to get it). They will need an email from someone from your office and name a your guest asap.

The plan for for Vienna I am sending you with my next email!

Boris

From: Kevin Frost [mailto[redacted]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2012 6:39 AM
To: Boris Nikolic
Subject: Tix for Jeffrey
Importance: High

Boris:

Here is the information sheet for Jeffrey to buy tickets. Tell him to use my name and the name of Magdalena Schuster on the email below. They've already approved him to buy tickets to Lifeball and the Gala dinner which happens right before the ball. I hope you guys are all planning to attend the dinner as well. You can tell your friend Jeffrey that he should buy the Mini car for me as a thank you. =)

I'm getting in to Vienna on Friday afternoon. Let's get together on Friday night.

See you soon,

Kevin

Kevin Robert Frost

Chief Executive Officer

amfAR, The Foundation for AIDS Research
120 Wall Street, 13th Floor
New York, NY 10005
[redacted]

From: Magdalena Schuster [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 03, 2012 1:04 PM
To: Kevin Frost
Subject: AW: AW: NY plane

Hi Kevin,

attached please find an information sheet about the AIDS Solidarity Gala – I am sure Jeffrey will very much enjoy the Gala.

I've also included the auction items at the Gala for your and Jeffrey's information.

Let me know how I can be of further assistance.

All the best,
Lena

HÖHEPUNKT DES GALA-ABENDS IST AUCH IN DIESEM JAHR EINE AUKTION AUSGESUCHTER UNIKATE. ZUR AUKTION GELANGEN:

THE AUCTION OF UNIQUE ITEMS WILL AGAIN BE THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE GALA-NIGHT. ITEMS TO BE AUCTIONED:

AIDS solidarity GALA 2012

LIFE BALL MINI BY FRANCA SOZZANI

LIFE BALL MINI BY FRANCA SOZZANI

Franca Sozzani, Chefredakteurin der italienischen VOGUE und UN-Sonderbotschafterin von „Fashion 4 Development", beschreibt ihre Inspiration wie folgt: "I thought at MINI as a beautiful woman who put a scarf on her head when she drives a Roadster!"

Die Kombination aus Flora und Mannequins auf modisch schickem Deepest Purple Matt-Lack im Exterieur ergibt eine einzigartige Komposition aus Mode und zeitgenössischen Printmotiven. Die aufwendige Dachgestaltung aus verschiedensten Verarbeitungsweisen der Blumenmuster bildet das Highlight des diesjährigen Life Ball MINIs. Das Interieur besticht durch feinste Materialien und einer extravaganten Sitzgestaltung.

Franca Sozzani, Editor In-Chief of VOGUE Italia and UN Goodwill Ambassador for Fashion 4 Development, describes her vision as follows: "I thought at MINI as a beautiful woman who put a scarf on her head when she drives a Roadster!"

A combination of floral patterns and mannequins on a highly fashionable Deepest Purple matt finishing leads to a unique composition of fashion and beautiful prints. A flamboyant roof design featuring a floral bouquet presents the highlight of this year's Life Ball MINI. The interior strikes through finest choice of material and an extravagant seat design.

GOLFTURNIER MIT PRÄSIDENT BILL CLINTON

GOLF TOURNAMENT WITH PRESIDENT BILL CLINTON

VIP Erlebnis-Package bei der Humana Challenge, früher unter dem Namen Bob Hope Classic bekannt. Das professionelle Promi-Pro-Am Golf-Turnier findet im Januar 2013 im kalifornischen Coachella Valley (Palm Springs) zugunsten der William J. Clinton Foundation statt. Sie haben die Möglichkeit, Präsident Clinton zu treffen und ein Erinnerungsfoto mit ihm zu machen.

VIP Experience for Two to join President Clinton at the Humana Challenge Golf Tournament, formerly known as the Bob Hope Classic, in partnership with the Clinton Foundation. This pro-am golf tournament will be held in Palm Springs, California in January 2013. You will have the opportunity to meet and have your photo taken with President Clinton.

CLINTON HEALTH ACCESS INITIATIVE

COLLIER VON KORNMESSER FINE JEWELRY

NECKLACE BY KORNMESSER FINE JEWELRY

Das hochkarätige Highlight der Auktion ist ein weißgoldenes 18-karätiges Collier: mit Brillanten, zusammen ca. 53,10 ct und Rubinen, zusammen ca. 10,00 ct; das Gesamtgewicht beträgt ca. 410 g. In mehr als 200 Arbeitsstunden verarbeitete Gery Keszler gemeinsam mit Kornmesser-Chefdesigner Ernst Klimitsch und Kornmesser-Goldschmied Harald Bankmann über 60 ct Diamanten und Brillanten sowie ca. 10 ct Rubine.

The prestigious highlight of the auction is a white gold 18 ct. necklace. With brilliant diamonds, carat total weight ca 53.10; and rubies, carat total weight ca 10.00; total weight ca 410 g. Gery Keszler, together with Ernst Klimitsch, creative director of Kornmesser, and Kornmesser's goldsmith Harald Bankmann, spent 200 hours to process more than 60 ct. diamonds and brilliant diamonds, as well as ca 10 ct. rubies.

HERMANN NITSCH SCHÜTTBILD
HERMANN NITSCH SPILLED PAINTING

Hermann Nitsch, geb. 1938
Schüttbild, Acryl/Blut auf Leinwand 100x80 cm, 2010
Rückseitig signiert und datiert: hermann nitsch 2010

Hermann Nitsch, born 1938
Spilled painting „schüttbild", acrylics/blood on canvas, 39x31 in, 2010
Signed and dated on the back: hermann nitsch 2010

MCLAREN EXPERIENCE
MCLAREN EXPERIENCE

Ein Besuch von sechs Gästen im McLaren Headquarter in Woking, England. Die Gruppe hat die Möglichkeit, den Rennbetrieb aus nächster Nähe zu erleben und jenes Werk zu besichtigen, in dem der Sportwagen MP4-12C designt, entwickelt und auch produziert wird. Der Besuch inkludiert ein exklusives Essen sowie eine Testfahrt.

A visit for six people to the McLaren headquarters in Woking. The group would see the McLaren racing operation at close hand and view the place where the MP4-12C road car has been designed, developed and is now in production. The visit would include a great lunch and a test drive.

ZWEI VIP TICKETS FÜR DIE MTV EMA IN FRANKFURT,
INKLUSIVE TICKETS FÜR DIE AFTER SHOW PARTY
TWO VIP TICKETS TO THE MTV EMA IN FRANKFURT
INCLUDING AFTER PARTY TICKETS

Bei den MTV Europe Music Awards am 11. November 2012 in Frankfurt treffen hochkarätige Musikkünstler aus der ganzen Welt aufeinander. Das zu ersteigernde Package enthält VIP Tickets für die besondere Red Carpet Experience. Bei der Aftershow Party kann man im Anschluss mit den angesagtesten KünstlerInnen des Pop-Business bis in die frühen Morgenstunden feiern.

The MTV Europe Music Awards, to be held on November 11, 2012, in Frankfurt/Germany, celebrate the most popular music videos in Europe, they feature the current stars in the music industry. The package includes full VIP treatment as only MTV knows how. Having watched some truly outstanding live performances from Europe's hottest stars you and your guests will then make your way to the After Party.

CHAMPAGNER KÜHLER
CHAMPAGNE COOLER

Das Wiener Traditionsunternehmen LOBMEYR stellt handgemachte und von Sebastian Menschhorn eigens entworfene Champagner Kühler zur Verfügung, jeder der Champagner Kühler wurde exklusiv von den Designern Vivienne Westwood, Angela Missoni und Roberto Cavalli gestaltet und in den LOBMEYR Werkstätten geschliffen und graviert. Die Kühler sind auf ein Stück limitiert.

In 1823 Josef Lobmeyr senior founds the company in Vienna's Weihburggasse and soon becomes purveyor to the Imperial Court. LOBMEYR provides handmade and mouthblown champagne coolers for auction. The shape has been designed by Sebastian Menschhorn. Each of them was exclusively designed by the designers Vivienne Westwood, Angela Missoni and Roberto Cavalli and cut and engraved at the LOBMEYR workshops. The coolers are limited to one piece.

Für die Abwicklung der Auktion zeichnet das Dorotheum verantwortlich. Die Ausrufpreise der einzelnen Auktionsgegenstände finden Sie auf www.dorotheum.com.

STARTGEBOTE WÄHREND DES CHAMPAGNER-EMPFANGS Schon während des Champagner-Empfangs im Schweizerhof besteht die Möglichkeit die Auktionsgegenstände zu sehen und erste Gebote abzugeben. Die Versteigerung findet während des Gala Dinners statt.

KAUFAUFTRÄGE ÜBER INTERNET ODER TELEFON: Um über Telefon an der Auktion teilzunehmen, ersuchen wir Sie, über die Website einen Telefonauftrag abzugeben oder sich telefonisch an das Dorotheum Client Service zu wenden, erreichbar unter +43-1-515 60-570. Telefonaufträge, die bis spätestens Freitag 18.5.2012 um 12:00 Uhr (MEZ) über Internet oder telefonisch einlangen, werden bei der Saalauktion berücksichtigt. Das Dorotheum-Team wird Sie dann bei der Auktion anrufen.

Bei Fragen kontaktieren Sie bitte das Life Ball Büro unter +43 1 595 56 00 oder: Mag. Rafael Schwarz, Tel. +43-1-515 60-405, rafael.schwarz@dorotheum.at

The Dorotheum Vienna will execute the auction. The start prices of the auction items are available at www.dorotheum.com.

STARTING BIDS POSSIBLE DURING THE CHAMPAGNE RECEPTION *Our guests at the AIDS Solidarity Gala will have the possibility to start auctioning for our prestigious items during the champagne reception in the Schweizerhof. The auction will be held during the gala dinner.*

BIDS ONLINE OR ON THE PHONE *In order to participate in the auction on the phone, we kindly ask you to place your telephone order on the website or call the Dorotheum Client Service at +43 1 515 60 570. Phone bids that are placed until no later than Friday, 18 May 2012 noon online or on the phone, will be considered during the live auction. The team of the Dorotheum will call you during the auction.*

If you have any questions, please call the Life Ball office at +43 1 515 56 00 or contact: Rafael Schwarz, tel: +43 1 545 60 405, rafael.schwarz@dorotheum.at

From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:27:53 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: FW: Tix for Jeffrey
Attachments: image001.jpg

Importance: High

Please call me at [redacted]

My number is blocked and it does not go through when I am calling you

B

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2012 4:27 PM
To: Boris Nikolic
Subject: Re: FW: Tix for Jeffrey

call me now [redacted]

On Mon, May 7, 2012 at 7:21 PM, Boris Nikolic [redacted] wrote:

It was not easy as people from LifeBall are very difficult. But I go it (they even now approved you - they needed to do a background check believe it or not! – as on that dinner will be president of Austria, Clinton etc) for two tickets – for you and your guest for a price that you do not need to buy a table (as they do not sell individual seats).

Guy below is a good friend and he is a CEO of amFAR (amFAR has a joined dinner) – so he helped.

The nice thing about these tickets is that they are the most VIP. It includes reception, dinner, gala and after all party access.

I have the same ones (through Bill).

I also got two additional for you but it turns out that they are not the same level so I reached to Kevin for help.

The price is 2,500Euro per ticket (this is very reduced price as I think the regular one for this is 15K and it is hard to get it). They will need an email from someone from your office and name a your guest asap.

The plan for for Vienna I am sending you with my next email!

Boris

From: Kevin Frost [mailto:[redacted]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2012 6:39 AM
To: Boris Nikolic
Subject: Tix for Jeffrey
Importance: High

Boris:

Here is the information sheet for Jeffrey to buy tickets. Tell him to use my name and the name of Magdalena Schuster on the email below. They've already approved him to buy tickets to Lifeball and the Gala dinner which happens right before the ball. I hope you guys are all planning to attend the dinner as well. You can tell your friend Jeffrey that he should buy the Mini car for me as a thank you. =)

I'm getting in to Vienna on Friday afternoon. Let's get together on Friday night.

See you soon,

Kevin

Kevin Robert Frost
Chief Executive Officer

amfAR, The Foundation for AIDS Research
120 Wall Street, 13th Floor
New York, NY 10005
[redacted]

From: Magdalena Schuster [mailto[redacted]
Sent: Thursday, May 03, 2012 1:04 PM
To: Kevin Frost
Subject: AW: AW: NY plane

Hi Kevin,

attached please find an information sheet about the AIDS Solidarity Gala – I am sure Jeffrey will very much enjoy the Gala.

I've also included the auction items at the Gala for your and Jeffrey's information.

Let me know how I can be of further assistance.

All the best,

Lena

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From: Boris Nikolic [redacted]
Sent: 5/7/2012 11:59:08 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: RE: FW: Tix for Jeffrey
Attachments: image001.jpg

Importance: High

Forgot to ask you – pls have someone from your office confirm 2 tickets for LifeBall for you.
Also provide them with a name of the girl that you are talking.
One the pdf that I sent you there is a contact info and refer to the email below (Magdalena Schuster [mailto:[redacted]

And she is holding them for you.
Please do it asap as these are hard to get.

B

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, May 07, 2012 4:27 PM
To: Boris Nikolic
Subject: Re: FW: Tix for Jeffrey

call me now 212 772 9416

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Chief Executive Officer

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From: Jean Luc Brunel[redacted]
Sent: 1/1/2013 12:51:25 AM
To: jeevacation@gmail.com
Subject: Re: Fw: Fwd: Happy new year!

Importance: High

Saved for 2012 but I can start to look for baby clothes if the wish turns into reality. Or would you stick with RL baby around the corner? Forgot that you r planning everything

I will send you picture of the Burmese girl. Very pretty She is the star singer in Myamar. I will bring her to US. Obama visits Myamar and Chan Chan comes to America. I think that I have something new and fresh news to promote

---

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, December 31, 2012 07:39 PM
To: Jean Luc Brunel
Subject: Re: Fw: Fwd: Happy new year!

Nonono/ just wanted you to that iris was also in Bangkok . I forgot about the Boris wish

On Monday, December 31, 2012, Jean Luc Brunel wrote:

Wait a minute!!! Am I missing something?

From: Jeffrey Epstein [mailto:jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: Monday, December 31, 2012 05:53 PM
To: Jean Luc Brunel <[redacted]>
Subject: Fwd: Happy new year!

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: **Boris Nikolic**
Date: Monday, December 31, 2012
Subject: Happy new year!
To: Jeffrey Epstein <jeevacation@gmail.com>

All the best in new year.
For more fun in new year.
And for little Jeffrey soon to come ;-)

Thank you for being such a great friend

Going to sleep. Still in Bangkok.

Boris

Sent from my Windows Phone

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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 4/16/2017 3:26:55 PM
To: Thorbjøn Jagland [redacted]
Subject: Re:

Makes me happy

On Sun, Apr 16, 2017 at 11:23 AM Thorbjøn Jagland <[redacted]> wrote:

> You should feel well for having done so much for us
>
> søn. 16. apr. 2017 kl. 11.12 skrev jeffrey E. <jeevacation@gmail.com>:
>
> > I'll be better I feel terrible having to cut your stay short . There is much going on . Many investigations will begin
> >
> > On Sun, Apr 16, 2017 at 11:04 AM Thorbjøn Jagland <[redacted]> wrote:
> >
> > > Hope you recover quickly. We have had wonderful days. Tell me when you are coming to Paris so that we can talk. I really don't understand Trump. Today I have to deal with the referendum in Turkey. Endogan is another difficult to understand
> > >
> > > T
> >
> > --
> >
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From: jeffrey E. [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 3/24/2018 1:49:52 AM
To: Michael Wolff [redacted]
Subject: Re: My datebook

On Fri, Mar 23, 2018 at 9:37 PM Michael Wolff <[redacted]> wrote:

> Three hours with SB who believes DJT won't last to the mid terms. Also saw Brad Karp who is super menchy and offering much help on next book.

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please note

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From: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 10/12/2018 7:27:19 PM
To: Anthony [redacted]
Subject: Re: Deal info

funn, but quite a mess

–

On Fri, Oct 12, 2018 at 2:55 PM A Barrett <[redacted]> wrote:

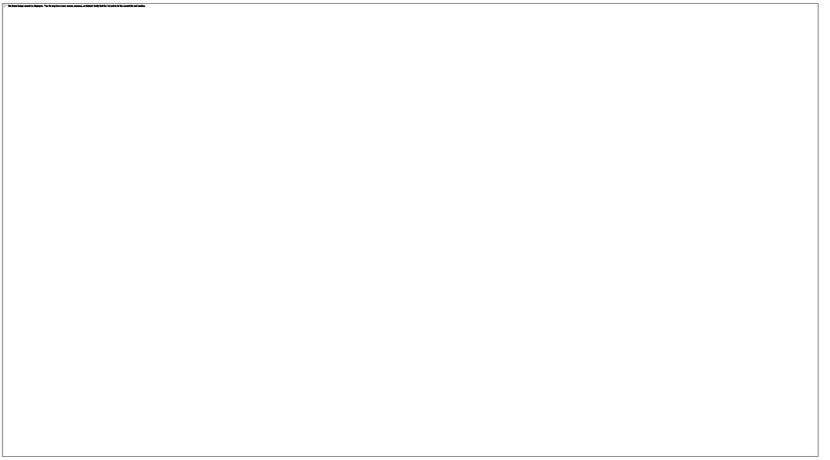
Hi jeffrey,

Cam across this…perhaps you have some interest?

Related Companies affiliate bids $32M for embattled Palm House Hotel

The New York company, led by Stephen Ross, made a stalking horse bid for the Palm Beach condo-hotel project that is heading to auction

By Keith Larsen | October 11, 2018 06:15PM



Palm House Hotel, Related Companies Stephen Ross600

An affiliate of the Related Companies has emerged as the initial bidder for the Palm House Hotel as the failed condo-hotel project heads to a bankruptcy auction.

The stalking horse bidder, RREF II PALM HOUSE LLC, has the same address as Related Companies in New York and is led by Related Companies Managing Principal Justin Metz, according to a filing in U.S. Bankruptcy Court. The company is offering $32 million for the property, which will set the floor price for a bankruptcy auction scheduled for next month. Bids at the auction will start at $32.5 million.

The 79-unit condo-hotel project on Palm Beach Island stalled in 2014 and its former developer now faces allegations of fraud by the Securities and Exchange Commission and a group of EB-5 investors. In August, the property filed for bankruptcy under its court appointed receiver with creditors claims totaling $115 million.

Cushman & Wakefield's Robert Given, Errol Blumer, Michael Mulkern and Robert Kaplan are the exclusive marketing advisers for the property. The auction is scheduled for 10 a.m. on November 16, 2018 in West Palm Beach.

Given said he expects the property to sell for up to $40 million and it could be the last opportunity for a developer to own a hotel in the wealthy enclave of Palm Beach. He said the next owner will likely not redevelop the

property. Instead, the best option would be to continue renovating the existing project which could take more than a year to complete, Given said. By auctioning the project through a bankruptcy sale, it will be offered free and clear from any liens. The bankruptcy also means that the new owner will not have any responsibility for the issues stemming from EB-5 investors who had invested in the property.

The 82,648-square-foot project was first developed in 1961 and expanded in 1981. The property was set to be renovated by a group led by developer Robert Matthews.

Matthews then raised $44 million from EB-5 investors, according to a complaint by the Securities and Exchange Commission. EB-5 is a federal program that allows foreign investors the chance to gain a green card if they invest at least $500,000 into certain projects that create at least 10 jobs.

The SEC's complaint said, however, that much of this money was misallocated to pay for Matthews' personal expenses. Some of the funds allegedly went to pay for Mathews' Connecticut home, his 151-foot mega yacht, as well as to save his Palm Beach mansion from foreclosure, according to the complaint.

In a separate lawsuit filed by a group of EB-5 investors, the development group claimed that famous celebrities and politicians such as Bill Clinton, Donald Trump, Celine Dion and Bill Koch – would serve on the Palm House's advisory board when, in fact, they did not.

Related Companies, led by Miami Dolphins owner Stephen Ross, developed CityPlace West Palm Beach. The company is also proposing to build a 25-story office project called One Flagler in downtown West Palm Beach.

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From: Sean Bannon[redacted]
Sent: 8/23/2018 8:26:12 PM
To: Steve Bannon[redacted]]
CC: jeevacation@gmail.com; Dan Fleuette[redacted]
Subject: Re: Trump@War

Importance: High

Just sent to you from my ProtonMail J

Sent from my iPhone

> On Aug 23, 2018, at 4:25 PM, Steve Bannon <steve@arc-ent.com> wrote:
>
> Can we get Jeffrey latest version of film

By Keith Larsen | October 11, 2018 06:15PM

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Call to Action!

The impact of funding decline on **female empowerment** through the FC2 female condom and the **increase of HIV/AIDS**

Facts

36.7 million People living with HIV/AIDS worldwide 2015	**1.1 million** People died of AIDS-related illnesses worldwide 2015
1 in 25 Adults Are living with HIV in Sub Saharan Africa	**70%** Of people living with HIV worldwide are found in Sub-Saharan Africa
51% are women More than half of people living with HIV/AIDS are women	

Since the beginning of the epidemic, more than 70 million people have been infected with the HIV virus and about 35 million people have died of HIV. Globally, 36.7 million [34.0–39.8 million] people were living with HIV at the end of 2015. An estimated 0.8% [0.7-0.9%] of adults aged 15–49 years worldwide are living with HIV, although the burden of the epidemic continues to vary considerably between countries and regions. **Sub-Saharan Africa** remains most severely affected, with nearly **1 in every 25 adults** (4.4%) living with HIV and accounting for nearly 70% of the people living with HIV worldwide (WHO, GHO Data).

Problem

Male and female condoms remain the only dual protection devices in the world that protect men and women from both STIs, such as HIV, as well as unplanned pregnancy. The **FC2 female condom** remains the only dual protection device in the world that is both WHO *and* USFDA approved and is under the **full control of women.** Research shows that when a male and female condom are both available in the same market the overall number of protected sex acts goes up with as much as 13% (2006: Hatzell, Feldblum & Van Damme).

Historically, the FC2 female condom has been procured by UNFPA (United Nations Population Fund) and USAID (United States Agency for International Development). Recently, UNFPA has had a 50% decrease in available funding for all their commodity procurement, and the USAID procurement budget is being slashed under the Trump administration leading to a major decline of female condom procurement in Africa:

	2016	**2015**	**2014**	**2013**	**2012**
UNFPA	10,60	11,21	17,14	34,15	24,55
USAID	9,96	10,02	7,32	4,5	15,63

On a per country example this has led to, for instance, an annual **need for 3 million FC2** female condoms in **Uganda**, and **no funding** to procure. A need of 1 million female condoms annually in Kenya, and funding for only 230,000. A need of 6 million female condoms annually in Zimbabwe and funding for only 3 million. And these are just some examples of the many countries who do not receive their actual FC2 female condom need on the continent of Africa.

Solution

Female Health Company would like to propose a **partnership** with new donors in order to ensure that the need for the FC2 female condom is met in Africa to ensure **prevention of HIV/AIDS** among the target groups that need it. FHC is committed to providing the training and technical support to the countries and target groups to ensure correct and safe usage of the FC2 female condom, if donors are willing to procure the female condoms that are necessary in these countries. We could even create a specific donor **brand for the FC2 female condom**, to increase brand recognition for the donor in the region while saving lives together.

On Female Health Company

The Female Health Company manufactures, markets and sells the FC2 Female Condom. FC2 is the only currently available female-controlled product approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) and cleared by the World Health Organization (WHO) for purchase by U.N. agencies that provides dual protection against unintended pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections (STIs), including HIV/AIDS. The Company's first generation product was the FC1 Female Condom, a Class III medical device approved by FDA in 1993. The Company's second generation product, FC2, has been available globally since 2007, and in the U.S. since 2009 after it was approved by the FDA as a Class III medical device. To date, FHC has shipped its female condom to over 140 countries worldwide.

Currently, there are only two FDA approved and marketed products that prevent the transmission of HIV/AIDS through sexual intercourse: the male condom and FC2. FC2 is currently the only FDA approved and marketed female-controlled product that prevents STIs, including HIV/AIDS. Used consistently and correctly, FC2 provides women dual protection against STIs, including HIV/AIDS, and unintended pregnancy. When used correctly the protection rates against unintended pregnancies are 95 percent for female condoms compared to 98 percent for male condoms according to the FDA. FC2 is not seen as directly competing with the male condom; it provides an alternative to either unprotected sex or male condom usage.

An economic analysis of the cost effectiveness of an FC2 HIV/AIDS prevention program conducted by Dr. David Holtgrave, the chairman of the Department of Health Behavior and Society at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, was featured in the March 26, 2012 issue of AIDS and Behavior. The study showed that the Washington, D.C. FC2 prevention program, a public-private partnership to provide and promote FC2, prevented enough HIV infections in the first year alone to save over $8 million in avoided future medical care costs (over and above the cost of approximately $445,000 for the program). This means that for every dollar spent on the program, there was a cost savings of nearly $20. In the article Dr. Holtgrave concluded, "These results clearly indicate that delivery of, and education about, Female Condoms is an effective HIV prevention intervention and an outstanding public health investment." Washington, D.C. began its program in 2010 to fight a disease that is at epidemic levels. At least 3 percent of Washington, D.C. residents have HIV or AIDS, a prevalence rate that is the highest of any U.S. city.

In May 2014, a business case was published by Global Health Visions, LLC, commissioned by Rutgers WPF, the advocacy partner of the Universal Access to Female Condoms (UAFC) Joint Programme. Part of the publication was a study comparing total expected costs with total estimated economic benefits and it determined there was an

excellent return on investment for female condoms in sub-Saharan Africa. For example, in Nigeria an investment of $1 offers a $3.20 return on investment to the country's economy.

Numerous clinical and behavioral studies have been conducted regarding use of the female condom. Studies show that in many cultures, the female condom is found acceptable by women and their partners. Importantly, studies also show that when the female condom is made available as an option along with male condoms there is a significant increase in protected sex acts with a concurrent decrease in STIs. The increase in protected sex acts varies by country and averages between 10 percent and 35 percent.

FC2 consists of a soft, loose fitting sheath and two rings: an external ring of rolled nitrile and a loose internal ring made of flexible polyurethane. FC2's soft sheath lines the vagina, preventing skin-to-skin contact during intercourse. Its external ring remains outside the vagina, partially covering the external genitalia. The internal ring is used for insertion and helps keep the device in place during use.

FC2's primary raw material, a nitrile polymer, offers a number of benefits over natural rubber latex, the raw material most commonly used in male condoms. FC2's nitrile polymer is stronger than latex, reducing the probability that the female condom sheath will tear during use. Unlike latex, FC2's nitrile polymer quickly transfers heat. FC2 can warm to body temperature immediately upon insertion, which may enhance the user's sensation and pleasure. Unlike the male condom, FC2 may be inserted in advance of arousal, eliminating disruption during sexual intimacy. FC2 is also an alternative to latex sensitive users who are unable to use latex male or female condoms without irritation. To the Company's knowledge, there is no reported allergy to the nitrile polymer. FC2 is pre-lubricated, disposable, and recommended for use during a single sex act. FC2 is not reusable.

The first clinical evidence of AIDS was noted more than thirty years ago. Since then, HIV/AIDS has become the most devastating pandemic facing humankind in recorded history. In November 2009, WHO released statistics indicating that on a world-wide basis, HIV/AIDS is now the leading cause of death in women 15 to 44 years of age. According to WHO, in 2012 worldwide women comprised 50 percent of all the adults living with HIV and approximately 58 percent of all new adult cases of HIV/AIDS in Sub-Saharan Africa. In the United States the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and FDA both list heterosexual sex as the most common method of HIV transmission in women.

For sexually active couples, male condoms and FC2 are the only barrier methods approved by the FDA for preventing sexual transmission of HIV/AIDS. In recent years, scientists have sought to develop alternative means of preventing HIV/AIDS. Based on the complexities of such research, a viable prevention alternative is unlikely to be available in the foreseeable future. To date, it is clear that condoms, male and female, continue to play a key role in the prevention of STIs, including HIV/AIDS. The United Nations Joint Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) has reported that, since the beginning of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, it is estimated that condoms have averted approximately 50 million new cases. FC2, when used consistently and correctly, gives a woman control over her sexual health by providing dual protection against STIs, including HIV/AIDS, and unintended pregnancy.

The feminization of HIV/AIDS has increased the relevance of FC2 for the prevention of unintended pregnancies as well as disease prevention. Unintended pregnancy may result in maternal and infant death, babies with HIV/AIDS, AIDS orphans, and increased health care costs.

THE CASE FOR THE FC2 FEMALE CONDOM

THE FEMALE HEALTH COMPANY

My health, my right.

Access to HIV prevention services
is #myrighttohealth

THE FEMALE HEALTH COMPANY

OVERVIEW

- Commodity Context
- Contextual overview
- Debunking myths through evidence

THE FEMALE HEALTH COMPANY

WWW.FEMALECONDOM.COM

GET INSPIRED

https://fc2femalecondom.com/get-inspired/
https://youtu.be/O0V-KYyTza8

ASK

Due to the funding decrease UNFPA is experiencing as the US pulled all their funding under president Trump, and the European countries have re-directed their funding to deal with the migrant influx, there is a funding shortfall leading to Female Condom stock outs in countries.

The Female Health Company is looking for donors who are willing to donate money to UNFPA, and earmark that money for purchase of the FC2 female condom only, so that they can purchase the FC2 female condom for the following countries:

Uganda : 3 million units

Botswana: 1 million units

Sierra Leone: 500,000 units

Tanzania: 1 million units

Ethiopia: 1 million units

Ghana: 1 million units

Tunesia: 1 million units

Bolivia: 500,000 units

Haiti: 500,000 units

Congo DR: 2 million units

The Female Health Company provides the FC2 female condom.

FC2 is the *only* product currently available:

- Under a women's control
- Offering triple protection:
  - Against HIV/AIDS
  - STIs (as well as ZIKA)
  - Unplanned pregnancy
- Approved by the FDA and WHO, as well as other international and national health agencies

WIDEST POSSIBLE CHOICE

FC2 falls under Reproductive Health Supply commodities with UNFPA Supplies:

- **Contraceptives**
  - Combined low dose OC Pills
  - Emergency Contraceptives
  - ***Female Condoms***
  - Lubricants
  - Progestogen only Pills
  - Implantable Contraceptives
  - Injectable Contraceptives
  - Intrauterine Device (IUD)
  - ***Male Condoms***
- **Diagnostic Test Kits**
- **Kits**
- **Medical Devices**
- **Pharmaceutical Devices**

MALE AND FEMALE CONDOM MARKETS

Male Condom Market Global Public sector: 10 billion

Male Condom Market FP2020, 69 countries: 1-1,6 billion

Female Condom Market: 30-60 million

FC is 3%-6% of FP2020 condom market and 0,3%-0,6% of global condom market

Consumer

Global Market

$4 – 6 Billion
Units ~10 – 12 Billion

Global Public Sector

Family Planning

HIV/AIDS

Global Condom Public Health
$ 400 – 500 Million
Units ~10 Billion

CUSTOMERS AND DISTRIBUTION

Key purchasers:

- Global agencies

- Government/ Ministries of Health
- State and local health departments/agencies
- NGOs and CBOs/IPPF/MSI
- Distributors who hold registration for FC2
- Social marketing organizations such as PSI and DKT
- Commercial partners that promote to consumers

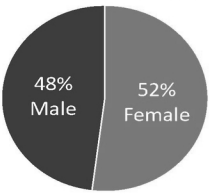
WHY FEMALE CONDOMS?

1) The female condom is the **only female initiated method** that provides ***triple protection*** against STIs including HIV and Zika and against unplanned pregnancy
2) Introduction of male and female condoms in the same market leads to **more overall protected sex acts**
3) Cost effective, **positive return on investment**

THE FEMALE HEALTH COMPANY

HIV/AIDS GLOBAL OVERVIEW

- No. 1 cause of death globally for women age 15-44
- 80% of female cases contracted via heterosexual transmission
- Male and female condoms are the only prevention products available



Worldwide, women represent >50% of new Adult HIV/AIDS infections

THE SOCIAL CASE FOR FC2

Empowering women as a development tool by decreasing maternal mortality & fewer unwanted pregnancies and protecting from HIV-infection, and other STIs

- Worldwide 215 million women who like to plan or limit number of children have no access to contraception
- Worldwide 21.6 million unsafe abortions cause 5 million women hospitalized each year, and account for 13 % of maternal deaths
- Worldwide women and girls account for slightly more than half of all HIV infections
- In sub-Saharan Africa 23 million people live with HIV/AIDS: over 12 million are women and nearly 2.5 million are children

THE PRODUCT CASE FOR FC2

1) **Only FDA *and* WHO** approved Female Condom and as a result approved for bulk procurement by UNFPA and USAID
2) The strong preference for FC2 due to its **non allergenic** material nitrile and long standing reputation
3) FC2 is has been **distributed to 144 countries**.
4) The **backup support**, materials, training provided by FHC

THE PRODUCT CASE FOR FC2 (2)

5) The FC2 female condom, as opposed to the latex male condom, is **made out of Nitrile** which holds many benefits:

- Three times stronger than latex,
- Can be used by people who are latex sensitive, or allergic
- Can hold both water and oil based lubricants (latex tears with oil)
- Can be inserted hours in advance
- Transfers body heat ensuring a more natural sensation

6) The FC2 is **hormone free**, which means that it does not have the side effects of some hormone based contraceptives.

7) **Preferable alternative** to a male condom, according to males

- Men don't have to wear it
- Not tight/restricting
- Can be inserted in advance of sexual activity

DEBUNKING MYTHS & MISCONCEPTIONS

Certain Myths and Misconceptions among decision still exist today, even though the evidence tells otherwise

1) It is too expensive
2) There is no demand
3) We already have male condoms and LARCs so the FC is not necessary
4) Men do not like the product, and without them it will never succeed

1) IT IS TOO EXPENSIVE: **FALSE**

"The Business Case for Female Condoms"

(Global Health Visions, 2014)

Return on investment of female condom procurement for governments through 2 ways:

1) Cost savings to the health system, by focussing on prevention instead of treatment
2) Economic productivity losses averted, as more women are able to join the workforce.

THE BUSINESS CASE FOR FEMALE CONDOMS (2)

The Business case for female condoms found that for every $1,- invested in buying female condoms in Kenya a return of $1,94 is made. In Nigeria for every $1,- invested a return of $3,20 is made. See table below for health benefits.

1,000,000 female condoms	Cameroon	Kenya	Myanmar	Nigeria
# DALYs averted	9,292	9,713	4,122	9,488
# of unintended pregnancies averted	1,939	1,939	1,939	1,939
#of HIV infections averted	108	125	62	100
#of maternal deaths averted	8	4	2	7
#of infant deaths averted	53	39	14	77
#of unsafe abortions averted	243	265	521	213

2) THERE IS NO DEMAND: **FALSE**

Uruguay Study, UNFPA Uruguay and MOH Uruguay (2017):

- 77% of average women said the FC2 was good or very good

Study participants cited greater comfort and practicality and greater protection and safety as the two main advantages of the FC2

- 81% said they would continue using the FC2 in the future
- 64 % said they experienced no difficulties at all

South Africa National Female Condom Program Evaluation (2017)

- 80% of women feld the FC put them in charge
- The level of unprotected sex declined from 43,3 % at baseline to 8,4 % at 12 months after the introduction of the FC

THE LATEST DATA ON

FEMALE CONDOM ACCEPTABILITY

Confirms: Female condoms have high acceptance rates, are in high demand by both women and men, and provide women with triple protection: with the FC2, they have the autonomy to protect themselves from unplanned pregnancy as well as STIs, including HIV & Zika.

SOUTH AFRICA

Results from this study were published in the 20th Edition of the South African Health Review Chapter 19. Twenty years of the female condom programme in South Africa: past, present, and future (Bekker/van et al., 2017). For the cohort study (199 females, 60 male partners) interviews were conducted at baseline, and follow-up interviews were conducted at one, six, and 12 months.

The FC programme introduced in South Africa 20 years ago is now well established and embedded in the healthcare system, in particular systems for HIC and FC distribution are complementary, with similar ordering and reporting processes.

- 74% Nearly 90% of men and women interviewed had heard of the FC, and approximately 20% had used it.
- 72% 72 of the current FC users, 75.4% reported [illegible] than before they started using FCs.
- 57% At the 12-month interview, over half (53%) of the male partners, reported that they were interested in and willing to try FCs when initially introduced to them by their partners and the majority (57%) said that FCs did not change their sexual experience.
- 57% At six months into the research, 57% of women reported that their [illegible] were more supportive of using the FCs (rising from 37% at their one-month interviews).
- 1% 85% of women at one month felt that FC use placed the woman in charge.
- 7% The number of unprotected sex acts declined from 43.3% at baseline to 8.4% at 12 months.
- 29% Women preferred FC use, FCs (29%), followed by Lyst (14%) and Pleasure Plus (2%), Female Health Company has provided training support on the FC2 in South Africa, ever since it was first introduced.
- 29% As their use month interview, 20% of [illegible] reported using the FC, and at 12 months this rose to 74%.

URUGUAY

The FC2 female condom has been available in Uruguay since 2013. A pilot study and pilot scheme were commissioned by UNFPA Uruguay. Results from the 1st pilot study (The Female Condom Satisfaction Study [Estudio de Satisfacción del Condón Femenino] (2012), Fernandez, 2014, 142 female participants):

- 84% These who used the FC2 cited it highly positive, even though it was practically unknown to the participants.
- 84% 84% stated that they would [illegible] recommend it to their friends.
- According to the women, men also rated the FC2 female condom positively.
- The main advantage for women is that it provides them with autonomy.

Results from the 2nd pilot scheme, which included training of health care providers, counselling services, guaranteed supply, and promoting of the product, and PMF of the process (2015, 70 female participants, average age 29):

- 77% 77% of the women said the FC2 was good or very good.
- Study participants cited greater comfort and practicality and greater protection and safety as the two main advantages of FC2.
- 81% 81% said that they would continue using FC2 in the future.
- 64% of women said they experience no difficulties at all.

Promotion of the FC2 in Uruguay forms part of a series of global and regional activities supporting the Comprehensive Condom Programme (CCP), on behalf of the Global Hidden Spices. The encouraging results from the pilot scheme have led to the first procurement of the female condom in the country.

3) WE ALREADY HAVE OTHER COMMODITIES: **FALSE**

AIGHD Research on the Female Condom in Mozambique (2017)

The increase in female condom use was not accompanied by an off-setting decrease in ever or current use of alternative methods.

If anything, current use of male condoms and **other modern contraceptives increased slightly** in the treatment group. Female condoms thus seemed to complement the existing choice set of regular contraceptives

South Africa National Female Condom Program Evaluation (2017)

Of the current FC users 73,4% reported using condoms in general more often than before they started using the female condom.

4) MEN DO NOT LIKE THE PRODUCT: **FALSE**

South Africa National Female Condom Program Evaluation (2017)

- At their one month interview 58% of men said that the FC was better or much better than the MC and at 12 months this rose to 74%
- At six months into the research 97% of women reported that their partners were supportive of using the FC

IN SUMMARY

1) Female Condoms provide a return on investment
2) Female Condoms are in high demand with both men and women, average and key populations
3) Female Condoms increase the overall use of barrier methods and contraceptives, enforcing decrease in overall number of unprotected sex acts

From: Nicholas Ribis [redacted]
Sent: 12/23/2018 2:04:15 PM
To: Jeffrey Epstein [JEEvacation@gmail.com]

Importance: High

Looks like Mick Mulvaney is out before he starts - knew it after his comments about DJT came public-

Sent from my iPhone

From: Nicholas Ribis [redacted]
Sent: 12/23/2018 4:04:58 PM
To: J [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Subject: Re:

Importance: High

Not yet but DJT not speaking to him with family that's why I cannt talk

Sent from my iPhone

On Dec 23, 2018, at 9:43 AM, J <jeevacation@gmail.com> wrote:

i have not seen , is he out?

On Sun, Dec 23, 2018 at 9:04 AM Nicholas Ribis <[redacted]> wrote:

> Looks like Mick Mulvaney is out before he starts - knew it after his comments about DJT came public-
>
> Sent from my iPhone

--

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White House 'looking into' Acosta's role in illegal sex offender plea deal

By JOHN T. BENNETT
CQ-Roll Call

WASHINGTON — White House press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders on Friday declined to say whether President Donald Trump still has confidence in Labor Secretary Alexander Acosta, a day after a federal judge ruled the Justice Department broke the law while Acosta was a U.S. attorney.

A judge said Acosta — then the U.S. attorney in Miami — signed off on a plea deal with Jeffrey Epstein, the Palm Beach billionaire and serial sex abuser, without informing victims about what they were doing.

Epstein also owns the island of Little St. James in the Virgin Islands.

"My understanding is that it's a very complicated case, something we're certainly looking into," Sanders said.

Jeffrey Epstein

The Florida-based U.S. District Judge Kenneth A. Marra ruled Acosta and other officials did not confer with Epstein's victims about the 2008 plea agreement. But, notably, she appeared to defend the labor boss.

"But that they made the best possible deal that they could have gotten at that time," she said. "But, again, that's something we're looking into."

A federal judge said U.S. Labor Secretary Alexander Acosta — then the U.S. attorney in Miami — signed off on a plea deal with Jeffrey Epstein, the Palm Beach billionaire and serial sex abuser, without informing the dozens of victims about what they were doing. Epstein also owns the island of little St. James in the Virgin Islands.

Asked if Trump still has confidence in the latest member of his Cabinet — which he frequently praises as doing a collective solid job — Sanders declined to say the president does. "Again, that's something we're looking into," the spokeswoman said, "I'm not aware of any changes."

The judge said in his decision Thursday that he had reviewed evidence showing Epstein sexually abused more than 30 underage girls at his Palm Beach mansion and elsewhere.

The Crime Victims' Rights Act promises victims that the Justice Department would make its "best efforts" to protect a victim, the filing said. It allows victims the "reasonable right" to confer with the U.S. attorneys handling the case.

The deal reached between Acosta and Epstein's attorneys allowed him to not be prosecuted in federal court, and instead sentenced in state court. The immunity from prosecution also extended to some of Epstein's co-conspirators.

Epstein pleaded guilty to two prostitution charges and served 13 months in county jail, according to the Miami Herald. The victims were not told of the agreement or sentencing until it was too late to intervene.

The Department of Justice announced earlier this month it has opened an investigation into the handling of Epstein's case.

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 1/12/2012 4:57:10 PM
To: [redacted]
Subject: Re: B 727 thought

yes

On Thu, Jan 12, 2012 at 4:23 PM, <[redacted]> wrote:
you want me to call Tarek, instead? just to confirm.

In a message dated 1/12/2012 10:21:24 A.M. Eastern Standard Time, jeevacation@gmail.com writes:

Call

Sorry for all the typos .Sent from my iPhone

On Jan 12, 2012, at 4:12 PM [redacted] wrote:

Jeffrey,
this may be a long shot to save the Boeing deal, or if you think its a dead deal, disregard this.
I thought there was a connection between Tarek and myself, I do believe one concern was operation of Boeing with flight crew. I know its his problem not ours, but may help make the sale happen,.
I wrote this email for your review, if you think its worth sending, please critique, and let me know,. thank you:

Mr. Tarek El Sayed,

I hope this email finds you well, and believe worth communicating my thoughts to you.

I was surprised to hear that you decided against the purchase of our Super Boeing 727. I personally thought it was a great match for your business needs in Qatar. If for any reason your decision was based on crew issues and charter needs in the Middle East, I'd like to share some information that might prove beneficial to making you reconsider this purchase.

The pilot candidates I have lined up for your interview along with the possibility of David Rodgers joining your flight department were as follows:

(at no time did I disclose location or persons to the following pilot candidates to protect your privacy.)

Robert Breslin, who is the former Chief Pilot of Mr. Donald Trump, Mr. Breslin flew the Boeing 727 and Boeing 757 owned by Mr Trump. Mr Breslin is a fine man of 40 years of age estimate, with extensive VIP Boeing operations.

James Bartakowski, who has extensive flying experience in the Middle east, Africa and Europe régime. Mr. Bartakowski has also been involved in charter operations in Africa and Middle East and has contacted me on several recent occasions with charters for our Boeing 727, James has indicated there is the possibility of 40 – 60 hours per month charter operations for larger transport category aircraft in your area. I believe there is a growing need for charter in the business community in Qatar and neighboring countries.

Bruce Jafahri, who is a current Boeing 727 captain who lived in Doha for two years, and familiar with international operations of Boeing 727 aircraft. Mr. Jafahri currently lives in California and ready for a new opportunity. Bruce is current in the Boeing 727 and also flew Captain on the Boeing 747. Well qualified individual and personable.

Mr. El Sayed, as you have seen during our demo flight, our Boeing 727 is in impeccable condition, quite cabin and will provide many years of charter and business flights your company. I believe the large business jet future in Qatar is growing and you will be leading its path, and your initial investment in this purchase will not come close with other aircraft options on the market as you may have seen already.

We are currently completing the C2C check on the Boeing, and as we have done in the past, assure you it will be a fine aircraft when it leaves Flight Star Maintenance repair facility.

Sincerely,

Lawrance Visoski

Chief Pilot, JEGE Inc.

=

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****
The information contained in this communication is
confidential, may be attorney-client privileged, may
constitute inside information, and is intended only for
the use of the addressee. It is the property of
Jeffrey Epstein
Unauthorized use, disclosure or copying of this
communication or any part thereof is strictly prohibited
and may be unlawful. If you have received this
communication in error, please notify us immediately by
return e-mail or by e-mail to jeevacation@gmail.com, and
destroy this communication and all copies thereof,
including all attachments. copyright -all rights reserved

From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 8/27/2012 11:05:23 AM
To: Sultan Bin Sulayem[redacted]
Subject: Re: How to Repair the Widening American-Israeli Rift

http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5j0ONtuA2fbH1hED38qZkrNKc6VJw?docId=CNG.158e059567cc64e99373df644f3134b3.01

On Mon, Aug 27, 2012 at 6:22 AM, Sultan Bin Sulayem <[redacted]> wrote:

Begin forwarded message:

From: Esneh <[redacted]>
Date: August 27, 2012 9:23:47 AM GMT+01:00
To: 'Esneh'[redacted]>
Subject: How to Repair the Widening American-Israeli Rift

Israel Policy Forum

On Iran: How to Repair the Widening American-Israeli Rift

Ephraim Sneh

The Islamist takeover in the Middle East and North Africa has created perilous strategic turbulence in the region. Consequently, it is now critically important that the United States and its few allies cooperate closely. Unfortunately, this has not been the case in recent weeks for US-Israel relations regarding Iran's nuclear program. The disagreement about attacking Iran's nuclear facilities has turned into ugly bickering, much of it disguised. This is harmful for both Israel and the United States.

To heal this rift – which is necessary to effectively address the Iranian threat – we must understand the following basic facts:

1. The Israeli fear of a nuclear Iran is genuine. It is not a political trick of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu or Defense Minister Ehud Barak. A nuclear Iran would bolster and encourage extremist militant forces across the region. The moderates would be discouraged, intimidated and invariably weakened to the point where they would be unable to negotiate with Israel. In just a few years, Israel will be surrounded by three 'Pakistan-like' countries: Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Turkey. All three would possess nuclear weapons and be dominated politically by Islamists. In such a scenario, Israel would lose its strategic advantage in the region. It would lose its lead as a country of entrepreneurship and excellence, as foreign investment would decline and talented young Israelis would build their future abroad. No responsible Israeli

leader will allow such a nightmare to become a reality. The hateful declarations of Iran's leaders, committed to wiping the Jewish state off the map, do not assuage Israelis' fears.

2. **Economic sanctions cannot convince the regime in Teheran** to abandon its nuclear project. However, sanctions *can* bring about the collapse of the regime if they are vigorously implemented and enforced.

3. **An American military strike against Iran's nuclear facilities would be more effective than an Israeli one**. But disparaging Israel's capabilities and its military ingenuity, undermining its deterrence effect, is a grave mistake.

4. **Israel's operational window is closing**. If Israel has to cope alone with the Iranian threat, its window of operational opportunity is narrower than the American one. It has to act sooner.

5. **An Israeli military strike in the next two months, contravening repeated demands by the U.S. President to postpone it, would be counterproductive**. The damage of defying the President would be greater than the damage sustained by allowing the Iranian regime an additional few months of advancing toward acquiring the bomb. Such a strike may broaden the gap between the U.S. and Israel and weaken the alliance, which all previous Israeli Prime-Ministers have safeguarded as a strategic asset of Israel.

6. **The United States has failed to prevent countries like Pakistan or North Korea from obtaining nuclear weapons**. This record feeds Israeli skepticism about a U.S. success in the case of Iran. This skepticism prevails despite the clear rhetoric and unquestionable commitments of the President and the Secretaries of State and Defense to prevent a nuclear Iran.

7. **The fact that the Israeli Prime Minister and the Republican presidential candidate share the same political benefactor feeds suspicions** in the Obama administration about Netanyahu's motives for attacking Iran a few weeks before the U.S. presidential elections.

8. **The regional perspective cannot continue ignoring the unresolved Israeli-Palestinian conflict**. This issue can no longer be swept under the rug. Maintaining the status quo is politically comfortable in the short-run, but it will be combustible and devastating in the long run. Achieving the two-state solution will preserve Israel as a Jewish, democratic state. It will end Israel's regional isolation. It will rebuild America's standing and influence in the Arab and Muslim world. Furthermore, these last two outcomes will strengthen America's and Israel's hands in thwarting Iran's nuclear weapons ambitions.

These eight basic facts combine to produce a complex reality. When fully understood, they can pave the way to restoring U.S.-Israeli harmony. There is no symmetry between the United States, the super-power, and its tiny ally, Israel. But the "package" required from each side in order to mend fences has to include the following mutual commitments:

1. Israel will not attack Iran in 2012.

2. The United States will hold a joint intelligence estimate session with Israel in the early spring of 2013. If the conclusion of this joint estimate is that there is no substantial slow-down of the Iranian nuclear project, the U.S. will take military action to destroy this project.

3. The United States will oppose any attempt to intervene in Israel's strategic capacities and will prevent any monitoring of Israel's own strategic installations. At the same time, the United States

will uncompromisingly support Israel's right to preserve and develop its indigenous military capacities.

4. Israel will accept an American invitation to attend a peace conference that will be convened in the U.S. no later than mid-2013. This gathering will address the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, aiming to resolve it once and for all with an agreed-upon timetable for implementation.

These four commitments would serve the interests of both the United States and Israel. They would enable the U.S. to resume its leadership role of peacemaking in the Middle East. And they would provide a basis for binding the U.S. and Israel together as they face these challenging times.

Ephraim Sneh, a retired IDF General, served as Israel's deputy minister of defense. He is currently and Israel Policy Forum contributing fellow and chairman of S. Daniel Abraham Center for Strategic Dialogue at the Netanya Academic College.

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The Wall Street Journal

The Ayatollah Always Says No

Editorial

February 8, 2013 --The Farsi word for "no" is na h, which is easy enough to remember. Maybe even Joe Biden won't forget it the next time the U.S. tries to reach out diplomatically to Iran.

We're speaking of the Administration's latest effort to come to terms with Tehran over its nuclear programs, which Mr. Biden made last weekend at the Munich Security Conference. The U.S. offer of direct bilateral talks, he said, "stands, but it must be real and tangible." Iranian foreign minister Ali Akbar Salehi, who was also at the conference though he refused to meet with U.S. officials, called Mr. Biden's comments "a step forward."

Mr. Salehi's remark set the usual hearts aflutter that Iran is finally serious about a deal. But the optimism was brief. On Thursday, Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei flatly rejected direct talks with the U.S. "The U.S. is pointing a gun at Iran and wants us to talk to them," he said. "Direct talks will not solve any problems."

This isn't the first time Mr. Khamenei has played chaste Daphne to President Obama's infatuated Apollo. Just after becoming President in 2009, Mr. Obama sent the Ayatollah two private letters and delivered a conciliatory speech for the Persian new year of Nowruz. Mr. Khamenei's answer: "They chant the slogan of change but no change is seen in practice." He told a crowd chanting "death to America" that "if a hand is stretched covered with a velvet glove but it is cast iron inside, that makes no sense."

That was in March 2009. In October of that year the U.S. and its allies tentatively worked out a deal with Iranian negotiators to move some of

their enriched uranium outside Iran. Western analysts were confident that Mr. Khamenei would give his blessing, given the international pressure he was said to be under following the fraudulent elections and the bloody crackdown that followed.

The Ayatollah quashed that deal too: "Whenever they [Americans] smile at the officials of the Islamic revolution, when we carefully look at the situation, we notice that they are hiding a dagger behind their back."

It was the same in January 2011, when diplomacy also collapsed. Ditto in 2012, when negotiations in February, May and June each ended in failure. Washington went into those talks thinking they were going to succeed on the theory that Tehran desperately wants relief from the supposedly crippling pressure of economic sanctions.

Why does the Ayatollah keep saying no? The conventional wisdom is that previous U.S. offers weren't generous enough, or that the wrong President was in the White House, or that Iran wants only to deal directly with the U.S. and not in multilateral forums. Each of these theories has been tested and shown to be false.

A more persuasive explanation—get ready for this shocker—is that Iran really wants a bomb. The regime believes, not unreasonably, that Moammar Gadhafi would still be in power had he not given up his nuclear program in 2003. Mr. Khamenei also fears a "velvet revolution" scenario, in which more normal ties with the West threaten the ideological foundations of the Islamic Republic. Confrontation with America is in this regime's DNA.

Meantime, the pretense of negotiations has allowed Tehran to play for time to advance its programs. When Mr. Obama took office, Iran had enriched 1,000 kilos of reactor-grade uranium. In its last report from November, U.N. inspectors found that Iran has produced 7,611 kilos to reactor grade, along with 232 kilos of uranium enriched to 20%, which is close to bomb-grade. Last month, Iran declared that it would install 3,000 advanced centrifuges at its Natanz facility, which can enrich uranium at two to three times its current rate.

As for the sanctions, they may hurt ordinary Iranians but this regime is famously indifferent to the suffering of its own people. The Ayatollah also doesn't seem to take the Administration's talk about "all options being on the table" seriously. Mr. Obama's nomination of Iran dove Chuck Hagel to be Secretary of Defense reinforces that impression, as do reports that the White House blocked Pentagon and CIA plans to arm the opposition that's fighting to overthrow Iran's client regime in Damascus. An America that won't help proxies in a proxy war isn't likely to take the fight directly to Iran's nuclear facilities.

In rejecting Mr. Biden's offer, the Ayatollah said frankly, "I'm not a diplomat; I'm a revolutionary." Another round of multilateral talks with Iran is set to resume this month, but maybe Joe Biden and his boss should start taking no for an answer.

Article 2.

Foreign Policy

Let's face it: Obama's Iran policy is failing

James Traub

February 8, 2013 -- There is no better example of an Obama administration initiative that has succeeded on its own terms, and yet failed as policy, than Iran. By engaging the regime in Tehran, and being rebuffed, the White House has been able to enlist China, Russia, and the European Union in imposing tough sanctions on Iran. By steadily ratcheting up those sanctions, the administration has been able to gradually squeeze the Iranian economy. By insisting that "containment" is not an option, Obama has persuaded Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu that he need not launch an attack on Iran's nuclear facilities -- at least not any time soon.

Obama has done everything right, and yet his Iran policy is failing. There is no evidence that the sanctions will bring Iran to its knees and force the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, to accept the humiliation of abandoning his nuclear program. But neither is there any sign of new thinking in the White House. "I don't see how what didn't work last year is going to work this year," says Vali Nasr, who served in the Obama State Department before becoming dean of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. He might not get much of an argument from White House officials, who, the New York Times recently noted, "seem content with stalemate."

The United States is not negotiating directly with Iran but rather doing so through the P5+1, which consists of the five permanent Security Council members and Germany. The P5+1's current position is that Iran must stop enriching nuclear fuel to 20 percent purity -- a point from which Iran could quickly move to weapons-grade material -- transfer its existing stock of such fuel to a third country, and shut down one of its two enrichment facilities, known as Fordow. In exchange, the parties will help Iran produce such fuel for medical purposes, which the regime claims is its actual goal. Iran has refused, saying it will not shut down Fordow.

But the current state of play masks the larger issue, which is that the ayatollah and those around him believe the United States wants to make Iran cry uncle -- which happens to be true. The next round of P5+1 negotiations, now scheduled for Feb. 25 in Kazakhstan, are almost certainly not going to go anywhere unless the United States signals that it is prepared to make what the Iranians view as meaningful and equivalent moves in exchange for Iranian concessions. Arms-control experts say that both British Prime Minister David Cameron and Catherine Ashton, head of foreign affairs for the European Union, favor offering Iran a reduction in sanctions; but there's a limit to what they can do without the United States.

Of course, such flexibility would be pointless if Iran is simply hell-bent on gaining the capacity to produce a nuclear weapon. The signals, as always with Iran, are cryptic. Iranian authorities have told nuclear inspectors that they plan to install a new generation of centrifuges in order to accelerate

enrichment. And yet Iran also chose to convert some of its stockpile of highly enriched uranium for medical use rather than approach the amount needed for a bomb, leading Israeli authorities to predict that Iran wouldn't be able to build a bomb before 2015 or 2016. Last week, Ali Akbar Velayati, Khamenei's foreign policy advisor, publicly criticized officials who have treated the negotiations dismissively. Presumably, he was thinking of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who has compared Iran's nuclear program to a train without brakes.

Iran is now at the outset of what promises to be a raucous presidential election, and may be no more capable of serious negotiations between now and June than the United States was in 2012. But what is clear is that the sanctions have moderated Iranian behavior and rhetoric. At the same time, as the Times also noted, the economic pressure is not nearly great enough to compel concessions that the regime would view as a blow to national pride. In short, Iran might -- might -- be more willing to accept a face-saving compromise than they were a year or two ago, but will need serious inducements to do so.

What would that entail? Virtually all the proposals that have come from outside experts suggest that the P5+1 begin with modest confidence-building measures, especially in the period before the election. A recent report by the Arms Control Association enumerates several of them. Western diplomats, for example, could take up Ali Akbar Salehi, Iran's foreign minister, on his proposal to limit the "extent" of enrichment -- i.e., well below 20 percent -- in exchange for fuel rods for the research reaction and a recognition of Iran's "right to enrich," a notional concept the United States already supports under specified conditions. Or Iran could suspend 20-percent enrichment in exchange for a suspension of new sanctions. But Iran is unlikely to accept even such small steps unless it felt that additional moves would win additional explicit concessions.

Beyond that, the outlines of what in Middle East peacemaking is known as "final status" are clear enough: Iran agrees to verifiable inspections to ensure that it does not enrich uranium beyond 3.5 percent and does not pursue a nuclear weapons program, while the West accepts Iran's "right to enrich" and dismantles sanctions. Of course, the outlines of a Middle East

peace deal are clear enough, too. But in both cases, neither side trusts the other, and each demands that the other go first. Instead, nobody goes anywhere.

U.S. officials have very good reason to be wary of Iran's bona fides. In 2009, they reached a deal with Iranian negotiators to send the stockpile of highly enriched uranium out of the country -- only to see the ayatollah repudiate it. As Ray Takeyh, an Iran expert with the Council on Foreign Relations puts it, "Khamenei has created a politics where it's hard for him to compromise." But so has the United States. Anyone who watched Chuck Hagel's confirmation hearing knows that it is an article of faith in Congress -- and pretty much a bipartisan one -- that Iran is a faithless, illegitimate terrorist state that will be deterred from building a bomb only by the threat of massive attack. Had Hagel been foolish enough to suggest that the United States offer to reduce sanctions in exchange for Iranian concessions, the White House would have had to find a new candidate for defense secretary.

It's the U.S. Congress that arguably holds the high cards, though the White House put them in its hands. The most potent sanctions are legislated, and have been written in such a way that they will be very hard to unwind. Obama can waive them for up to six months. But the ayatollah is not about to make irreversible decisions in exchange for six months of relief.

The White House is thus stuck between Tehran and Capitol Hill. And it can't live long with the current stalemate. After all, Obama has said that "containment" is not an option. He is hoping that the combination of economic pain and fear of military action will bring Tehran to its senses. If it doesn't, the president has said that he is prepared to use force. Perhaps he feels that just as spurned engagement served as the predicate for tough sanctions, so would failed negotiations lay the predicate for a broadly supported strike against Iran's nuclear facilities. Iran left us no choice, he might say, as the bombers fly.

That would constitute a diplomatic triumph ... if a strike against Iran's nuclear facilities is a good idea. If in fact it's a dreadful prospect -- worse, perhaps, even than containment -- then it would constitute a failure that

would obliterate the record of adroit diplomacy of the last four years. Obama understands very well -- even if many members of Congress do not -- that even our worst adversaries have interests of their own, that those interests feel as legitimate to them as ours do to us, and that we at least have a chance of settling disputes with them if we can find the place where our interests overlap. The time has come for him to apply that wisdom to Iran.

James Traub is a fellow of the Center on International Cooperation.

Article 3.

The National

An uneasy courtship as Iran and Egypt test the waters

Alan Philps

Feb 8, 2013 -- There is a consensus among commentators that the visit of the Iranian president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, to Egypt - complete with red carpet and kiss on both cheeks from President Mohammed Morsi - does not amount to a breakthrough. The view of US think-tanks is that it does not amount to very much at all, and certainly not worth getting anxious about. Such a consensus is always dangerous, and it is worth looking more closely at what it is based on.

Mr Ahmadinejad is the first Iranian leader to set foot in Cairo since the deposed Shah of Iran was given refuge in Cairo, where he died and received a state funeral. The two countries have not had diplomatic relations since 1979.

The Iranian president's visit has deep historical significance, even if he came as a guest of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference summit. The picture of the two presidents embracing says to the world: Egypt is

released from the US straitjacket and is free to resume its position as a regional power.

There are plenty of reasons, however, to dismiss the visit as just show. Mr Ahmadinejad is a lame duck, banned by the constitution from running for a third term in the June elections. As Iran moves into a period of war economy under the pressure of sanctions designed to curb its nuclear programme, Mr Ahmadinejad is engaged in a furious struggle to ensure that his rival, the parliamentary speaker, Ali Larijani, does not succeed him. The corruption allegations levelled by Mr Ahmadinejad against the Larijani family are deeply damaging to the Iranian regime.

Mr Morsi, meanwhile, has little to show Egyptians that he has improved their lot. Cairo is the scene of near-constant street battles and the economy is tanking. Egypt's currency reserves have just sunk to $13.6 billion (Dh50 billion), below the critical level needed to cover three months of imports. The country is staring bankruptcy in the face, but cannot access emergency funds from the International Monetary Fund without implementing unpopular reforms that would further raise social tensions.

Both leaders need to show that they have "friends" abroad. The reality is a little different. Egypt and Iran appear to be divided by the Syria conflict, which is symptomatic of the wider split between the Sunni Muslim powers, led by Saudi Arabia, and Iran's faltering "axis of resistance" that, with Syria in play and Hamas having defected, now looks increasingly like a Shia Muslim axis.

If we look more closely, then the story of Egypt resuming its role as a regional power looks premature. At this stage, Egypt is trying to find some space to manoeuvre between Saudi Arabia and Iran. Given that Saudi Arabia has the money that Egypt needs, and Washington has a lock on the actions of the IMF, that space is limited.

But what does Washington think? Not very much at the moment. With President Barack Obama's second term team still being assembled, it is not surprising that there is something of a vacuum in Middle East policy. But the issue is deeper than that. The Obama administration has declared it

wants to focus on the Asia-Pacific region and, surprisingly, it means what it says.

Only a year after troops withdrew from Iraq, that country is not talked about in Washington, like an embarrassing relative. In North Africa, the US military has taken a back seat while the work of toppling Colonel Muammar Qaddafi and driving back the jihadists in Mali has been left to Franco-British forces. Syrian policy is one of drift, where the administration finds all options unpalatable. In Egypt, Washington has set a red line for the Muslim Brotherhood leadership: it must adhere to the peace treaty with Israel. Everything else is negotiable.

This week the Pentagon revealed that it would no longer be stationing two aircraft carriers in the Gulf region, as it has done for most of the past two years, due to cuts in the defence budget, and the possibility of even more stringent ones if Congress fails to agree on raising the US debt ceiling.

The Iranian nuclear programme remains a priority in Washington, but the carrier decision indicates a less warlike stance. One cannot say that US power is ebbing, but there is a clear lack of political will in Washington for decisive action in the Middle East. For now, the logic is that regional powers will have to take more responsibility. Egypt, although impotent at the moment, will have to find its role. The US needs to talk to Iran if there is ever going to be a compromise on its nuclear programme. Maybe Egypt could help.

Both Egypt and Iran have denied a report that General Qassem Suleimani, commander of the Quds force, a division of the Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, and the man responsible for Iran's military operations in Syria, visited Cairo in January. There was no reaction in Washington to this report.

If there is going to be a resolution of the Syrian crisis without a decade of Lebanon-style war, then allies of the US will have to speak to someone of the calibre of Gen Suleimani, a far more important figure than Mr Ahmadinejad. Could this lead to a historic compromise between the Muslim Brotherhood and the ayatollahs to create a new Islamic front spreading revolution?

That is out of the question. Egypt is too reliant on foreign finance, which Iran cannot offer at the moment, for it to swing into Tehran's orbit. And there is far too much domestic opposition.

What is clear is that while the US is reluctant to take direct responsibility, other countries must find ways of resolving the regional contradictions that have become unmanageable in the era of American tutelage. That will lead to some unlikely meetings taking place. The Morsi-Ahmadinejad embrace may not be a breakthrough, but it does show one thing: what was unthinkable a few years ago may one day be the norm.

Article 4.

Al-Monitor

Hamas Weighs Options For Recognizing Israel

Adnan Abu Amer

February 8 -- Recently, a lot has been said — and a lot of denials have been issued — about Hamas recognizing a two-state solution. It appears that Hamas is still vacillating between explicitly and implicitly recognizing Israel. Hamas realizes that recognizing Israel would open up the world's doors to the movement. At the same time, Hamas knows that such a move would be seen as a betrayal by the movement's supporters, both inside and outside Palestine. As Hamas well knows, its legitimacy derives from its vocal support for armed struggle within the complicated Palestinian reality. Hamas also knows that it will pay a heavy price if it is seen to be agreeing to international conditions. The cost will not only be political, but also ideological. Hamas has spent many years talking and writing about its notion of the state, its identity, borders, concept, constitution and the role of Islam within it. Generations of Hamas members were raised on those ideas. But those ideas have remained part

of the imagination and heritage, and of the nostalgic dream of restoring the Islamic caliphate.

The concept of the state

Today's debate within Hamas over the concept of the state is more concrete than theoretical. The political conditions in the Palestinian territories do not allow for dreaming about unrealistic grand theories being promoted by some Islamist movements. Hamas is facing real-world problems that require real-world solutions. The Palestinian state being envisioned by Palestinian, Arab, and world politicians is based on the June 1967 borders. But does that fit Hamas's political vision and intellectual orientation? Generations of Islamists have been raised on the concept of the "Islamic state," which is synonymous with the Islamic caliphate. But Hamas's situation is a little different. Israel's occupation of all Palestinian territories is a political and concrete obstacle to the dream of an Islamic state and it forces the consideration of more realistic options. So we have started hearing, from Hamas, statements about establishing a Palestinian state on the June 1967 borders. There is no doubt that this development is an intellectual and political shift by Hamas. More than 20 years ago, Hamas founder Sheik Ahmed Yassin proposed a long truce with Israel. But today, such a proposal is more realistic and is attributed to Hamas's current leader Khaled Meshaal. Hamas in 2013 is different than Hamas in 1993. Hamas is now an influential player and its statements and stances are taken into account by regional and international decision-making circles.

Recognition and commitment

The shuttle diplomacy by Western officials between Gaza, where Hamas's domestic leadership is located, and the Arab capitals of Doha, Cairo and Amman have only one objective: getting Hamas to agree to the conditions that would allow it to be embraced by the international community. In other words, they want Hamas to agree to the two-state solution. And that, explicitly or implicitly, essentially means that Hamas has recognized Israel's right to exist! Those who have been following Hamas's course since it was founded 25 years ago notice that every once in awhile there is

international pressure to make Hamas agree to those conditions. But Hamas is afraid to fall into the same trap that others, like Fatah, have fallen into without getting anything in return except loss of popular support, as was demonstrated in the elections seven years ago. In light of the demands that the movement should recognize the two-state solution and make political commitments, some influential circles within the Hamas leadership think that the movement is being drawn into going beyond its rational political discourse and how it deals with the reality on the ground, and into recognizing Israel and exchanging messages with it. However, the siege has made the Palestinian territories miserable. So decision-makers in Hamas are forced to issue hints and signals that do not affect the movement's general principles. Those signals, however, may be misunderstood. And this is where the problem lies. No one thinks that Hamas supporters will make a big deal of those signals, but any concrete steps toward recognizing Israel will cost Hamas dearly, something which I don't think Hamas wants during this dangerous phase. At the external level, Hamas's enemies and opponents may think that the siege has finally paid off, albeit a little late, and that Hamas's current declarations are signals that, if the siege and the Palestinian suffering continue, the movement may explicitly recognize Israel, which would open the "appetite" of Hamas' opponents for more breakthroughs in its ideology and principles.

Not an existential conflict, but a border dispute.

Although Hamas is aware of all that, it should be noted that in a few months it is facing elections during which the movement's signals that it may accept a two-state solution will be used in a fierce anti-Hamas campaign. Even though the movement has provided a different administrative performance than before, the fundamental change in the movement's political program may be a decisive factor for the Palestinian voters. As Hamas is being smothered, with a few breaches here and there, the demands that it should recognize Israel are ongoing and without letup. In other words, Hamas must choose between recognizing Israel to stay in power, or losing what it has achieved democratically as punishment for having to refused to bow to the world's conditions. In reality, the

international community has not significantly changed its relationship with the Palestinians, including Hamas, over the past months and years. There has only been some cosmetic and tactical changes. Washington, the European Union and the UN have not only signaled to Hamas that it should join the "broken and paralyzed" peace process, they have also insisted that the Palestinians explicitly recognize Israel. But this time, those powers are armed with an "Islamic religious cloak," which would make a recognition of Israel more meaningful, especially since Hamas considers its conflict with Israel to be an ideological "existential conflict, not a border dispute." That pressure is accompanied with a financial and economic blockade, which is increasing the pressure on Hamas, especially since those carrying out the blockade are blocking anything that would alleviate Palestinian suffering. It is clear that they want to punish the Palestinians for electing Hamas and warn them against reelecting them; that is if the reconciliation succeeds and the elections happen on time. It should be noted that certain Israeli and Western research institutions have estimated the timeframe that Hamas will need to explicitly recognize Israel. They may accept from Hamas certain rhetorical signals for a while before the movement officially recognizes Israel. Since Hamas was founded in late 1987, it has been conducting an ideological and political campaign for its members and supporters against recognizing Israel. Hamas' constitution says that Israel is a "cancer that must be eradicated," and that "its demise is a Quranic inevitability." Those and other slogans have been a key component of Hamas's political discourse. It is therefore not easy for Hamas to change overnight due to political realism and suddenly tell its supporters: We shall recognize Israel, but it's under duress!

Adnan Abu Amer is Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and a lecturer in the history of the Palestinian issue, national security, political science and Islamic civilization at Al Ummah University Open Education.

Article 6.

NYT

An Assassination in Tunisia

Editorial

February 8, 2013 -- Tunisia is where the Arab Spring began just over two years ago. Until now it has set an encouraging example of progress toward democracy and pluralism. Free elections brought to power a coalition government pledged to pragmatic cooperation between a moderate-led Islamist party, Ennahda, and smaller, secular coalition partners.

Progress has not always been smooth. But just as Tunisians inspired people in neighboring countries like Egypt and Libya to rise up against their corrupt and repressive dictators, they also seemed, for many, to point the way toward a democratic future accommodating both religious beliefs and the rights of the secular under the rule of law.

Those hopes have been severely shaken by the murder on Wednesday of Chokri Belaid. Mr. Belaid, a human- rights activist and one of Ennahda's most outspoken critics, had publicly challenged the party's failure to investigate or prosecute violent acts of intimidation carried out by shadowy gangs of religious extremists. Mr. Belaid's killers have not yet been identified. But suspicion now falls on those same extremist groups, which had issued public threats against Mr. Belaid and other prominent secular leaders — without any serious government response.

Thousands gathered for Mr. Belaid's funeral on Friday amid a nationwide general strike called by his trade union supporters. Tensions are high. What is urgently needed is a credible, independent investigation of Mr. Belaid's murder, followed by prosecution of the killers.

Given Ennahda's record of selectively ignoring Islamist violence, that investigation cannot be left to its appointees alone. A preferable alternative would be to reconstitute the broad-based, multiparty commissions that successfully oversaw Tunisia's free elections in October 2011 and investigated the crimes of the fallen dictatorship.

Ennahda, which captured 41 percent of the vote in the elections, promised to cooperate with secular parties and show respect for pluralism. Instead, it is sending muddled messages. On Wednesday, Prime Minister Hamadi Jebali made a conciliatory gesture by proposing a temporary nonpolitical cabinet and new elections. Unfortunately, hard-line party members quickly repudiated him.

Tunisia's revolution, which has overcome past crises, can overcome this one if Ennahda and all other Tunisian parties recommit themselves to nonviolence, mutual tolerance and upholding the rule of law.

Article 7.

The Washington Post

Iraq's return to bloodshed

Kimberly Kagan and Frederick W. Kagan

February 8, 2013 -- Eighteen days of protests in Egypt in 2011 electrified the world. But more than twice that many days of protest in Iraq have gone almost unnoticed in the United States. Iraqi army troops killed five Sunni protesters in Fallujah on Jan. 25, after a month of anti-government protests in Anbar, Nineveh and Salahuddin provinces and elsewhere for which thousands turned out. Al-Qaeda in Iraq and Iranian-backed Shiite militias are re-mobilizing. Iraq teeters on the brink of renewed insurgency and, potentially, civil war.

This crisis matters for America. U.S. vital interests that have been undermined over the past year include preventing Iraq from becoming a haven for al-Qaeda and destabilizing the region by becoming a security vacuum or a dictatorship that inflames sectarian civil war; containing Iranian influence in the region; and ensuring the free flow of oil to the global market.

While tensions have risen over the past two years, the triggers for recent eruptions are clear. Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki, a Shiite, had the

bodyguards of Finance Minister Rafie al-Issawi, who is Sunni, arrested for alleged terrorist activities on Dec. 20 — almost exactly one year after he ordered the arrest of Sunni Vice President Tariq al-Hashimi's security detail. Hashimi fled to Turkey and is unlikely to return soon to Iraq, where he was sentenced to death after Maliki demanded his trial in absentia for murder and financing terrorism.

The threat to Issawi, a moderate technocrat from Anbar, galvanized Iraqi Sunnis, who rightly saw Maliki's move as sectarian and an assault on government participation by Sunnis not under the prime minister's thumb. Three days after the arrests, demonstrations broke out in Ramadi, Fallujah and Samarra. Three days after that, a large protest closed the highway from Baghdad to Syria and Jordan. The popular resistance spread to Mosul on Dec. 27.

These protests erupted during a constitutional crisis and as an expanding Arab-Kurd conflict has become increasingly militarized. Iraqi President Jalal Talabani was incapacitated by a stroke on Dec. 17 and has been out of the countryfor treatment. Iraq's constitution specifies a line of succession — but with one vice president in exile and the other a Shiite and obvious Maliki proxy, Iraq has been, in effect, operating without a president. Political processes that require presidential involvement have been paralyzed, including moving forward with long-standing efforts by Sunnis and Kurds to hold a parliamentary vote of no-confidence in Maliki.

Talabani had been the critical link holding Baghdad and Kurdistan together since tensions rose following a 10-day standoff between Iraqi army units and Kurdish pesh merga troops in October, after Maliki sent the army toward the disputed city of Kirkuk. That move followed a series of skirmishes and mobilizations along the "Green Line" separating Kurdistan from Arab Iraq and a series of attacks in the area by al-Qaeda in Iraq.

The recent protests underscore the collapse of the inclusive political accommodation reached in 2007, which had been reconfirmed by the formation of a grand Sunni-Shiite-Kurd coalition government after parliamentary elections in 2010. By November 2012, Maliki had evolved

to openly discussing his intention to form a "majoritarian government" that would exclude the most important Sunni representatives. In mid-December he participated in creating a Shiite grand alliance as the launching pad for that government. The principal Sunni political leaders, including Issawi, parliamentary speaker Osama al-Nujaifiand Anbari tribal leader Ahmed abu Rishaannounced their intention to form their own coalition. In short, Iraqi politics was re-fragmenting along sectarian and ethnic lines even before the protests began.

Understood in this context, the Iraqi army's killing of protesters in Fallujah last month is a watershed event similar to the destruction of the Askariya shrine in Samarra in February 2006, though the crisis will not escalate as quickly. Sunni-Shiite tensions have hitherto played out in political forums. The key actors in today's crisis are not the Sunni political leaders but, rather, Anbari tribal leaders, including Ali Hatem Ali Suleiman, one of the most powerful leaders of Iraq's largest Sunni tribe. Suleiman and fellow leaders of the Dulaim tribe were essential to engineering the Anbar Awakening in 2007 and Sunni participation in the government, for which they rejected al-Qaeda in Iraq and renounced violence against the state. They responded to the killings of protesters last month by threatening open war against the state for the first time since 2007. So far at least, they have restrained protesters and resisted violent confrontation.

For his part, Maliki has sought to deescalate the conflict and to mollify protesters. Tehran has also been working — to persuade Iraq's Sadrists, whom Maliki has alienated in his consolidation of power, to abandon their support for their Sunni brethren. Their combined efforts appear to be working: The Sadrist Bloc, which had refused Maliki's request for suggestions to replace Issawi and other Sunni politicians, has put forth a substitute finance minister.

These efforts, ostensibly toward political resolution, actually increase the likelihood of sectarian war by continuing the marginalization of Sunni political leaders without addressing Sunni tribes' core grievances — and by re-creating a Shiite front that had splintered.

Al-Qaeda in Iraq has already taken advantage of this situation through its front group, the Islamic State of Iraq, which deployed combat teams in Fallujah last month that targeted Iraqi army positions and killed several soldiers. The jihadists' black flags have appeared at Sunni protests and memorial ceremonies for the fallen. The group is back in the havens it held in 2006. If Maliki does not allow proper Sunni representation in government, al-Qaeda will gain greater popular tolerance and foreign support.

Over the past year, the situation in Iraq has become explosive while sectarian sentiment and armed violence in neighboring nations have escalated dramatically. Americans have become accustomed to watching Iraq approach the precipice and draw back. But circumstances have changed with the withdrawal of all U.S. forces and Maliki's year-long efforts to intimidate his opponents through political, judicial and military maneuvers. If Maliki does not accept many of the protesters' reasonable demands and allow meaningful Sunni participation in government, prospects for stopping Iraq's descent into sectarian conflict are grim.

Kimberly Kagan is president of the Institute for the Study of War. Frederick W. Kagan is director of the Critical Threats Project and a scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

Article 8.

The American Spectator

Islam and Islamism in the Modern World

An interview with Daniel Pipes (By Tom Bethell)

February 2013 -- *Daniel Pipes, one of our leading experts on Islam, established the Middle East Forum and became its head in 1994. He was born in 1949 and grew up in Cambridge, Massachusetts. His father, Richard Pipes, was a professor of Russian history, now emeritus, at Harvard. Daniel studied Arabic and Islamic history and lived in Cairo for*

three years. His PhD dissertation became his first book, Slave Soldiers and Islam (1981). Then his interest in purely academic subjects expanded to include modern Islam. He left the university because, as he told an interviewer from Harvard Magazine, he has "the simple politics of a truck driver, not the complex ones of an academic." His story of being harassed through the legal system by a Muslim who later committed suicide was recently told in The American Spectator ("A Palestinian in Texas," TAS, November 2012). He has been personally threatened but prefers not to talk about specifics except to note that law enforcement has been involved. I interviewed Pipes shortly before Christmas, when the Egyptians were voting on their new constitution. I started out by saying that the number of Muslims in the U.S. has doubled since the 9/11 attacks.

DP: My career divides in two: before and after 9/11. In the first part I was trying to show that Islam is relevant to political concerns. If you want to understand Muslims, I argued, you need to understand the role of Islam in their lives. Now that seems obvious. If anything, there's a tendency to over-emphasize Islam; to assume that Muslims are dominated by the Koran and are its automatons—which goes too far. You can't just read the Koran to understand Muslim life. You have to look at history, at personalities, at economics, and so on.

TB: Do you see the revival of Islam as a reality?

DP: Yes. Half a century ago Islam was waning, the application of its laws became ever more remote, and the sense existed that Islam, like other religions, was in decline. Since then there has been a sharp and I think indisputable reversal. We're all talking about Islam and its laws now.

TB: At the same time you have raised an odd question: "Can Islam survive Islamism?" Can you explain that?

DP: I draw a distinction between traditional Islam and Islamism. Islamism emerged in its modern form in the 1920s and is driven by a belief that Muslims can be strong and rich again if they follow the Islamic law severely and in its entirety. This is a response to the trauma of modern Islam. And yet this form of Islam is doing deep damage to faith, to the point that I wonder if Islam will ever recover.

TB: Give us the historical context.

DP: The modern era for Muslims began with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798. Muslims experienced a great shock at seeing how advanced the blue-eyed peoples from the north had become. It would be roughly analogous to the Eskimos coming down south and decimating Westerners, who would uncomprehendingly ask in response, "Who are these people and how are they defeating us?"

TB: So how did they respond?

DP: Muslims over the past 200 years have made many efforts to figure out what went wrong. They have experimented with several answers. One was to emulate liberal Europe—Britain and France—until about 1920. Another was to emulate illiberal Europe—Germany and Russia—until about 1970. The third was to go back to what are imagined to be the sources of Islamic strength a millennium ago, namely the application of Islamic law. That's Islamism. It's a modern phenomenon, and it's making Muslims the center of world unrest.

TB: But it is also creating discomfort?

DP: It has terribly deleterious effects on Muslims. Many of them are put off by Islam. In Iran, for example, one finds a lot of alienation from Islam as a result of the Islamist rule of the last 30-odd years.

TB: Has it happened anywhere else?

DP: One hears reports, especially from Algeria and Iraq, of Muslims converting to Christianity. And in an unprecedented move, ex-Muslims living in the West have organized with the goal of becoming a political force. I believe the first such effort was the Centraal Comité voor Ex-moslims in the Netherlands, but now it's all over the place.

TB: Nonetheless, Islam has lasted for 1,500 years.

DP: Yes, but modern Islamism has been around only since the 1920s, and I predict it will not last as a world-threatening force for more than a few decades. Will Muslims leave the faith or simply stop practicing it? These are the sort of questions I expect to be current before long.

TB: What about Islam in the United States?

DP: In the long term, the United States could greatly benefit Islam by uniquely freeing the religion from government constraints and permitting it to evolve in a positive, modern direction. But that's the long term. Right now, American Muslims labor under Saudi and other influences, their institutions are extreme, and things are heading in a destructive direction. It's also distressing to see how non-Muslim individuals and institutions, particularly those on the left, indulge Islamist misbehavior.

TB: How do they do that?

DP: Well, turn on the television, go to a class, follow the work of the ACLU or the Southern Poverty Law Center, and you will see corporations, nonprofits, and government institutions working with the Islamists, helping promote the Islamist agenda. The American left and the Islamists agree on what they dislike—conservatives—and, despite their profound differences, they cooperate.

TB: Presumably some Muslims here deconvert, right?

DP: There are some conversions out of Islam, yes. And the Muslim establishment in this country is quite concerned about that. But numerically it is not a significant number.

TB: The ones who convert don't talk about it very much?

DP: In some cases they do; they take advantage of Western freedoms to speak their minds. They are the exceptions, though.

TB: I suspect that the decline of Christianity has encouraged Islam.

DP: Very much so, as the contrast between Europe and the United States reveals. The hard kernel of American Christian faith, not present in Europe, means that Islamists are far better behaved in the United States. They see the importance of a Christian counterforce.

TB: Earlier, you mentioned Algeria. It is a big Muslim state that we don't hear about today.

DP: Twenty years ago Algeria was a major focus of attention. That long ago ended, although in France coverage is still significant. Algeria is ripe for the same kind of upheaval that we have seen in other North African

states, such as Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. I think it is likely to happen before too long.

TB: What about Syria?

DP: Assad's power is steadily diminishing and I cannot see how his regime will remain long in power.

TB: Should the United States get involved there?

DP: No, Americans have no dog in this fight and nothing in the U.S. Constitution requires us to get involved in every foreign conflict. Two wretched forces are killing each other; just look at the ghastly videos of the two sides torturing and executing the other. Listen also to what they are saying. It's a civil war involving the bad and the worse. I don't want the U.S. government involved. That would mean bearing some moral responsibility for what emerges, which I expect to be very unsavory.

TB: So you are supporting the Obama position?

DP: Yes, though he reaches it with far more angst. Also, there appears to be some serious, clandestine U.S. support for the rebel forces. The September 11 meeting in Benghazi between the Turkish and the American ambassadors was very curious. They are both based in Tripoli, hundreds of miles away. What were they doing in Benghazi? Arranging for American arms going via Turkey to Syria, it appears.

TB: How important has Israel been to the revival of Islam?

DP: It is a major factor in the neighboring states. But elsewhere, in Morocco, Iran, Malaysia, it has minor importance.

TB: Since the "Arab Spring," Israel seems increasingly beleaguered.

DP: Not really, not yet, though I agree that it will be more beleaguered with time. Its neighbors are so consumed with their own affairs that they hardly pay Israel attention. But once the neighbors get their houses in order, Israel will most likely face new difficulties.

TB: You have questioned U.S. support for Islamic democracy, which does seem naïve.

DP: The U.S. has been the patron for democracy for a century, since Wilson's 14 Points, and a wonderful heritage it has been. When an American travels the world, he finds himself in country after country where his country played a monumentally positive role, especially in democratizing the system. We naturally want to extend this to Muslim-majority countries. Sadly, these for some time have offered an unpleasant choice between brutal and greedy dictators or ideological, extreme, and antagonistic elected Islamists. It's not a choice we should accept.

TB: So what should we do?

DP: I offer three simple guidelines. One, always oppose the Islamists. Like fascists and Communists, they are the totalitarian enemy, whether they wear long beards in Pakistan or suits in Washington.

Two, always support the liberal, modern, secular people who share our worldview. They look to us for moral and other sustenance; we should be true to them. They are not that strong, and cannot take power soon anywhere, but they represent hope, offering the Muslim world's only prospect of escape from the dreary dichotomy of dictatorship or extremism.

Three, and more difficult, cooperate with dictators but condition it on pushing them toward reform and opening up. We need the Mubaraks of the world and they need us. Fine, but relentlessly keep the pressure on them to improve their rule. Had we begun this process with Abdullah Saleh of Yemen in 1978 or with Mubarak in 1981, things could have been very different by 2011. But we didn't.

TB: Egypt might be the test case.

DP: Well, it's a bit late. Mohammed Morsi is not a greedy dictator but he emerged from the Muslim Brotherhood, and his efforts since reaching power have been purely Islamist.

TB: What about the recent elections?

DP: I do not believe that a single one of the elections and referenda in Egypt was fairly conducted. It surprises me that Western governments and media are so gullible on this score.

TB: You could say we were supporting the democracy element in Cairo's Tahrir Square. Were we not?

DP: Yes and rightly so. The initial demonstrations of early 2011 were spearheaded by the liberals and seculars who deserve U.S. support. But they got quickly pushed aside and Washington barely paid them further attention.

TB: We gave foreign aid to Mubarak. Was that a bad idea?

DP: That aid dates back to the utterly different circumstances of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty of 1979 and became progressively more wrong-headed. It should long ago have been discontinued. More broadly, I believe in aid for emergencies (soup and blankets) and as a bribe, but not for economic development. That the Obama administration is contemplating aid, including military hardware, to the Morsi government outrages me.

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From: Jeffrey Epstein [jeevacation@gmail.com]
Sent: 9/16/2013 11:15:03 AM
To: ehud barak [redacted]
Subject: Re: Summers withdraws from Fed race

yes the good side is now he is free to have fun and a life . LIsa the wife is very happy as she did not want to live in two cities. tell you more when i see you

On Mon, Sep 16, 2013 at 7:12 AM, ehud barak <[redacted]> wrote:
A major blow to a friend. Lest BO takes him to replace JL.
Now he'll probably be free in the next few days. EB

Sent from my iPad

Begin forwarded message:

From: "FT Breaking News" <FT@emailbriefings.ft.com>
Date: 15 23:50:52 2013 בספטמבר GMT+03:00
To: [redacted]
Subject: Summers withdraws from Fed race
Reply-To: "FT Breaking News" <FT409AS2.6532248@emailbriefings.ft.com>

To view this email as a webpage, click here

Sunday September 15 2013

BREAKING NEWS

Summers withdraws from Fed race

Lawrence Summers has taken himself out of the running to be the next chair of the Federal Reserve, withdrawing his name after opposition from key Democratic senators indicated they would oppose his nomination.

Mr Summers, a former Treasury Secretary and senior economic adviser to Barack Obama in his first term, galvanised opposition among left-of-centre Democrats who painted him as symbol of the wrongs of financial deregulation.

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Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-01-20\+1 [redacted] on 2017-01-20 at 05.49.13.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 01/20/17 02:49:13 AM (506602153)

End Time: 01/20/17 06:44:17 PM (506659457)

Last Message ID: 267

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/20/17 02:49:13 AM (506602153)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AA88A206-C178-4AFA-925B-EBA52ADD6196

Message: confirming dinner tonight my birthday , Ive invited James watson, guy that discovered DNA

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/20/17 04:02:10 AM (506606530)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F980B538-12F4-455A-9E9E-8E0AE3C24A9B

Message: That's so exciting. Happy birthday. See you tonight.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/20/17 04:15:17 AM (506607317)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6701E834-B940-46F2-BFF5-74B5AD6FC3A5

Message: he is outspoken

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/20/17 04:16:23 AM (506607383)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0524C472-7BB9-4EB8-9FFD-3AA21F494FB3

Message: I like outspoken people.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/20/17 04:16:43 AM (506607403)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 556B0670-2A23-4C8D-8C87-C85A28133E77

Message: I identify with them.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/20/17 04:17:49 AM (506607469)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 64100738-EA88-4816-9231-90816811F927

Message: he has an troubled child. he said he didn't enjoy any of the fifty years of raising him.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/20/17 04:18:43 AM (506607523)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 71AE1F7D-8872-4437-9361-1E462FD71969

Message: We're beginning to have more and more in common. Today's a big day. Donald Trump in the White House and your birthday.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/20/17 09:26:20 AM (506625980)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 51AE154A-4948-4BFB-801D-EE110DE5C7F1

Message: Is he still raising him after 50?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/20/17 01:01:39 PM (506638899)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0A85298A-4A40-4AC5-8D6B-87F42CAF0549

Message: would you prefer italian or chinese?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/20/17 01:19:22 PM (506639962)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B62F9F0E-2666-4C30-9548-E3961AF6D14E

Message: ?????

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 01/20/17 01:21:02 PM (506640062)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 94624C93-2B85-49B5-BE7F-A6A77B051B1B

Message: Predictably, Woody would like Chinese food.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/20/17 06:21:05 PM (506658065)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BF67C5A6-930D-4985-8398-49AB07D2B53A

Message: Is there a way to tell the wives to ....

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 01/20/17 06:21:55 PM (506658115)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CB158E2C-118B-4120-A561-E580A4EBAABB

Message: Woody didn't know that Liz was James' wife. Isn't that hilarious?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/20/17 06:22:31 PM (506658151)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BFDDFA19-924A-4642-9BAA-EB4B0DD92E14

Message: I'm still recuperating. The things you subject me to.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/20/17 06:22:47 PM (506658167)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C259184B-6CDF-4955-BE1D-21C104F87DD5

Message: You owe me one.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/20/17 06:22:54 PM (506658174)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F8D80B8A-58FC-4C60-A87A-BD371CE5BA13

Message: Agreed

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/20/17 06:23:34 PM (506658214)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1BB917DE-12B3-4AF2-8A8A-4EB0C68D50F9

Message: Who did he think she was

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/20/17 06:23:48 PM (506658228)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5C5C815C-A3E2-4CB6-BC62-F40DB428BA95

Message: Yes thank god

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/20/17 06:39:04 PM (506659144)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7F83E474-D974-455D-A500-E84F335CF564

Message: Thx for birthday present . I wonder who gave to you as a gift

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/20/17 06:42:04 PM (506659324)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 75562868-3B96-4060-8119-5E7E67262BA7

Message: Great smell

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/20/17 06:44:17 PM (506659457)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BC50763E-70FA-4B5D-B65E-CA28C615DF5F

Message: Then it should last a year , but I'll smell like john

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-01-27\[redacted] on 2017-01-27 at 10.51.01.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 01/27/17 07:51:01 AM (507225061)

End Time: 01/27/17 08:22:52 PM (507270172)

Last Message ID: 463

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 07:51:01 AM (507225061)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FEE6DD30-5105-47E5-AA93-2242DE510B53

Message: I'm seeing BG tmr. He will be in DC for the Alfalfa dinner but he's got mtgs most of the day including w Jared Kushner. Should I ask him to discuss surgeon general or mention it or wait? Not sure kushner cares about that stuff

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 07:54:45 AM (507225285)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 79AF60ED-FD55-43F2-BBB0-4C52A44F50D8

Message: kushner does not care

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 07:56:23 AM (507225383)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9C9CE664-9745-4898-A154-B34899A80415

Message: K will wait

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 07:59:30 AM (507225570)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0CB97F65-3AF4-47D9-8629-EDAE94870E94

Message: ask him if he will see tom barrack, thats the most important.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 07:59:45 AM (507225585)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EFF78186-DDD1-4CD3-A5DC-F40B59057852

Message: he is free to call me for inside baseball

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 08:03:24 AM (507225804)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 41DA794F-399B-4F0F-9A2A-07FE34BE9B35

Message: Vernon Jordan- Josh Bolton - Jared Kushner - Me

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 08:03:59 AM (507225839)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 966267FE-BEF0-457B-B160-3939140489C0

Message: That's who he is seeing He doesn't know barrack

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 08:04:24 AM (507225864)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE1A296D-8388-497F-9D68-304A4B3BDD11

Message: vernon is lover, josh will not have a role. , jared is good.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 08:04:28 AM (507225868)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E51090A3-CD9F-42F0-A5EE-6F2AC1CC6FF5

Message: over.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 08:04:39 AM (507225879)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A9B35CB5-50FF-48A4-AD8F-0E83CF987073

Message: Will tell him

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 08:04:47 AM (507225887)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E82AB9B9-0136-4933-93B8-FE51BD01F329

Message: Maybe when we are together we can call you

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 08:04:53 AM (507225893)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E1DAC7AF-B992-4BCC-9C4C-179243623768

Message: bannon, barrack, puppet masters

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 08:05:31 AM (507225931)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 87D64785-E7FC-4D00-812C-0236038CC30E

Message: Ok good to know. He wants to talk to you but his wife won't let him

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 08:05:41 AM (507225941)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 855DBA00-A0AF-441A-9C7B-98B31FD228DC

Message: So perhaps can do as above

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 08:05:55 AM (507225955)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C10BDB80-6A93-47B0-94D6-54C2D1924120

Message: clever

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 08:06:33 AM (507225993)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D435264C-0744-4579-9EE1-926C464415EC

Message: Will try He loves you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 08:06:48 AM (507226008)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 45D2E5DD-68FF-4E67-8CB4-C3EECA36C667

Message: And he says hi

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 08:07:18 AM (507226038)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 907CE6CA-BAF4-4F89-9AC1-928F22FCDF34

Message: He feels bad about the DAF btw He thought great idea but wife wouldn't allow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 08:28:50 AM (507227330)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A0A8A259-6BAD-4DD5-8C50-0EF45CD87E53

Message: I'm w him tonight 9p till ? Then till 1130am tmr

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 08:29:13 AM (507227353)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D04F6A02-B315-402D-9D97-B8A61BE8D688

Message: Will send you a text if I can make it happen I know our both enjoy catching up

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 08:29:19 AM (507227359)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 44281B8C-36B0-4562-A035-D0B94AB03041

Message: Ok

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 12:19:42 PM (507241182)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 325C3E50-86D6-4AD6-B30F-A0FE736B2C44

Message: Bill met my friend Kathy ruemmler , Obama counsel for 5 yrs . She would love to sit with Melinda and give her the other side of jeffrey

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 12:27:17 PM (507241637)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF25C527-9B76-485F-AE42-580AE3A4F781

Message: Can try, couldn't hurt

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 12:28:48 PM (507241728)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 73B4D550-66EF-4492-9DC6-9762A9D01CDF

Message: Hillary loves Kathy as does Obama. She is an arch feminist who is my great defender

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 12:33:34 PM (507242014)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 75EAD358-3C53-4FA9-971C-9FA6C3CF7D3E

Message: Not sure individuals can influence once impressions are made. But I will try. I do not know for sure but I do think he would be unwilling to Bring it up with her.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 12:36:50 PM (507242210)

Flags: 1085453

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9D1D965A-2761-43F3-A911-A02743553F79

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 12:36:50 PM (507242210)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5C545515-1E9C-43D8-8399-15BDF3F98380

Message: She's 45 and is in Seattle often

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 12:37:15 PM (507242235)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E4CC39F0-4AA5-4F75-9FDF-83107933ACD2

Message: Me too.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 12:38:00 PM (507242280)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2D9FFDE2-8F0D-4CD9-922F-F30CB189C564

Message: What a coincidence ha ha If there is a reason to meet other than to discuss you that would be compelling I can try directly To Melinda's office team I know some of them.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 12:38:24 PM (507242304)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5C1D8BA8-357C-47C3-8E18-522538595722

Message: I probably would have to meet this person first since her team doesn't usually

appreciate second hand introductions

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 12:38:53 PM (507242333)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A1CBA8ED-9702-4A29-A25F-12F472094D6D

Message: Ok

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 12:38:56 PM (507242336)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AC3119AC-023E-4557-A211-2412F0D9D77E

Message: They also feel like they find the ppl they want to speak to and not vice Versa Or at least that's my experience firsthand

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 12:39:03 PM (507242343)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B6F90CB-6139-4494-8756-308E839FA122

Message: Poor B

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 12:39:52 PM (507242392)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E7F62775-9455-42BE-953C-9E519599C2DA

Message: If there's an opportunity to promote something specific I can propose to her pivotal ventures team.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 12:55:32 PM (507243332)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6FBA0910-5F8D-44F0-8838-F58952E7F8B2

Message: Have been thinking that o bet there is a way to make her feel great and maybe a little happy if there was a like female TED that she could be the patron of - folks

would love that and it would allow her to be at the center of some Powerful agendas that she cares a lot about But not sure she's up for it or even how to do it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 12:56:27 PM (507243387)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 774A2128-8891-4D4F-8C24-D468BE99FDF5

Message: Like maybe a legacy "I'm with Her" that she and Hillary Clinton could co own and build out over many years

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 12:56:41 PM (507243401)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8E4591C8-7415-433C-A685-0E1BBF48EB1B

Message: They could brand and sponsor cool Stuff and empower a lot of people

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/27/17 12:57:15 PM (507243435)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C27BF8FB-C859-4564-B06D-B6DA22867916

Message: None of my business but I think there's enough happiness out there for everyone

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/27/17 08:22:52 PM (507270172)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DD889D71-0C11-4915-9282-26332144A134

Message: ???

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-01-28\[redacted] on 2017-01-28 at 08.04.40.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 01/28/17 05:04:40 AM (507301480)

End Time: 01/28/17 11:43:27 AM (507325407)

Last Message ID: 510

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 05:04:40 AM (507301480)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E4FFCD2E-9D12-4DDC-AEE9-6C381B02A6E6

Message: no problem. . interesting is that the philanthropy dollars will start flowing into trump resistance. climate . environment etc. , nice impetus to shake loose some of the private charity dollars.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 08:12:16 AM (507312736)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CE53DF4F-1735-4295-9A34-D748735CC29E

Message: Yes , but not by trump . New medical group to be announced to study va . Mayo Cleveland involved

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 08:14:08 AM (507312848)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 24AEA6F4-0219-4719-868A-2934D26C9344

Message: Trumps health guy is Moscowitz z palm beach

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 08:14:43 AM (507312883)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CB3B122C-BE77-4248-956C-E0D349FA5411

Message: Not my interest at all it's Donald's

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 08:15:33 AM (507312933)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1C68A51D-F338-43D8-BAE9-CFD3EA10117B

Message: He thinks vets should get at least as much as everyone else . Some hospitals do not have computers

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 08:16:00 AM (507312960)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1EDFAD91-2DC4-42C4-A4CA-67349CA9B1C9

Message: Yes . He's all things medical to Donald

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 08:16:47 AM (507313007)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 81DC4BAB-B18C-4E74-BB49-38719DBE3D67

Message: Tell BG. One day I look forward to his freedom having served a long sentence

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 08:18:42 AM (507313122)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6D7A452C-FB83-468B-A092-FEB02A3093C9

Message: Moscowitz has Donald price is administrative

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:19:25 AM (507313165)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 41E3989F-1151-4FC8-8E9F-8B8A94DECCA3

Message: Makes sense But who sets the health agenda?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:19:54 AM (507313194)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6BAFC5E0-41CD-4394-8D09-1BAEEFFF9311

Message: Admin to execute but there are domestic and global issues beyond Obamacare and abortion

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 08:21:35 AM (507313295)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C157F7B4-D1C3-4858-8E5F-05C39F3160C6

Message: No one yet

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:21:57 AM (507313317)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 38D8201D-77EE-45FA-BDC9-8969CF5B2433

Message: He probably needs a few depending on issue

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 08:22:09 AM (507313329)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9FF15F5A-A020-4F33-A70D-FFD22C668926

Message: Donald said surgeon general is figurehead telling children to eat their spinach

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:22:34 AM (507313354)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9628890D-F193-440D-BD5C-E03AB0FF76A2

Message: That's what all the last ones have been EXCEPT C EVERETT COOP

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:22:41 AM (507313361)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 10E2E9F4-D636-4A34-8900-E9C11B711DDA

Message: could be seriously helpful advocate

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:22:48 AM (507313368)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1FA74274-D955-40B2-808C-D6FCE83FC82B

Message: They have just picked idiots Lately

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:23:09 AM (507313389)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9607B887-B057-4DA9-BEB6-E833FB4E98E0

Message: The current one focuses On e cigarettes, Opiate addiction and obesity

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 08:23:14 AM (507313394)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 17BF006B-0621-43DB-8F09-226F6536E99F

Message: Did you fuck

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:23:16 AM (507313396)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 10A348CE-617D-47C1-A008-F36D998AAD99

Message: Which are all mental health issues ...

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:23:31 AM (507313411)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 60C15804-BFB1-41A0-A057-636606FA6F9A

Message: C Everett Koop are You crazy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:23:39 AM (507313419)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 907CA83F-40E3-49F4-8612-529B4026F57A

Message: He's dead

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 08:23:52 AM (507313432)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E807E823-A78E-4639-9FF3-F276E3502D62

Message: Not Koop - bill

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:24:02 AM (507313442)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E864FB8-4399-4A9A-815E-8798CCDCA40C

Message: No

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:24:36 AM (507313476)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CDC21DE8-153A-44F6-AE52-76617F67CC43

Message: Members of his henchman team hovered outside the door for the full few hours Instead We went crazy on the whiteboard and a lot to talk about

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:25:05 AM (507313505)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6782ED0F-973C-4CCD-9D09-F2E20D968FE5

Message: Every half hour they would bring him coffee or a croissant or a. Newspaper or message etc Very closely watched

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:25:34 AM (507313534)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 83CEDF28-E10C-4113-A1FE-2BB2612807BA

Message: We did have about 3 minutes at the beginning to take a deep breath and just stand there together

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:26:36 AM (507313596)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 55A032C9-0F5C-4136-A63A-FB0423DBB6FF

Message: He was Complaining about being too old and I said he was still a little too young for me that he needed to be 65 and he said great you ha e 4 years to train me - that was funny

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 01/28/17 08:27:36 AM (507313656)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 95558852-0C2D-4D3A-87AA-AF10D200E3B3

Message: Even more funny we were wearing exactly the same thing today. When i Walked in we looked at each other and said NOT AGAIN. Light blue button down, black pants. Funny.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 11:42:19 AM (507325339)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C34578BD-1AF6-4F75-8203-E0DCCF193362

Message: BAck to ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 01/28/17 11:43:27 AM (507325407)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B66EC21-1A0F-4985-8038-E66842A8C647

Message: Yes

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-02-18\[redacted] on 2017-02-17 at 13.43.34.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 02/17/17 10:43:34 AM (509049814)

End Time: 02/18/17 02:54:40 PM (509151280)

Last Message ID: 1401

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 10:43:34 AM (509049814)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A0865FA4-D96C-4769-A739-0CE6CA262BAA

Message: Today?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 10:44:06 AM (509049846)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4340821F-EC4D-4B83-821F-186F4E03ACCC

Message: Free 1230pst which is 330 EST

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/17/17 10:44:38 AM (509049878)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE1DE19D-03D8-4F6A-8D49-DD91713DE11D

Message: I'm on n Paris

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 10:57:48 AM (509050668)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 32A82305-5B44-491A-A751-68A339839DE6

Message: I could call you in 35 minutes?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/17/17 10:57:59 AM (509050679)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 909A907C-91DF-4D4A-87A1-526CC77DA5A7

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 10:58:21 AM (509050701)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 10C836CB-0099-41A9-89DE-6652C184B154

Message: Will do

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 11:33:43 AM (509052823)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D40D24CF-C04D-4426-97A5-10C1E8602C8A

Message: Free?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/17/17 11:34:33 AM (509052873)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2892F51D-4FBD-47CC-8644-26284FDAD263

Message: 10 minutes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 11:45:27 AM (509053527)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C36F011C-1EAA-49C1-95FA-B413F50789F8

Message: Have another call in 15 minutes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 11:45:40 AM (509053540)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2C06C676-75C7-4093-B360-FFFC329020B2

Message: Free after / in about an hour

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:26:34 PM (509063194)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8C750762-B3DA-4141-AD4E-0961F8429CCF

Message: https://share.kaiserpermanente.org/bio/bernard-j-tyson/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:26:34 PM (509063194)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7600A750-48B6-4BB1-BF63-036FF1FAF660

Message: Is this person?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/17/17 02:26:51 PM (509063211)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB13A48D-DBFF-4200-8394-2004CC4DCEA8

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:27:56 PM (509063276)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 658E93A5-D679-4D0B-9888-086C41BB6141

Message: MBA / seems more practical than a repurposed MD

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:28:15 PM (509063295)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FB589FDD-F03A-434A-8113-073DBFFE47BB

Message: You are up late!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:29:33 PM (509063373)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 728B2571-A9C5-456D-BADA-0EA2DEF2397C

Message: On jawbone - Steve says consider and possible good things w strong voices around hosain. Steve sometimes had very good insight. Sounds like your experience lousy and Company in big trouble

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:29:35 PM (509063375)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E1A07C40-52F7-4FB9-8DEE-14FB621BD251

Message: But

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:30:58 PM (509063458)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0D8E6236-6EB2-4450-BEC6-BDEA5E2E121B

Message: Middle East is perfect perfect to test clinical wearables (due to no legal or policy restrictions) and also to experiment w remote telemetry (don't have to leave home / great for gender issues there)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:31:49 PM (509063509)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E1FE8EC1-F410-496B-9E1E-64D40CAE6FA2

Message: Clinical wearables market is 50x bigger financially than consumer wearables / way better margins and also ready for major distribution

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:31:56 PM (509063516)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB986341-8F2E-453E-B23A-FA1F279DDE7E

Message: Disruption not distribution

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/17/17 02:32:05 PM (509063525)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 969C34BA-04C6-4CDA-AC61-1BB206E05FA4

Message: Ok

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:32:55 PM (509063575)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FD950B80-44D8-4FE6-8917-FDE488C2A941

Message: Food for thought I guess we have to see what hosain does in coming weeks and months He's well positioned - hope he doesn't drop the ball. Sad to hear he's not honest. Steve says he's a hustler.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:33:47 PM (509063627)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A112AA96-6CCD-4464-8091-8F0B914F31EE

Message: He said he could even hustle and hustler ... but that it was Worth a second thought and he NEVER says that. You know STEVIE. He says no to everything.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:37:18 PM (509063838)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B96521E2-51A0-4E07-9F96-84BD26EB4A56

Message: And big big quiet Conversations Ongoing for a cool job for Stevie

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/17/17 02:37:37 PM (509063857)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AE46A3C0-2EDF-4ED1-B6BC-5F45041493CA

Message: Boy Scout leaving camp □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 06:45:07 AM (509121907)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 16B0C7BB-AF05-44E3-A6D5-905C1DAC9FC1

Message: Just got the answer great idea

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 07:00:32 AM (509122832)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 56653346-351A-4175-9B95-66DF41322442

Message: GREAT

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 08:15:13 AM (509127313)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1653DBB3-ACAB-423B-8013-264A7F94BF84

Message: SO EXCITED ... just waking up

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 08:50:21 AM (509129421)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2E2186E9-5E5A-4FC7-9C89-6A8451BA5078

Message: Call

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 08:59:34 AM (509129974)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0252BF0C-D6C1-4934-8DA7-3CBF3683ECFC

Message: Just got to harborview (hospital) need 20 mins am w residents

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 10:00:59 AM (509133659)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 331DEC14-BDD2-41ED-BE47-16538431C950

Message: Sorry took a bit are you free in 5 mins need a bathroom break!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 10:02:05 AM (509133725)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5C951955-2522-4E24-A810-9B84C445DD9E

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 10:03:37 AM (509133817)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 29A79D86-C4F2-4314-B0DF-6E1F3013D81D

Message: K more in a sec

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 10:06:24 AM (509133984)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 110B793D-A5AC-4250-939D-1FCD1BB0E9F6

Message: Ok ready! Call whenever

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 10:28:29 AM (509135309)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A098FE4C-4CC2-4A47-B2AB-FFE3EC1507C9

Message: http://pages.cs.wisc.edu/~mkowalcz/628.pdf

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 10:28:30 AM (509135310)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0EA92954-CCC1-406A-BD8C-0DD58E550AC8

Message: "How to explain zero knowledge protocols to your children" 1988

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 10:30:30 AM (509135430)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2C7B99B6-86AA-4D69-A4A4-6F676442BEF2

Message: http://people.irisa.fr/Stephanie.Delaune/transparents/Annee2013/po.pdf

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 10:30:31 AM (509135431)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5504A63C-7984-4A60-BD00-60B787EC96FC

Message: Also good

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:35:05 PM (509150105)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B8817D01-1F4E-48E0-9F60-4377CF6D80D4

Message: GENIUS IDEA Now to convince bill

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:36:02 PM (509150162)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2E5909B2-7195-46CC-A7B0-B56B855E7068

Message: Do you think there is a way to do this really well and also get something for BG? Like if we say do this and the admin will keep PEPFAR or something like that

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 02:36:25 PM (509150185)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 857DBB02-7E57-48FA-8935-2043FC843624

Message: yes and more

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 02:36:34 PM (509150194)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FF823DF8-B725-45C4-983C-B5A289E0B43F

Message: its a deal

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 02:36:39 PM (509150199)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9763840B-5C95-4F9E-A28E-9C451573A6AA

Message: thats what he likes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 02:37:46 PM (509150266)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0B581A4D-9A01-4F70-BF0B-06765B8CA313

Message: he said malaria and polio not an american problem. climate change and eboloa not a american problem nor is clean water or genital mutilation. he thinks bill should stop trying to scare people .ike chicken little.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:40:26 PM (509150426)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BC70A811-E31B-47CE-9402-62D9012B0F78

Message: PEPFAR is HIV AIDS

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 02:40:36 PM (509150436)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 731E0D61-854E-4897-8D92-DFBCA0989684

Message: aids is partially an american problem. as is drug abuse. .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:40:51 PM (509150451)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1013E5EA-BA23-493C-8A05-FE2A0042AE0D

Message: OK let's keep thinking BG likes deals too

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:41:13 PM (509150473)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF35822F-4E2E-48D4-8F23-53B479C5AECA

Message: PEPFAR was a george bush/republican thing

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:41:35 PM (509150495)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 88BF3149-6E23-4CA0-A37A-00AFC1399A05

Message: It's the only one of the international health things the republicans all seem to support

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:41:43 PM (509150503)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8ACD50F0-C598-461C-A843-4BA5E9AC375E

Message: Trump even kept the obama person running it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:42:16 PM (509150536)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F9E3975C-3237-4295-B8F6-80716CDA3C49

Message: If he could be convinced to keep PEPFAR as is in exchange for cyber i think we would all win

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 02:44:41 PM (509150681)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 50C2F487-D322-4BAF-8034-7238AB9B5537

Message: bill needs to focus on american problems first and foremost , if he wants deals. he can also portray certain worldwide iniativies as buying american drugs etc. IT MUST have an american component. donald says it is childish to count the lives at risk in africa and make believe you are doing something for america. or pakistan afhhntan, etc. he points to 8500 killed in chicago vs 2500 killed in afganistan over the past 10 years.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:45:00 PM (509150700)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 64B25B51-38AE-4475-96A4-C039CFDE6197

Message: I understand

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:45:23 PM (509150723)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 33E9127E-E497-4994-80B3-5F4DD03DD579

Message: Bills advisory team at fndn all pushing in other direction

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:45:37 PM (509150737)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6D6F3ADB-DAEC-4EB4-8706-586C7077B032

Message: At c3 I can try to reposition Just until I get thrown out

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:46:01 PM (509150761)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 94082D04-D4FE-4FB4-97B8-8E485CBF3566

Message: Wish there was a way for him to have a real Conversation

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 02:46:10 PM (509150770)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 051CCC82-D473-4ABE-BD71-A537E901839D

Message: I sent bill a note to suggest he talk to lauder. donald also thinks bill wants not to help america first , he should use his own money, and even that is wrong as it was made here. just transmitting

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:47:19 PM (509150839)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A1CC939F-2050-421C-A86E-8D085FAD56A0

Message: I think trump should enforce tax laws and now allow gates fndn (American) to spend money overseas tax free

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 02:48:10 PM (509150890)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D821869F-12DA-461D-A6CE-D5D966A8EAC9

Message: number of lives saved per dollar amount is not in donalds mind. it must be american lives saved. and yes, good idea on tax

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:48:31 PM (509150911)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AF83A72C-C655-40E8-88B5-0EC75C275027

Message: Right now there are funny loopholes we figured out how to exploit

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:48:50 PM (509150930)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 49C5BC24-C097-429D-A169-F7CD6F139A6F

Message: Like exercising expenditure responsibility on foreign grants so we could still count as charitable

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:49:15 PM (509150955)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 48C55FF5-52EC-4D9B-912A-EBB768462803

Message: Or giving to UN or international orgs but earmarking for polio etc when not a single dollar ever benefitted USA

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:49:28 PM (509150968)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F87908DE-CA87-4578-898B-88076A4DC6D2

Message: I know where all those loopholes are bc I helped find them

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 02:49:29 PM (509150969)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A92080DA-62B3-4AA4-8192-35A483E81E0D

Message: understood I am good at that , however bill should be careful very careful as donald could make an example of him using american dollars to help other than america which really needs it. careful

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:50:22 PM (509151022)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF5E7799-544C-4EE2-A393-4594534C07E5

Message: Understood

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:50:57 PM (509151057)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 29E3C4F8-C14F-4492-9562-23F7554CD28B

Message: Let's make a deal for a few months To push cyber and then get out and help trump make examples and do better stuff

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:51:45 PM (509151105)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9635D856-266E-40D2-8C61-0FE239C3C6DB

Message: BG has already made too many commitments and he did it based on his foundation but counting on leveraging and influencing us Gov't

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:52:09 PM (509151129)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B5B7CAC2-933D-46E8-B910-032839F5FA99

Message: If the tax laws are enforced and he is forced to pay on his own and has less, lord knows how he will react

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:52:32 PM (509151152)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6C5131A5-A953-4B8C-BEA3-571A16E81D0A

Message: But - cyber is a "let's do now" thing March 15 I see BG next Friday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 02:52:54 PM (509151174)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2D236981-7FC5-400C-BF3D-F117A9086804

Message: cyber is great

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:53:50 PM (509151230)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9FB93D12-71F9-460F-95EE-19F84876BBA7

Message: Have to act quickly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 02:54:03 PM (509151243)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4FBB0209-3C21-4A28-A293-747C0A902087

Message: yup

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/18/17 02:54:40 PM (509151280)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9DA235A9-F6B3-4BE1-ABB7-3DD3015FFE38

Message: you might want to attend kruase conference in tucson on 26th . i can organize

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:54:54 PM (509151294)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 427A0D05-4DDA-4AAA-B661-0BC5B8805F6C

Message: Can only do after march 15

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 02:55:06 PM (509151306)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CF7EC091-C6A8-42CC-AFAB-8FAD9E5BDC7A

Message: But yes after that will do 100%

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 03:22:29 PM (509152949)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7C2C0B57-0575-4BD8-8FBF-CD142A5D9603

Message: Issue really is about how easy it is For fndns to spend tax dollars of Americans. Like how generous would they be if they had to spend their own money? Also - 1. All laws that apply to us foreign policy should be applied to charitable orgs spending us tax dollars. So the global gag rule should apply Across philanthropic

dollars too. If ppl want to spend Personal money they can just Not charitable. This should be done immediately. 2. Should not be allowed to grant to foreign Gov't w Charitable dollars. That's basically lobbying or a bribe - charitable money shouldn't be allowed. Relates also to #1 above. 3. If charities want to spend charity dollars outside us should be required To go through USAid so it isn't being sneaky and on other agendas. 4. USAID should have a big charity division that does only this for Science and tech.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 03:22:42 PM (509152962)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B41E1124-2063-47AF-A5E6-DC788C54188F

Message: Dont do this till we get cyber last

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 03:23:58 PM (509153038)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6F080273-7588-4F80-97F4-6D663350C5CA

Message: This would bring billions back To USA for social issues

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/18/17 03:24:03 PM (509153043)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F7769C41-2889-4C9D-BD79-1317411B7643

Message: Immediately

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/19/17 11:13:26 AM (509224406)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2FBC0E00-E47D-4644-97D2-A3F423D65933

Message: https://dev.commentarymagazine.com/articles/our-miserable-21st-century/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/19/17 11:13:27 AM (509224407)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FA315842-44CE-4FB6-ABD1-0FA6EDC2A391

Message: Good article for trump to see

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-02-23\[redacted] on 2017-02-24 at 09.54.58.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 02/19/17 12:59:45 PM (509230785)

End Time: 02/23/17 08:45:23 PM (509604323)

Last Message ID: 1557

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/19/17 12:59:45 PM (509230785)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C6D9514D-28C6-49BD-A158-0D12C43FFF5B

Message: http://slatestarcodex.com/2017/02/09/considerations-on-cost-disease/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/20/17 08:21:37 AM (509300497)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B3888E86-145A-4B94-81A1-0FE25B89CBA2

Message: https://www.forbes.com/sites/matthewherper/2017/02/19/md-anderson-benches-ibm-watson-in-setback-for-artificial-intelligence-in-medicine/#455037b23774

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/20/17 02:47:01 PM (509323621)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1AED3BF9-3ED5-4F4C-B2A1-D95AE49FC934

Message: This is new mobile 206 382 7848

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/20/17 03:37:09 PM (509326629)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E4739935-57FF-4DF8-8578-FF96D7F3A86D

Message: It's Melanie

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 05:19:02 AM (509375942)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FAB1F1D2-60D2-4711-9843-28BD90E1008E

Message: The mayo is doing (It's Melanie/seattle mobile)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 05:19:32 AM (509375972)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B454F866-71ED-42B8-8AD6-128B1361A8A8

Message: Israel/MIT

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 05:20:09 AM (509376009)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8195430B-091F-4A63-9F04-9311F0C078B0

Message: https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.wired.com/2017/02/moving-patient-data-messy-blockchain-help/amp/?client=safari

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 05:20:09 AM (509376009)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AC302F57-3EAC-43E5-B286-1872CF6683B8

Message: Seems like folks are trying.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 05:25:29 AM (509376329)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1E0AFA46-0717-4375-B543-84C9FCD58CBA

Message: https://www.weforum.org/communities/the-future-of-blockchain

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 05:25:30 AM (509376330)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5FE1AF65-C948-4E7A-90CA-9656B224510D

Message: This is one of the other WEF councils ... could ask them

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 05:28:14 AM (509376494)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 836813B4-5775-47F7-A3C9-6714A50B1125

Message: No one on council very clever

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 05:44:36 AM (509377476)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8CF61C12-DD4B-48F4-80CE-1417BE99B60F

Message: http://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2017/02/19/gates-relate-middle-class-america-say/98139458/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 05:44:36 AM (509377476)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 495AE307-A1EE-4BDC-8530-F22A5FABA4A1

Message: AND THIS --- on gates/as discussed

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/21/17 08:27:01 AM (509387221)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FBBAB28D-1240-44E7-BC77-EDC01AB4DD62

Message: all good

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 11:48:38 AM (509399318)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CA6D9370-F36B-4BD8-9E2D-4DE728627B85

Message: Seems like a lot of thinking already underway. Still feels a little abstract for the average American. Need to make this real to average person and also to congress

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/21/17 11:49:06 AM (509399346)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 83FDCAA9-5935-44C5-81C8-3F8188EC339B

Message: just you the term PRIVACY of your health info.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/21/17 11:50:06 AM (509399406)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 98204CB3-17AA-4C7D-B379-03C393B8D02A

Message: only you have the key.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 11:50:07 AM (509399407)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6823DD5E-1F72-463F-BABC-34691E58CBBB

Message: Can we do anything from bills office on that?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 11:50:18 AM (509399418)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A7F4E124-9455-420E-9719-A3C0823AACE5

Message: I like that A LOT

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 11:50:59 AM (509399459)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3D50C681-2FF4-4150-8C15-265ECB824FE7

Message: do you think trump will Come down hard on gates / taxes soon or can he wait till I'm done there?!?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/21/17 11:51:27 AM (509399487)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A0E07BA-B4E6-4902-98F3-BDB47BD4C680

Message: yes , encryption. , signal processing. . using the best methods to keep your health info secret. and at the same time helping the country cure disease.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 11:51:55 AM (509399515)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D07EE943-F05D-40B0-9C45-28BD66323C93

Message: How do I write a short terms of reference

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 11:55:17 AM (509399717)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 37A84460-0795-480C-B7E1-5ECC231212CA

Message: Role: Health and medical technologies Term: 6 months from April 1 Areas of focus: - Privacy, health data - Consumer health expenditure - neurotechnologies and brain science

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 12:24:45 PM (509401485)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB887E55-6010-49B6-A866-3DAE09E677E0

Message: I see bill Friday Really want to wait and talk to him before sending Larry terms Of reference but he is insisting I send sooner

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/21/17 01:42:17 PM (509406137)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D2B41B09-1DE5-4D56-B6F6-A814211B25D7

Message: Health security

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 01:48:28 PM (509406508)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8C1DEE75-B50B-4504-A136-6A0BF96BCCF9

Message: Some Overlap w fndn but I can try

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/21/17 02:08:06 PM (509407686)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 028B02D5-18DB-4D4E-AEEC-94BF4F546F0E

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/21/17 08:42:21 PM (509431341)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4FDD40F5-FEB9-49D4-8225-4CD31C787C77

Message: Bill says health security works ok but should be tech or digital so everyone knows I'm not just doing policy - he says "title needs teeth"

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/22/17 01:27:10 AM (509448430)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 14F54925-69B9-4C1C-82DC-3C5BD97BB400

Message: Crypto health data

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/22/17 01:27:57 AM (509448477)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A537E197-146E-439E-A6E6-2B1D627EF2C7

Message: Health data ciphers

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/22/17 01:28:36 AM (509448516)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 71061F61-F468-4D22-8128-9B3DCF01C377

Message: Bitcoin health

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 04:38:08 AM (509459888)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A968DCDC-5469-471C-8DA2-C486C395561D

Message: Cryptohealth is funny. Health security I think best though

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 08:22:36 AM (509473356)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A2AB915B-A1E2-4FE9-97D7-7D70638B4612

Message: Well - Larry called / says he needs to see a "detailed scope, focus and deliverables" before he can sign off and letting me know he runs the office not bg I said no problem!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 08:24:34 AM (509473474)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E63D237C-9E65-4CFB-A82D-A8421B365259

Message: My guess is that he will hold me To every single word so I need to be strategic and also somewhat flexible since it's hard to know how things will work If you have some time maybe think of the deliverables that would be useful and something to be proud of - I will work on all the rest since he wants me to circle back w all the MSFT and foundation leaders too

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 08:24:54 AM (509473494)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1F897C5A-8AFD-4EAB-B78C-F7E58B6A9501

Message: Why does bg get kicked around like this? So silly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/22/17 08:25:33 AM (509473533)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2D3672ED-EF8F-4750-B587-0C11F3AE902D

Message: using the zero knowledge proof concept to keep totally private and secure the personal health info of the person while the same time being able to use the underlying date to create a usable data base.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/22/17 08:26:57 AM (509473617)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F3542512-42A1-48B1-A612-ADFA439388DD

Message: either a version of block chain, encryption or personal cloud. protecting the rights of the people at risk. deliverable. working with cyber security experts to craft a system designed for both security but access to digitally redacted prersonal info.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/22/17 08:27:29 AM (509473649)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B544E36A-5B9C-4377-9589-90CD57C54DF1

Message: see working with the cyber security people as well as hippo.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/22/17 08:28:07 AM (509473687)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A747FAF2-C88C-4180-BD73-23960EFEB6BC

Message: possibly the next version of a wearable. a sensor that has protected input based on personal history etc.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 08:29:09 AM (509473749)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 635BE799-193E-42A9-B513-C5182C02EB8C

Message: Can I do this in 6 months?

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 08:29:26 AM (509473766)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BE09DA6B-C3D4-4929-8574-F47961EF630E

Message: It's more Msft Than anything else

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/22/17 08:30:15 AM (509473815)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C91E690F-5450-4D4B-B2E3-D328CC157C95

Message: yes, its also foundation re sensitive info on one hand and relevant data base creation and manipulation on the other

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 08:31:12 AM (509473872)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B6CDDADE-14E0-43F2-A6BD-40EC60FA7171

Message: More Questions: 1. How can I be public about being the one that is doing this (surgeon general) and not just handing this off to msft? Publishing? 2. Have you heard of aardhar the Indian biometric made by Nandan nilekani? Bill loves. Could this be a new type of social security number and used for all types of identity with health as a single use case?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/22/17 08:32:15 AM (509473935)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A8C5A0C3-72C3-420E-928C-C71944D99EB7

Message: it has to be run by a doctor and not a computer scientist\

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 08:32:18 AM (509473938)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 63087F91-D717-4F88-843E-B68499EE42D0

Message: If i do something great I want ppl to Know I'm involved. It's been hard being the one to do stuff and others get credit.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 08:32:23 AM (509473943)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C87793FE-87EB-4D1C-9DD0-C68DE00816F8

Message: Ok

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/22/17 08:33:22 AM (509474002)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9CA60CAE-EFED-496F-AB2C-A3600405BA73

Message: director of the cryptographic health data initiaive

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 08:34:51 AM (509474091)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F6B18CB9-12C4-4C35-BAF8-FABDBEFF926E

Message: https://www.google.com/patents/US7270633

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/22/17 08:36:18 AM (509474178)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 98EB4776-3251-41C2-B951-44162601C3B2

Message: interesting but too tech and not on point

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 08:39:28 AM (509474368)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 83D024AC-D8A8-4C66-91C3-254CE27B078A

Message: No I mean that is the only patent I could find associated with those exact keywords

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 08:39:33 AM (509474373)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 598875D0-35E3-465C-8C99-2E96CE192BF8

Message: 2005

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 11:29:33 AM (509484573)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E19635AB-FE85-4147-9B9A-6BBEC6F06781

Message: https://www.healthit.gov/sites/default/files/11-74-ablockchainforhealthcare.pdf

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/22/17 01:49:04 PM (509492944)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 55059076-1C17-4B74-A170-023B6BC224DD

Message: I'm meeting with lauder re alzheimer on friday, also with jim watson. you can tell bill he is always welcome to ask questions

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/22/17 02:15:25 PM (509494525)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 92CC44B8-356C-469E-B9FB-F39199BBAF83

Message: Will Do

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 02:10:22 PM (509580622)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 16CCFFF6-DB84-4C4C-B9BA-1C3F3207981D

Message: Can you talk tmr morning? It's Melanie

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 02:10:42 PM (509580642)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 228EDA4B-A3AC-4BDF-A64C-85561BE042D7

Message: May see bg tmr night need to discuss a few things

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/23/17 02:13:52 PM (509580832)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C882C9D0-3EF3-487A-82EF-DC464A2E1F8E

Message: yes ill be in new york

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 02:14:52 PM (509580892)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9D7C3425-8B5C-4EF2-B8FF-9481589ADBDF

Message: Ok does 10 or 11 work?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/23/17 02:33:05 PM (509581985)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 32C68F72-720C-405F-9FD6-8B9805A1C02F

Message: 1130

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 02:33:33 PM (509582013)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C9691976-8CEE-4FEE-9B80-F141199A6A70

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 07:20:57 PM (509599257)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 196FB620-8E40-4B6C-948F-650452E4B284

Message: Just sent you my short write up for Larry

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/23/17 08:26:13 PM (509603173)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D7BB4AF0-3682-4CF0-800A-D5F4FC369E21

Message: Make sure its health INFO SECURITY

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/23/17 08:26:29 PM (509603189)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6A0352D2-83A7-49C0-A157-7E08632B8FF9

Message: I'm in paris 5 am

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:32:29 PM (509603549)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3AAC1866-2C09-40FB-A600-932ED2DCE355

Message: Yes will say Health information security ("cyberhealth")

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:32:32 PM (509603552)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FCB9450F-4E0A-4097-B238-959AFBDDFB3D

Message: How's that

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:32:42 PM (509603562)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B7BB18F-5507-49A3-96B6-0AA1E6D2C248

Message: Why the heck are you up at 5 go back to bed silly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/23/17 08:32:59 PM (509603579)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 04706F2F-A529-4151-BDE7-DF512B77A530

Message: You are important

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:33:14 PM (509603594)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0357F6BD-D909-4DD8-B7C3-02C25E49707D

Message: Thank you for caring

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:33:48 PM (509603628)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5B611AD9-661B-4E07-8B4D-773D3011EB23

Message: I got a pretty big award (nominated by the folks at Hopkins) and have to make a speech in Philadelphia on Monday and I'm so nervous

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:34:06 PM (509603646)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E2BDE2A4-8B6E-4DCE-8AA5-C77D0AFFA172

Message: Working like crazy on my speech and bill is gonna help me tomorrow night

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:35:06 PM (509603706)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE06E10D-CF0E-474C-9F6A-409BE5CBF6A3

Message: They want me to give a "personal" account of what you can do with medical training - blah feels Scary and gross to give the talk At first I called it "don't do what I did"

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:35:44 PM (509603744)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2FEC09D7-2E8A-4F7C-81DD-938040406479

Message: But i was reading this terrific feynman book called "perfectly reasonable deviations from the beaten path" so I'm calling it that

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:37:16 PM (509603836)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B69F9472-9360-4C93-AF5D-77389079C109

Message: Helps to think about this instead of Larry and Melinda Let's talk tmr I have to respond to the gates fndn legal team on my separation package that Melinda is personally managing because "I am so valuable and a role model for other women" that they want to be super "generous" and "respectful" Talk tmr can't think about it anymore

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/23/17 08:41:04 PM (509604064)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 01EB562C-8433-4D2F-8EB7-07B46DA47D14

Message: Desperation from what? Is she firing you from foundation and bill giving you a six month pre retirement at bc3

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:41:20 PM (509604080)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB57ACA7-D8E4-48BA-9FD6-66DBA39F6E30

Message: Pretty much

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:41:42 PM (509604102)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D1B807A8-775D-440A-9411-CA3AD1D172A2

Message: She has been trying for years

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/23/17 08:41:48 PM (509604108)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3FF1F678-E827-4021-A55C-A5474B810DFB

Message: That sucks

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:41:55 PM (509604115)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C026C3B1-62CD-4578-8B0F-E46740FB96DC

Message: Bill intervened and said 6 months with him

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:42:14 PM (509604134)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5683B02C-7334-47B5-8A36-2D2E578C9538

Message: They say it's not firing

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:42:28 PM (509604148)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6089E203-2B4E-4B0C-905C-85CBCA3FE21F

Message: That I've been gone 3 years and the org is a different place

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/23/17 08:42:31 PM (509604151)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 07CA245F-F924-4684-A707-CAB0CFB28874

Message: Now I understand wow Wow

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/23/17 08:43:16 PM (509604196)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9D88533F-AB5E-41C2-B86C-F5DEC5FA6454

Message: How long were you there

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:43:20 PM (509604200)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DC2DFF6D-635B-4356-AECE-6107564C5611

Message: I can always quit but that seems gross

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:43:23 PM (509604203)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FB28D46B-7A2F-41BC-B9A2-A5A41948654D

Message: 11 years

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/23/17 08:43:48 PM (509604228)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 437DECED-C50F-4565-8378-405CDD86DB93

Message: Salary??

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:43:52 PM (509604232)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 31FB5F01-66E3-45DB-B093-D70F05945E05

Message: She says a year severance and 18 months health benefits and then talk to HR

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:44:06 PM (509604246)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 65DAC669-C3FA-486F-9255-E4A39E941377

Message: 200k

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:44:38 PM (509604278)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 29E4351D-BFD6-4AE5-8711-668CADF9E52C

Message: She says if I rock the boat c3 will get "more difficult"

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/23/17 08:44:59 PM (509604299)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6858FEEA-7A55-4ED6-AA0D-DFFE2ACD3E5D

Message: Not good but t clever

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:45:21 PM (509604321)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2B19DB5C-DB49-4492-9A1E-3BFE59D33DD8

Message: That's why I want out so bad

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/23/17 08:45:23 PM (509604323)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7CBB22EE-85B9-43F8-8A32-804BB7188CF7

Message: Talk later sorry that's not nice

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/23/17 08:45:40 PM (509604340)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACCD768D-F4AA-45C3-8D39-B411B23B2A0E

Message: Yes talk tmr and thank you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/24/17 12:27:40 AM (509617660)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1DE9B19A-43C7-44B4-8CF6-FC262F67F4BC

Message: https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.wired.com/2017/02/moving-patient-data-messy-blockchain-help/amp/

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-03-15\□+[redacted]□ on 2017-02-25 at 06.53.05.ichat
Service: iMessage
Start Time: 02/25/17 03:53:05 AM (509716385)
End Time: 03/15/17 07:43:43 AM (511281823)
Last Message ID: 2243
Chat Room:
Participants: jee, □+[redacted]□
Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]
Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 02/25/17 03:53:05 AM (509716385)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: AE30FE9F-D334-4D1B-9BA3-055AC300A9A5
Message: result??

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 07:10:18 AM (509728218)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 077D685D-4245-430D-85DB-04DB1A6A90AF
Message: He says scope too narrow

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 07:10:45 AM (509728245)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 1AC7A4A0-47BB-4B91-AA6C-D349F2378817
Message: 5 hours

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 02/25/17 07:11:09 AM (509728269)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C0CE484D-1CB9-4732-A203-B840AA06750E
Message: i thought larry wanted narrow , encryption health info

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 07:11:22 AM (509728282)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 63ACFD9F-EBEE-4C09-9546-642FD70B19B1
Message: I told him that

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 07:12:00 AM (509728320)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3634E28B-EFCB-41E9-A32F-23C601B09600
Message: I think I know how to write it

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 07:13:22 AM (509728402)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 08CCB72E-5F83-4AAB-A58F-8B976D4D3609
Message: Issurs in domestic health to include .... Issues in medicine include ...

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 07:14:23 AM (509728463)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 615CF55A-24B9-40BE-AD88-CDAB7022148D
Message: Was super fun

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 02/25/17 07:14:51 AM (509728491)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3F270AF2-552B-40D3-B4AA-E6B8FECC1677
Message: great

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 07:15:33 AM (509728533)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 12454001-06BD-4ACF-A4CB-B0EA46980243
Message: Beyond

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 02/25/17 08:07:01 AM (509731621)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: ED342670-51AE-4F6B-88A7-CC221725F3FC
Message: im glad\

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/25/17 08:12:17 AM (509731937)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: D2E3E028-7F66-4688-BB63-40F387FABD69
Message: If you are free in about 15m will Call you

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 08:23:05 AM (509732585)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 0D4F034E-457E-45A5-B4A8-7C65F09D9DD7
Message: Free

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 08:23:07 AM (509732587)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: E2910499-9738-4AAD-9786-9571108FE26A
Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 02/25/17 08:23:33 AM (509732613)
Flags: 1150981
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 44FB4935-9A4C-4A24-B579-BAD4181B725B
Message: yes 212 772 9416

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 08:41:51 AM (509733711)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 039591FF-DAB8-4842-8DBB-DE88E8E4AD73
Message: Thank you

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 02/25/17 08:50:12 AM (509734212)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: BFA4A436-5DC7-45AB-8D0A-4B4499C1C054
Message: Of course

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 08:55:05 AM (509734505)
Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 20947AAE-8F5D-43FB-8678-DADA86249F84
Message: He needs help His advisory are not what he deserves

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 08:55:31 AM (509734531)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: D9FCB6AB-F195-4927-BC8C-6E8E7450FA23
Message: I'm not strong enough to fight them

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 09:13:46 AM (509735626)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 266FBEF7-17DB-4358-9DEA-5522F9667DD9
Message:
http://medcitynews.com/2017/02/himss17-observation/?utm_content=buffer1f2de&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 09:13:46 AM (509735626)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 82E0AD28-A17A-4931-BF07-BEDC661E9A95
Message: From HIMSS and this author John Halamka seems super smart

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/25/17 05:29:21 PM (509765361)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5B8D8745-01B5-472C-8711-CB8F7D4C14B4
Message: Are you in NYC the 2nd in the afternoon

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 02/25/17 05:39:17 PM (509765957)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: F9EB1BDA-C5A7-4EBF-AD09-943ABA3DB257
Message: nope

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/26/17 04:45:55 PM (509849155)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No
GUID: 925911D2-B717-4408-9F5B-66E76520CAE1
Message: Hi Feeling a little trapped between Larry and bill

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/26/17 04:46:12 PM (509849172)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 285639CE-546E-4EAD-9212-478B0EAF2DDB
Message: How can I get ahead? I have six months can't waste time with games

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/26/17 04:47:18 PM (509849238)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: FBDCBA31-D877-4346-B663-C0B70AC1A272
Message: I'm gonna need a pep talk Tuesday morning probably

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/26/17 05:58:17 PM (509853497)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5E3BBB32-750C-45DD-9A21-8C73EDA0C22B
Message: JUST SENT UPDATED TOR What do you think?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 02/26/17 06:05:02 PM (509853902)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: CF253599-04A1-4F76-AFEE-CE1065DAFC34
Message: No problem

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/26/17 06:08:00 PM (509854080)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 6F50739D-3138-4C81-AA1C-CA61D5BFB734
Message: Check email?

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/26/17 06:08:16 PM (509854096)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: B1A28042-1B7E-4DB8-AD97-AB243600C1C7

Message: I want to try to send to bg tonight so I can send to Larry as soon as I hear back

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 02/26/17 06:09:02 PM (509854142)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: DD8D4CC0-E9DE-4C21-82FE-654ABBBF578E
Message: Ok with me but not sure if Larry and bill on same psge

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/26/17 06:09:51 PM (509854191)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 9333C100-8507-4647-9A40-EA94E952EE62
Message: What do I do?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 02/26/17 06:11:15 PM (509854275)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 0F6A7C14-69C2-405A-8F84-64ADBD2A458E
Message: Send

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 02/26/17 06:11:38 PM (509854298)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: BF2BD17C-645B-49D3-B157-1E624CED079D
Message: Did you read and it is broad enough yet still useful for me?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 02/26/17 06:11:46 PM (509854306)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: E1F9A041-ECD5-4760-8053-AA35F25A46CC
Message: Yes

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/26/17 06:12:20 PM (509854340)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 15BA845E-7920-471B-A648-D4780A2F8F9A
Message: Ok

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/26/17 06:15:40 PM (509854540)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: AAF53680-71BA-4F90-8CB7-F62B2C117C12
Message: sent.

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 02/26/17 06:16:03 PM (509854563)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 4CBEEF3D-CF9E-4519-ABB5-5F4F3E2D15B1
Message: Thank you

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/26/17 06:16:39 PM (509854599)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 999AC4C7-682D-4129-A6F6-8D06329439B7
Message: You are about the only person on earth who could possibly understand this. It's almost surrreal

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/27/17 08:42:37 AM (509906557)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 361EAE88-47D7-449F-9CB1-9210F204A750
Message: "Can't you just do everything for me?"

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/27/17 08:43:42 AM (509906622)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 42AB11A2-7D4A-4467-8563-D0DAC9DC25DB
Message: That's not a ToR... I'm starting to realize he just wants to be around someone he enjoys spending time with. Even if it kills that person ... (=me).

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 02/27/17 08:45:01 AM (509906701)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: AAB2A9BB-2D81-4DB1-887C-5109F0C27857
Message: Let's talk tmr ok?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/27/17 08:45:09 AM (509906709)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: FA12176F-16BA-4CAA-9B44-F79C707633FD
Message: ok

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 02/27/17 10:28:19 AM (509912899)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 0624D005-D6CD-4E34-8D7A-F3AF680023EE
Message: https://news.google.com/news/amp?caurl=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.washingtonpost.com%2Famphtml%2Fpowerpost%2Ftrump-to-propose-10-percent-spike-in-defense-spending-massive-cuts-to-other-agencies%2F2017%2F02%2F27%2F867f9690-fcf2-11e6-99b4-9e613afeb09f_story.html#pt0-153337

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 02/27/17 10:28:19 AM (509912899)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 771D7088-05D7-47C1-9B1A-5BECC28CC1E3
Message: Looks like development budgets will be cut / BG and foundation and UN and USAID and WORLD BANK. That's good news for America

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/01/17 04:26:16 AM (510063976)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8BCAD1CE-8A5A-41DB-8AE1-ED72B26190D5
Message: are we set?

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 04:27:48 AM (510064068)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5AA1C7C9-41DC-467E-8F13-8A97270D4E2E
Message: Not yet

Sender [redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 04:28:01 AM (510064081)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 699297CE-195E-4004-8707-55C88CB9D3BC
Message: This week though

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 04:28:11 AM (510064091)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: B31B8427-6D95-45A2-90FD-58C593615F0F
Message: Larry made me talk to 2 more ppl One yesterday and one tmr

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 04:43:59 AM (510065039)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 11D4B926-F0A9-4671-9D10-1ED8CC3215B6
Message: But did do separation w foundation yesterday last day April 15

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 04:44:10 AM (510065050)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: D0ABF5F5-C9F2-4784-953E-289927389BAE
Message: All super nice

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/01/17 04:44:44 AM (510065084)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 401F3CF4-8889-42BE-82D8-5821B1ADD7A4
Message: ok

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 04:44:52 AM (510065092)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: FC242489-5F16-4A64-B2E9-F5737F96804A
Message: Fndn ppl love idea of cyberhealth and asking if there is a way to start there but use that same privacy and identity to extend to other social services

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 04:45:09 AM (510065109)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 57CC610D-09F0-4FBF-B454-FDC5DC4EE17C
Message: I think absolutely Like a new and evolved SSN crypto

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/01/17 04:45:15 AM (510065115)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: D795C5CB-2EC2-4082-BC5D-23939C85878B
Message: So they will rally

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/01/17 05:10:11 AM (510066611)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C84121CF-45C6-483D-B6B4-085595A43BC5
Message: HSN health security number

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/01/17 05:13:24 AM (510066804)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 315CC679-0793-4DA2-A3EE-FB1AD7EB1E61
Message: in fact embed the social number in the new encrypted personal health seciurty number . think of how outdated a social security number is for " security " , that a fun idea

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 06:30:00 AM (510071400)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 24FC9CAD-9BE1-42B7-A7C4-CE8F79DDD8A9
Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 06:30:03 AM (510071403)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: FA11432F-2EEB-4884-9B34-EAF54D1C6680
Message: Start w health

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 06:33:58 AM (510071638)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 2A4530E0-A455-4025-9F00-0D358355C834
Message: The magic is to make all the systems communicate

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 06:38:27 AM (510071907)

Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3BDF675B-05F2-4A00-B15C-A3DA53B8BB06
Message: Think of welfare payments

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 08:34:58 AM (510078898)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: B55CEA68-4BF3-46B2-B377-5D46AFBAD58A
Message: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Tolga_Soyata/publication/257920722_Medical_Data_Analytics_in_the_cloud_using_Homomorphic_Encryption/links/00463534ee1b5ae5e4000000/Medical-Data-Analytics-in-the-cloud-using-Homomorphic-Encryption.pdf

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/01/17 08:35:00 AM (510078900)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 676CAA3A-F8D1-426B-BEDC-3BFD574CEB90
Message: I really like this Homomorphic Encryption

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/02/17 10:11:12 AM (510171072)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C3A6A2A6-33E2-497F-B568-2F6C3C89D8E0
Message: What now

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/02/17 10:12:02 AM (510171122)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 6EC89FE3-736F-4CC0-9545-5E9067E0B573
Message: He's basically saying that all the stuff bill told me to say is already being done by others and that health care has an advocacy strategy (without this) etc etc

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/02/17 10:12:45 AM (510171165)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: AD50A373-E7FD-46BC-BF4D-A1D0F8DAE410
Message: Should I reply Larry only and copy bill and say great looking forward to the conversation or just have a bunch more conversations or what? It's getting ridiculous

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/02/17 10:13:41 AM (510171221)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 944AA352-1C7C-4FB8-AD0C-CCD89F343302
Message: And --- arianna huffington just stated a new org called THRIVE with money from folks like jack ma etc. She's a great advocate and supporter of women and could be a good place for me to consider in some capacity right after bgc3 I will see her Monday

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/02/17 03:24:47 PM (510189887)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A3944239-C8D5-47EB-BCCF-B6048E050D89
Message: http://mobile.the-scientist.com/article/48690/trump-signals-support-for-women-in-stem

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/02/17 03:24:47 PM (510189887)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 2BF766A5-BBB2-4A95-9FEF-02360E750267
Message: This is a good thing

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/03/17 08:18:11 AM (510250691)
Flags: 1150981
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: B31E0D1B-4721-4A09-87D1-C1DAD65B1527
Message: seeing medical team tomorrow

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/03/17 08:22:36 AM (510250956)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5D8D66B6-BEA6-4930-B6B2-67C8B0D388E3
Message: Hey great! Am in NYC Monday for a few hours are you there

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/03/17 08:22:53 AM (510250973)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A2347152-4ECE-4A7B-A004-3344DCD550D0
Message: If you want to talk this evening or over wknd = YAY

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/03/17 08:23:07 AM (510250987)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: AD9435D1-1E1A-4A80-BB09-B5894ADDDA44
Message: not until following week , I will get the scoop

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/03/17 08:23:24 AM (510251004)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 026E7754-2E40-4582-8806-64CC4E817131
Message: Roger that Larry is still playing games and bill is still squeezing me

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/03/17 08:23:30 AM (510251010)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: BF6C137D-ACAC-4108-A5ED-780BACC012E3
Message: Lord have mercy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/03/17 08:24:08 AM (510251048)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5A074E5A-04F4-4D6B-9FB8-3EBD2D49F04E
Message: not sure why you don't just appease larry. as he is the bottleneck, it is silly . you continue to be jerks around

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/03/17 08:24:31 AM (510251071)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 00F5EB19-8B99-4081-BC95-9B7EF9018E80
Message: what you put on paper is ONLY to get in, stop wasting time.

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/03/17 08:24:41 AM (510251081)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: F7F7AB9F-4ECB-4180-8082-175B872304D1
Message: That's what I told bill

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/03/17 08:24:46 AM (510251086)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: DD9BBF55-27B8-45F7-83A0-D48D038EB3E1
Message: Yes you are right

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/03/17 08:24:54 AM (510251094)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 649D9F9D-7D2F-4F83-A495-213C869A0624
Message: □

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/03/17 08:25:01 AM (510251101)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 735D2137-9CCA-45A9-AF37-47B34BBDD8EB
Message: Usually always you are right

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/03/17 08:25:06 AM (510251106)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: D6BE3672-F6E3-46E3-BBA8-B2F6A6BDA651
Message: Ok always

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/03/17 02:40:56 PM (510273656)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: E425A8F2-8656-481F-BA7F-A6DADA9C1A21
Message: Larry keeps sending me these vicious text messages

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/03/17 02:41:42 PM (510273702)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 63F4D04C-844A-4EF7-8EB3-F4671F68E004
Message: Time to just keep him and bill on the same email. No games. At least, no games from me.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/03/17 02:43:32 PM (510273812)
Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: CB01FB54-4FF8-4F6A-88B0-548730849EE7
Message: yup

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/03/17 02:51:02 PM (510274262)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 9C2E8F09-FB21-456D-9E7B-CBB6D0017FB5
Message: https://www.cs.rochester.edu/u/muthuv/ccsna14-he.pdf

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/03/17 02:51:03 PM (510274263)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5DDB6F81-F544-4B96-A12B-3364AB2E17D7
Message: Neat

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 08:56:20 AM (510339380)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 4312B74A-161A-49C9-82A9-C711CFC3B48F
Message:
http://www.economist.com/news/business/21717990-telemedicine-predictive-diagnostics-wearable-sensors-and-host-new-apps-will-transform-how?frsc=dg%7Cc

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/04/17 03:32:51 PM (510363171)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: CA28A874-1679-4DAE-AD39-E8254B7D3503
Message: Funding NIH grants ?

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 03:36:40 PM (510363400)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: D95832E0-E6FD-4008-888A-E273C4B4D897
Message: That is built around peer review and the incumbent networks of power in each field

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 03:37:12 PM (510363432)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No
GUID: 499C41BB-01A3-40F0-B24F-562BBF710CF7
Message: That's also why smart ppl and ideas are now chasing VC and private equity instead of grants

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 03:39:12 PM (510363552)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8CF7D2A3-9AC3-4238-AB4C-8681D9E5F1E6
Message: Have you seen arianna Huffington's new effort? Media driven platform For health and wellness - money from jack Ma and Jeff Bezos w connections into Amazon and Alibaba She wants to talk to me Monday and I will be in NYC Might be another path to surgeon general in the sense of being the consumer facing health and wellness guru - like a more evolved dr oz or Oprah but linked to products Interesting concept

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 03:41:56 PM (510363716)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 41F070C3-CD47-45B3-A332-36CDF984499A
Message: She's got reputation and money and the whole thing dedicated to health and wellness / being on her leadership team and the head doc is cool - jack says I could do Alibaba pop up shops on anything health wellness and sell a zillion products of whatever kind and also as a doc present the evidence. Bezos could do something similar on Amazon. Both are outside bill space but he likes them Also - is profitable and builds credibility towards Americas doctor / Presenting best evidence on products and also education on certain topics (like headaches or sleep or obesity or whatever) Of course I'm still going to work w bill a few months. But maybe start w her right after OR SOONER

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 03:42:06 PM (510363726)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 7EA3F264-AC7B-49DC-9296-7C33E5228E8C
Message: More Monday afternoon

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/04/17 04:12:38 PM (510365558)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3595679E-A81A-41EE-8079-F97A5C92FBAB
Message: Just left medical advisory . Lots to do . I have zero interest

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:17:13 PM (510365833)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A683869A-C056-4D10-A7DC-19688332D78B

Message: Zero interest in medical advisory? Oh no!

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:17:47 PM (510365867)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 6EF681DD-8201-4AEB-9F1F-3E22AD4F8122
Message: Well bill says he has zero interest in doing anything helpful on health or tech for US until trump stands up on international development and aid

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:18:27 PM (510365907)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: FFF4179F-A435-4261-A808-480532E3F26C
Message: Will keep pushing but he says his #1 priority is ODA (overseas development aid)

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:19:40 PM (510365980)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: F69E02FB-DB41-46BA-A81C-52AC66278B79
Message: I told him the tech play is one that he can pull off where everyone wins and I can help get that started and he says that his "policy package" will depend on what trump does for him ....

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:21:17 PM (510366077)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3E1033B1-CF04-43AA-83A3-DC2E34C9940C
Message: What did you learn from medical consortium ??? Call me!

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:27:14 PM (510366434)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 97A61A8B-45CA-4E45-A818-E7E19EE2FC52
Message: Bill also says (just spoke to him) that he wants me to do a learning session for him in the middle East on a their health and health tech

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:29:42 PM (510366582)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2E148688-39A3-4E8B-ACAE-9069228B6BAA
Message: Also a lobbyist from k&l gates wants to speak w me next week about surgeon general role - he told me that Geoff Ling (darpa) and Raj Shah (USAID and gates now Rockefeller) Both recommended me and he would like to spend some time w me.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/04/17 04:33:47 PM (510366827)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: D11B0FBB-82AD-4DB3-8535-B3DE29A9BC30
Message: Head of MGh , Cleveland clinic, Hopkins , mayo all working together. I told them about you .

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:35:42 PM (510366942)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: F70B2E75-5910-4510-8FDE-48865082E7BD
Message: Thank you Well glad they are all great institutions and working together

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:36:03 PM (510366963)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C061EBA4-65B9-446B-BAC8-9A15FE08C800
Message: Wish BG could get his head around the needs of our country as opposed to development aid

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:36:45 PM (510367005)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 7FE3CDDB-FED9-453D-B207-96C3786C0AAC
Message: Did you learn anything concrete ? Are they doing digital idea already?

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:36:54 PM (510367014)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: CFD2F95C-0DD4-4DC6-B761-38E31725583A
Message: Do they have a lead or a strategy?

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:39:50 PM (510367190)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No

GUID: A5AC6A82-A3E1-484C-9949-935E9F217713
Message: http://m.klgates.com/daniel-f-ritter/

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:39:51 PM (510367191)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: ED4099E2-8ACD-40FF-AEE4-380CE018366B
Message: This guy next week

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/04/17 04:43:21 PM (510367401)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8611EE6C-08E3-48BD-BADB-9A85057B437B
Message: They think everyone should have med records in their phone . Defense dept records different system than VA. Hate intl aid vs US NEEDS . NIH , techno transfer goofy , Grant s too difficult. Drugs too addicting etc

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:45:42 PM (510367542)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 9FBCE866-D13B-402E-9A65-4EF0FB827427
Message: Med records should be in cloud w homomorphic encryption ability To get what is needed without putting data at risk but yes ppl should own their own medical records

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:46:02 PM (510367562)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 9F8D1F98-9D1B-4C1D-B3C3-211E7F93E2EF
Message: Ok got it let's talk next week

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:46:07 PM (510367567)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5B2F64C2-6EE9-4505-B04D-801FE47367DE
Message: Or whenever

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/04/17 04:46:33 PM (510367593)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No

GUID: 63BB69C1-2A39-4811-A7B8-F942D45AB6F6
Message: Bg meets w trump march 20/21 (tbc)

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/05/17 03:54:25 AM (510407665)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: E01D625B-8A97-4881-AC24-819848A2D9DB
Message: a waste of time. he should meet with barrack

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/05/17 10:44:02 AM (510432242)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 67475AFA-BAE7-4B90-8231-3C42C89769D3
Message: https://www.linkedin.com/in/jonah-goldman-b4b16a6

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/05/17 10:44:02 AM (510432242)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 49341B90-C929-4469-B27D-859882DD7180
Message: Bg senior political adviser

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/05/17 08:14:13 PM (510466453)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: CB35C3BE-61E8-4A07-9806-B45928CD2AED
Message: https://www.va.gov/directory/guide/manager.asp?pnum=30251

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/05/17 08:14:13 PM (510466453)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 9B237953-42E4-4D35-9EC5-45459717B96E
Message: She's super nice by the way. My friend. If your guys need smart no drama women --

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 09:40:56 AM (510514856)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 60A89EC4-CDC2-4826-AA70-69A8A6C90B5A
Message: Are you in NYC

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/06/17 09:43:26 AM (510515006)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 6EDB350B-5252-4668-A861-9246FC2C9916
Message: Sat

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:08:10 AM (510516490)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 004A6AA1-EAE8-46DA-B4C2-56CF4FF33136
Message: Bg very interested in Middle East right now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/06/17 10:09:04 AM (510516544)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: ED01C225-7C95-40AF-A003-A58356DB0B11
Message: Dubai / Saudi ? Qatar all very very good buds

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:09:20 AM (510516560)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 037B3D4A-4762-4CAA-BC2C-2E3AF7376ED7
Message: Israel plus emirates and sort of Saudi

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:09:25 AM (510516565)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 4D1C7834-6379-49B1-B669-8A871AE83D19
Message: Qatar too

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:09:45 AM (510516585)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C82AE472-1264-44D3-8542-06A262F2D028
Message: He wants me to arrange a learning trip on TECHNOLOGIES emerging from the region

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/06/17 10:09:53 AM (510516593)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 151E99C2-CDD2-40F5-91EC-6C1E566C5530
Message: I think Israel a whole separate thing

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/06/17 10:10:00 AM (510516600)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: CB63E7DA-EF31-4DC7-8507-02AE88458224
Message: Israel - tell bill Paris week of 21

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:10:04 AM (510516604)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 7D7578C4-A3BF-49A8-93EB-F6B49BA4E3FE
Message: Health technologies specifically

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/06/17 10:10:08 AM (510516608)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 022C550E-01AE-4F06-B2A4-F63CF9C00192
Message: All hands

Sender [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:10:47 AM (510516647)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 66A5344B-5D45-4C05-88D0-EBB8C1956F1E
Message: Peace mtg? W Jared and Tony Blair and all those folks? Not sure bg interested in peace process mostly technologies

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:10:59 AM (510516659)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 73FF6A52-3B5F-4305-8C5E-3BF78047C052
Message: He says he speaks to Jared a lot

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/06/17 10:11:39 AM (510516699)

Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C422C58F-196E-4636-90A8-BDAF2092E311
Message: No peace boring and not happening. GROW UP

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:12:10 AM (510516730)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: AF5781B0-1718-4257-A4E5-AF5136535DA4
Message: Oh lord. 21st then what to discuss

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:12:12 AM (510516732)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: E673E869-3127-4E18-A37E-4D0FFA515F1F
Message: More war

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:12:26 AM (510516746)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: B52016E3-7DFF-45E6-A365-727ADEF2AC6C
Message: Bg in D.C. W trump 20/21

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/06/17 10:12:36 AM (510516756)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 05FC3E16-929F-4B9A-8ED1-C6F0CD23DF32
Message: Cyber

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:12:57 AM (510516777)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C08938EE-8D58-42AE-B3A1-56B1C7C9A2F5
Message: Agreed that is a better approach! Israel best at that

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:13:03 AM (510516783)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No
GUID: 373C5C08-1163-4E2C-B4AA-714A6C187AAE
Message: Not sure bg invited

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:13:06 AM (510516786)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8AB3F4EC-A575-47BD-A630-A84D646F474A
Message: Or me

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/06/17 10:13:31 AM (510516811)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: BAD192DD-E91E-4224-B58E-1FA76D88245D
Message: In all forms . Money surveillance, offense . It's at my house so I would know

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:13:44 AM (510516824)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: AA748192-1E95-4A33-BF07-229F3B75268B
Message: Omg INVITE ME

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:14:37 AM (510516877)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 1DF41909-BEFE-4C02-810F-5344F2DAA721
Message: Can try to invite bg depending on guest list etc - Larry told him he couldn't have contact w you so would have to manage that carefully

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/06/17 10:17:30 AM (510517050)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: D71DE6C6-D0AA-4DBE-9DD4-2FE37C3B347D
Message: Not a problem for me . I like bill . He gets more from me than I get from him . He should grow some balls and start to love

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/06/17 10:17:33 AM (510517053)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No
GUID: D1022D4A-BCC9-47A3-8371-1E7A7899D327
Message: Live

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:19:05 AM (510517145)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: CC005ADB-18ED-4AF2-ACF0-C11E4251D516
Message: Love and live both Well I have a few months to try to encourage him but it is sad for me to stand there and watch Larry boss him around. Not same bill I knew forever ago.

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:19:22 AM (510517162)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 1A8E5857-EEF6-4280-9AD6-052C3348E27F
Message: I have an idea What if I bring Larry to Paris.

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:19:27 AM (510517167)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3DF856C1-0276-4B6A-88BB-47F705190F6D
Message: Olive branch

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:19:37 AM (510517177)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5B4F06BC-712E-4B3D-AB75-27047DA90917
Message: And snuggles

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 10:20:11 AM (510517211)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 2B485782-46AB-44CB-906E-611B25AC94C6
Message: Think about it. Would be a hard sell but maybe he or someone close to bg and me could go and hold hands

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/06/17 10:36:17 AM (510518177)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No
GUID: 80D2815C-BFD8-4476-AEC9-E46AD946B132
Message: no, i don't trust him

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 12:26:37 PM (510524797)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: AD43C6A9-EA6D-4659-97EC-82FCB8348239
Message: Me neither but he is the only way to bg right now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/06/17 12:27:24 PM (510524844)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 1C5199A1-6905-41B7-8A8F-3C17CFECF14A
Message: then i have no interest

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/06/17 12:40:51 PM (510525651)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 1786098A-6E35-4A89-873C-9910B14733A9
Message: Fair enough Need to see how far I can get in terms of a sanity and reality check for bg

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/09/17 04:08:42 PM (510797322)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: BC22180C-DFE5-49A5-9B0B-F6521345B028
Message: How are you

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/09/17 04:26:12 PM (510798372)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: AE5DE9A9-ECFA-4F06-B160-194D5EE43EFD
Message: Jack Ma got in touch w me. Very interesting opportunity. Let's talk next week. November time frame

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/09/17 05:14:04 PM (510801244)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 6AA294C1-39DE-47F9-97F5-3F99852389EB

Message: Ok

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/11/17 10:18:39 AM (510949119)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 0814B35E-2F42-469E-8134-1FBA0B8AC516
Message: http://www.theverge.com/2017/3/10/14880094/deepmind-health-uk-data-blockchain-audit

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:31:40 AM (511281100)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 78D02A64-531B-4DD2-BA52-FDC44996B2F3
Message: Are you in NYC 23/24?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/15/17 07:31:47 AM (511281107)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 2ED14B8C-3AFA-4227-932F-99FFED040C83
Message: unlikely

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:33:09 AM (511281189)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 24260EB3-6D0E-40E5-849F-AFBA62D02E22
Message: Any news / anything interesting BG in D.C. 20/21

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/15/17 07:33:40 AM (511281220)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 7DBCA855-1B53-49C9-A773-0CD0CFF1F006
Message: he should meet with tom barrack, if he wants traction

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/15/17 07:34:17 AM (511281257)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 2A978A2E-91DE-44F9-937B-4AAEBAD5DED6
Message: what happened to the jack ma deal

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:35:39 AM (511281339)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 39C3350D-9B7B-4417-8110-5B454D268F54
Message: I have told him that. He believes his team are better connected and that Jared and ivanka are his interlocutors

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:38:13 AM (511281493)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: E78FBE7F-3FA9-4711-B8B2-764DFEA861BE
Message: Jack wants me to help arianna huffington - he invested in her company thrive (so did Bezos) Her company does half corporate wellness and half ecommerce but she hasn't built out ecommerce Jack believes there is big opportunity for what he calls a "category" in the wellbeing ecommerce space. He says I have tech skills and doctor skills and wellness sense to help her build that part of the business - basically a JV w Alibaba. Bezos is hoping for the same thing

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:38:42 AM (511281522)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: B3EBE449-473B-4F9C-88E0-6760E16AAD0A
Message: Alibaba and Amazon are biggest marketplaces and super interesting opportunity both commercially and intellectually

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/15/17 07:38:45 AM (511281525)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: F644D75E-CE28-4C0F-B0B3-AD33BBD0A6C7
Message: not my thing , i can add nothing

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:39:02 AM (511281542)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: E1472690-0321-453F-8AAE-325909D49FAA
Message: Bezos wants build out "local" and link to licensed docs

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:39:13 AM (511281553)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No
GUID: 97E248C9-9151-4DB0-A455-E8E9B67C6B8B
Message: (Eventually robot services)

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:39:32 AM (511281572)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 705499FD-18AA-4AE5-A58B-7D1986C767E1
Message: It is a real and credible opportunity for sure.

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:39:45 AM (511281585)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 1B714857-FD5A-4E0E-BC1A-51D0F5D03E94
Message: Chief Medical Officer

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:40:03 AM (511281603)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 54FF12AD-0257-4596-87AC-4F28732834D3
Message: Equity/salary and the boss of the JVs w Alibaba and Amazon

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:40:32 AM (511281632)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 0A145244-705B-4EE5-A2C2-7771D3C13313
Message: Jack says too hard to build these innovations from within Alibaba and has to come from JV

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:40:43 AM (511281643)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 50ED469A-0F7B-44DA-B052-AF7B2277D64B
Message: Nice that he thought of me

Sender [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:41:52 AM (511281712)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 707DE7AD-4A53-4233-ADFB-EAB0C5E7A526

Message: BG world is so backwards. Makes me sad. Wish there was a better space but for now will keep working on the bgc3 and next steps.

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:42:11 AM (511281731)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 816AA228-62FC-468F-BDAF-BC95A86F060D
Message: Thanks for your support always

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:43:20 AM (511281800)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A48F0315-C7CF-493F-A77D-89331B073A45
Message: Should I try to join Boris over time? He's venturing into brain space

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:43:25 AM (511281805)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: FF5E48E1-6F78-41EB-B99A-CC8D6D72F975
Message: Pretty deeply

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/15/17 07:43:43 AM (511281823)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A4AB1AB3-8346-42A8-8C71-209DE8ED5389
Message: Not sure he wants more ppl or thinks I add value

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-03-17\□+[redacted]□ on 2017-03-17 at 07.34.29.ichat
Service: iMessage
Start Time: 03/17/17 04:34:29 AM (511443269)
End Time: 03/17/17 02:52:00 PM (511480320)
Last Message ID: 2399
Chat Room:
Participants: jee, □+[redacted]8□
Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, 12063827848
Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/17/17 04:34:29 AM (511443269)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: EF0BA375-AECC-48EA-AE84-893FABE10358
Message: he should tread carefully, as his free spend will likely be reduced to only us entities . rational explanations do not carry the day. . in the budget as i told you , vet , and mental health. a big big increase and focus. its the world of the strongmen.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/17/17 04:35:02 AM (511443302)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: B5284F07-9C17-4CEB-AF21-17F4019EBA8F
Message: I send bill an email that this is the time for the Giant 'DAF. to replace the loss of govt funding to projects of his concern. its a no brainer.

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 04:39:44 AM (511443584)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5AFDB7E4-5CFE-4044-AFDB-9163CEC83786
Message: I told him too He could save the day by rallying his American "giving pledge" folks to rescue some of the closed programs in the USA He could also use his own funds

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 04:43:11 AM (511443791)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 9D45ECDD-511B-4CCC-93EA-FC4C033EAB21
Message: His advisers tell him the budget will look very different when approved, that his issues are too important to cut (ODA)

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 04:45:08 AM (511443908)

Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 181BCF50-5845-4F21-B024-6546962DCF06
Message: Polio and PEPFAR etc He is not at all interested in mental health but he may consider advocating for Alzheimer disease and has no interest in getting involved w vets. He may be a little stuck ...

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 04:45:39 AM (511443939)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C19BD3C8-D79C-4BB2-9093-3532DE097990
Message: His advisers are all Obama-ites and trump haters. Deeply Entrenched.

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 04:49:56 AM (511444196)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 19E52B1E-442E-493F-BD6F-68E4AC2614FF
Message: Are there other billionaires that could step in to help?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 03/17/17 04:52:33 AM (511444353)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3DE3C525-D685-4DB5-AF8A-B4D8B7762493
Message: Yes, but they have less uber size giving experience

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 04:56:33 AM (511444593)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 45B41939-24FB-4504-93AC-2850A256A24F
Message: How can we make him listen? I feel like David and Goliath!!! :-) His advisers tell him I'm being disruptive and don't know what I'm talking about

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 04:56:44 AM (511444604)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: BD6A4786-CAED-46C4-8F02-DD32E87E691A
Message: And putting him at risk

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 04:57:25 AM (511444645)

Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 98B4DF94-BDBB-49D1-B440-152CC70D878F
Message: I think it really will take trump pushing back on him to make him realize these are different times

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 04:57:34 AM (511444654)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 121FB7C4-7C26-4D8A-BA8E-E2D5C7AED325
Message: That might be the only way

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 02:09:46 PM (511477786)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: BE841E10-D5A6-4846-8E19-C5B69A0BE3C0
Message: http://time.com/4704550/bill-gates-cutting-foreign-aid-makes-america-less-safe/

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 02:51:29 PM (511480289)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 7C538399-4DBE-471D-BA35-A544FCB4E2CA
Message: Unrelated topic Do you think endogenous inflammatory cells have exploitable Magnetic properties

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 02:51:46 PM (511480306)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 7F2FC11F-E0FC-4C05-8889-661047DEEC8E
Message: Asking for endovascular purposes

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 03/17/17 02:52:00 PM (511480320)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 99D7EEB5-69A5-4CB9-81A2-BA4AC5F90887
Message: I want to talk about it

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-03-23\[redacted] on 2017-03-19 at 12.10.08.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 03/19/17 09:10:08 AM (511632608)

End Time: 03/23/17 11:49:06 AM (511987746)

Last Message ID: 2592

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/19/17 09:10:08 AM (511632608)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6611333B-76AC-44DA-BDB8-676D851C522A

Message: im glad it worked out.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/17 07:20:19 AM (511712419)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BE610F75-150B-4BDE-88DF-F683AC7FAF12

Message: did you have a nice flight. will you see barry out there. sometime soon we should drive to bard, and choose a dorm

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/17 01:54:19 PM (511736059)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DD82AE42-3678-44CE-9B22-A42E78138EE1

Message: will woody take a helicopter with us to bard?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/17 01:54:41 PM (511736081)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C9BA0DEB-052B-4A7D-8921-81B07F08CC54

Message: i dropped out of cooper union

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/17 01:55:46 PM (511736146)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACFD3F2D-AFCD-4CC8-A449-10C289452853

Message: with me , ? i like me , no worry

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/17 01:56:48 PM (511736208)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 62781A58-B18B-47FE-BC9B-76BA9B610507

Message: other " young"

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/17 01:58:20 PM (511736300)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CADC3C59-20B4-48CD-AF34-CCE73AD1E548

Message: at the children's table

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/22/17 02:52:53 PM (511912373)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3E732CC0-94CE-41C4-B045-04E7D3DC3260

Message: When are you back

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/22/17 03:05:45 PM (511913145)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C38D994D-0418-4F81-BC9A-729AC9BCC143

Message: fun i hope.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/23/17 03:59:57 AM (511959597)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 859DBF36-960D-489B-AE7E-81EFA7CA1BC9

Message: I know him for many years . Initially met through trump

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/23/17 07:10:02 AM (511971002)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B3188FC-EA94-4F17-A24C-5CE9315D1C95

Message: Does John know him ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/23/17 07:10:28 AM (511971028)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0759D1AD-EB3F-4CD5-87A9-3270FA52CB7A

Message: And?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/23/17 07:11:25 AM (511971085)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F01FFCDB-DECC-4A67-81A0-352327649284

Message: Ok

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/23/17 07:12:43 AM (511971163)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4B681311-B8A5-40F1-B0CA-70A9DAA89484

Message: Good memory

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/23/17 07:13:16 AM (511971196)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A3FA22A3-8B95-44E3-9A9D-049BD5F4299E

Message: And I never spoke to her after you told me

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/23/17 07:13:53 AM (511971233)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 80566F3C-6A79-4636-B8FD-542842562C21

Message: I am one of your biggest fans .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/23/17 07:14:29 AM (511971269)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 51529356-964E-4BC7-80DE-198F9F142A90

Message: As you know friends are my highest ideal

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/23/17 07:17:36 AM (511971456)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F3B3BBA4-1190-43A5-9C77-0EA1DAC765E5

Message: I didn't care. I just thought it was amusing. I feel just because we're married doesn't mean Woody is in a cage and that if he thinks that he can do better let him. I want him to be happy. You only get one life. I know he wouldn't be able to do better and that he would be under a delusion. Then he would be crawling back to me and then he would have hell to pay. :-) You knew he was going to have to suffer somehow didn't you. :-)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/23/17 11:49:06 AM (511987746)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5B04E0C4-BEEE-4C39-9F23-9BBC926E4320

Message: Call me when you get a chance.

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-03-29\[redacted] on 2017-03-29 at 06.13.27.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 03/29/17 03:13:27 AM (512475207)

End Time: 03/29/17 08:27:08 PM (512537228)

Last Message ID: 2808

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/17 03:13:27 AM (512475207)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1E421999-280C-41A3-848C-2DD258BBC822

Message: Hello. Hope u r welland had lits of dessert wth sultan. The white hse announced yday pm modis trip to dc. Can u tell me whn and the dates ? Thanks.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 03:58:23 AM (512477903)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2884ABBA-DDFA-4C18-B7E4-DAA44A8A4BED

Message: you were greatly missed. we would both have loved to have you there. . re trip I m told it is a part of israel strategy. should know more after i return from paris.-fyi Im told that buy india in reality is limited to a certain category of things . i.e. many can only be truly made in america. (with its inherent risks for back doors.) IT- yes , jet engines no. however , very enthusiastic over having private biz involved as it is seen to be much less corrupt than govt; (please keep in mind , my expertise is money not politics . so I merely transmit things to you that I'm sure you understand though I might not)

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 04:12:41 AM (512478761)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 48F3F42D-1BF0-4908-A477-B005B5135912

Message: yes I fully understood . what i am told is that discussions re israel strategy were dominating modi dates. however lots and lots of internal conflicts taking priority.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 04:17:27 AM (512479047)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 92BF770F-8B67-460E-BE08-FD28C2C9C470

Message: as part of your new frankly brilliant strategy, are you a member of any US think tank?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 04:33:58 AM (512480038)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C0C2BB25-C9C8-4683-AB85-181960AD9B89

Message: Tom Pritzker. - like family, . the chairman of CSIS. also pritzker prize and trekking in himalayas . probably worth a meeting for you .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 04:35:28 AM (512480128)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3C6FBEAC-FD97-4FB4-BCA3-7732310170FD

Message: as you may know I used to be a member of the trilateral commission. so i have some strong views on benefits and burdens of the various orgs.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 04:36:09 AM (512480169)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DAE3B318-D2CB-49B5-A4CA-2CD6330CD86B

Message: If you like I will put you indirect contact. . hope every day some fun

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 04:36:51 AM (512480211)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7E4A1964-40E6-45BE-BB9C-7A6486DE7ECD

Message: may i send him your email

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 04:37:18 AM (512480238)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8D81A593-DA25-456F-9196-09BD201BDE99

Message: or prefer text number

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 04:53:56 AM (512481236)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CA01CE99-7D9F-4A72-A142-B15DBD92CD25

Message: tom has sent you an email

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/17 04:54:53 AM (512481293)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 565AE30A-F914-442F-A824-5742C069E8CD

Message: Yes thanks.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 03:28:23 PM (512519303)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 434D1C4B-608C-4243-AB7C-4C3B0E989ECD

Message: Bill burns runs Carnegie . He will see you in wash

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/17 05:32:52 PM (512526772)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 79203E7C-CB98-41E5-A4CA-1B9814560E5C

Message: He is mtng me in mumbai nxt week

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 06:21:40 PM (512529700)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4652B5E0-F710-4277-919C-83D63AA449E4

Message: He is the best diplomat . Friend of Terje roed Larsen . Current admin not a fan as result of Iran deal

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 07:52:30 PM (512535150)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E3CB4293-9ED8-4DA2-9015-E6231A38D4B3

Message: He is the norwegian . you should meet , he lived in oslo, hence the name of the agreement the OSLO accords. I told him you and he should meet. He is a very very close and great friend. . former under sec general for middle east. . It is the opening of the play on broadway describing the secret negotiations with clinton and arafat and barak. . He will be in europe with me this week, Bill Burns and he go way back. He will meet you in june or earlier if you come to our may dinner may 5.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/17 08:22:55 PM (512536975)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7D9AEC35-2D2B-4439-B3C3-33252571C3BD

Message: again - I told terje that you are fun, (very important). Ive asked him to be your sherpa

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/17 08:27:08 PM (512537228)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AAF71ED7-9D3A-469A-9257-3348BB180DD5

Message: Thanks

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-04-09\+[redacted] on 2017-04-09 at 03.50.22.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 04/09/17 12:50:22 AM (513417022)

End Time: 04/09/17 08:12:43 AM (513443563)

Last Message ID: 3269

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 12:50:22 AM (513417022)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C01592F2-54C8-4BF4-BCF7-2833B833CF04

Message: Hello

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 12:51:00 AM (513417060)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FCC6170A-1103-476E-8491-AEA17519BD51

Message: .? How was Bill

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 12:51:41 AM (513417101)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F8DCB10F-46CE-462D-9E42-833FCC05B473

Message: Gud. Critical on trump.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 12:52:19 AM (513417139)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FB85D9C3-E18E-4888-893D-2E367D96EDC2

Message: Have u done any deals in india ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 12:55:05 AM (513417305)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 42DAF3E5-A9EB-4C35-A1AB-F5D3F73E89CC

Message: Zero. My expertise is personal wealth . So my clients have . Leon black - Apollo for ex.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 12:55:53 AM (513417353)

Flags: 1159173

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F91F7D1C-69DE-4680-879A-EFEC273C44C5

Message: Do you think you will come to meet tom may 5

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 12:58:15 AM (513417495)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 47CAF1D9-605E-4A55-ADF8-A3AF7B49B595

Message: Trump has very high quality advisors . Very ! However he doesn't listen often . Xi meeting scripted by Kissinger but very quiet

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 12:58:47 AM (513417527)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 370E33CD-51DD-4CC2-B7AD-DFFE315DC7B0

Message: K. May 5 unlikely.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 12:59:24 AM (513417564)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 854A2AA8-6FEF-42FD-8D0E-CA7F28D9383D

Message: So personal wealth means what can we do together ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 01:01:24 AM (513417684)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 31552661-6271-4856-BE10-435D8EF03800

Message: Hopefully , laugh

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 01:04:14 AM (513417854)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A00093D4-ED24-4442-8B25-732159CCD9B9

Message: I do anything that makes money , but is challenging. Structurally, or subject matter - genetics, all the tech, bio, robo , fin, .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 01:06:00 AM (513417960)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1B4255B5-1625-4464-9E7E-4C5DE892C5EA

Message: I don't do small deals . Too much work and fund the most rarefied of the sciences . Advanced math , AI , origin of life Etc

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 01:06:47 AM (513418007)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E7D94F6C-89F7-44FD-98DE-170BF146ABEC

Message: I have the most forward looking think tank at MIT AND HARVARD

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 01:07:10 AM (513418030)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A2465F64-B580-41C4-B73C-004D0B3D43C2

Message: and dessert

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 01:07:18 AM (513418038)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE3FF975-620C-4322-9885-8F2EBF9E78FF

Message: Wow

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 01:07:52 AM (513418072)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0F36EABE-3AE3-4ECE-B1AC-2ABF116D7B40

Message: You are welcome to visit all

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 01:08:25 AM (513418105)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 289E84B8-F900-431A-B153-65ACDEE05527

Message: Will do. Have a fun sun.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 01:11:55 AM (513418315)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5455C8DD-198F-4D64-84EC-84623AB7A6E2

Message: K- you might want to look at Mit media lab . Next generation

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 02:58:12 AM (513424692)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F080FF6C-2CEE-4CF8-8265-3BDA1D912F85

Message: do you have any plans for europe? or states/ ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 03:19:40 AM (513425980)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FF2D79FD-B33B-4FC6-8C1C-B613FD70C3EC

Message: Paris end of month

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 03:19:55 AM (513425995)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D1592B61-A831-4245-B7D4-7F501BD4ECF5

Message: Nyc early june

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 03:24:05 AM (513426245)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BD28FCCA-08D2-48BD-8A9E-DD0EEED08C93

Message: dates for paris?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 03:28:26 AM (513426506)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 32610372-59A5-4C2E-AEB8-A4F3CE59A690

Message: Maybe 24 25

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 07:42:21 AM (513441741)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 354A25AE-FE88-466C-847D-516FC1D030C1

Message: isn't it your birthday then

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 08:06:17 AM (513443177)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DCACDB05-4D17-4DF9-B5A5-436FBD1FFA41

Message: Yes june 4. Be wth my younger son who is at nyustern

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 08:07:48 AM (513443268)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5BC20D72-0FD9-45DF-88BB-9ADC5A058FF2

Message: great.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 08:08:33 AM (513443313)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6C3E0034-BC43-4126-BDC3-202B3855502C

Message: Thanks Whn is ur bday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 08:08:54 AM (513443334)

Flags: 1159173

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 68F9D009-1E14-4AAE-922E-3332065AAD52

Message: jan 20. but i treat every day like my birthday

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 08:09:12 AM (513443352)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0E5F7BBD-0D9B-4062-AB31-24A5A4F1C6F7

Message: Great

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/17 08:12:23 AM (513443543)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0EBEB13C-6F46-409E-A10B-4297C4B2A8CA

Message: also then keep in mind if you son needs anything at all. in new york he now has family there

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/17 08:12:43 AM (513443563)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1F6C2A9C-46D7-4FC5-9CFF-6969F8FBB0F3

Message: Thank u soo much.

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-04-20\□+[redacted]□ on 2017-04-20 at 09.16.46.ichat
Service: iMessage
Start Time: 04/20/17 06:16:46 AM (514387006)
End Time: 04/20/17 05:56:20 PM (514428980)
Last Message ID: 4189
Chat Room:
Participants: jee, □+[redacted]8□
Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, 12063827848
Messages -

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:16:46 AM (514387006)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: CB9D38CE-CB44-4D2E-AA3B-2DA89F49D2D4
Message:
https://www.forbes.com/sites/timworstall/2017/04/20/where-bill-gates-goes-wrong-its-how-not-how-much-foreign-aid-is-spent-that-matters/#66008a866de0

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:29:02 AM (514387742)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8D743905-A8CE-41DB-AFDE-89CF87426DDD
Message: Bill Helman has some ideas on how to create a business around this and to monetize the concepts / plant to human translational research and don't worry he's incredibly discrete. And discreet. Also Geoff Ling the former head of DARPA and total genius is also my good friend and very supportive - didn't give a ton of detail but he says he will do whatever or even help run, advise, etc. he knows how to make science fiction science fact.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 06:34:33 AM (514388073)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A21DB08B-EC02-4909-9766-DA362ED3F1C8
Message: both are welcome to our secret society , they will join join joi ito ed boyden and caleb . (mit agro)

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:36:44 AM (514388204)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 116E74DC-E0D2-4AA0-A655-07EDACFE373F
Message: Perfect

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:36:49 AM (514388209)

Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: EAF0684C-29EC-498D-B622-7B0E94ED8431
Message: Geoff is CRAZY

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 06:37:14 AM (514388234)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 0A4B4586-6D20-4473-AA0A-9D41D696B61F
Message: i like crazy

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:37:42 AM (514388262)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 1F8D4599-401B-47E6-AFE1-492A23A449C3
Message: https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geoffrey_Ling

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 06:38:00 AM (514388280)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 7989F7D0-F595-424B-978B-9C68341DFAFB
Message: go to visit MIT asap. maybe i get you an appt at the media lab

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:38:08 AM (514388288)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C5AF5E01-141E-4AC1-8384-4CA2658C6D21
Message: And hes a very very good friend of mine. He tried to make me work at darpa.

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:38:41 AM (514388321)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 7BBC69FC-820C-4A23-93D6-BE535D5CC247
Message: Oh that would be great! I have to be in seattle w bg from tmr to April 29 but can go week of May 1

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:39:33 AM (514388373)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No
GUID: 357516EB-7EFF-4ADC-89B7-31D56B024D27
Message: So when I went to interview at darpa the woman who was the head (arathi something can't remember last name) told geoff she couldn't hire someone so gorgeous because it would distract the men trying to focus on work

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 06:40:41 AM (514388441)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 24EF9890-72F6-4F35-9C61-F95E795359DB
Message: i sent bill a note after talking to wash, he is causing them to rethink the charitable deduction for overseas programs. donald is NOT pragmatic. that takes thinking ability, . he is setting himself up as part of yesterdays establishment and their perceived mistakes.

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:40:44 AM (514388444)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A8D8AA62-B836-4445-9ABB-ADEEB4587F98
Message: And it would shift the focus of their thinking from science to sex. She also told that to Dan wattendorf (almost same Exact words). Was a gross feeling to be spoken of like that by another woman.

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:41:08 AM (514388468)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 1972F54F-0D9A-44D4-9A15-87A56E0CF7CF
Message: Bill won't believe you

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:41:45 AM (514388505)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: BEF95A7A-3C2D-47FA-9A99-14B53FE28EE2
Message: He has mark Suzman geoff lamb and the full "development" advisory leadership that are SO OLD GUARD

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:42:01 AM (514388521)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: B6DD8ABD-2638-43FF-BCA5-9C66E9E35A31
Message: and they are gargoyles refusing to let other opinions in

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/20/17 06:42:13 AM (514388533)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3DED2346-C24F-43C6-99D7-CDFC4EB67273
Message: And when bg goes to see Jared and ivanka they tell Him he is a genius

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:42:24 AM (514388544)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C5745CA5-DD27-4D09-993C-2D9F78C483D3
Message: And trump tells him he is a genius to his face

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 06:42:47 AM (514388567)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 37D62D3A-C114-4EDE-8062-BD3DEFC1B014
Message: its ok, he will believe it when it happens , and then hear I told you so. . trump tells everyone the exact same thing. exact

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:43:21 AM (514388601)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 18D4CA8C-0008-4EA4-AA2A-519BB9B341BF
Message: Bill says 1. Trump will never get the budget cuts through. He claims he's spoken to senators and that they will fight and that the White House can't unilaterally do a budget like that. 2. He says trump can't unilaterally change the tax code.

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:43:55 AM (514388635)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 65D57D4D-AD6F-4F69-8B23-FB74AED19B8B
Message: 3. He says trump will be in power 3.5 more years or less and that his foundation has a 30 year life

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 06:44:01 AM (514388641)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3B40D94D-BC95-4F39-A14E-00A8296512CF
Message: watch obamare. see what tools he uses

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:44:09 AM (514388649)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C3BABB78-AD1B-4B8A-94DF-31BE896E32F2
Message: I agree w you

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:44:26 AM (514388666)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: CE566A33-3A26-42B2-8416-46616D65B09F
Message: You and I have both advised bg to Pick a topic and make a deal

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:44:41 AM (514388681)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: DC2185BB-1000-4DDF-A1D6-22FFC17D1141
Message: If he wants pepfar then make a deal there Something quiet pro quo

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:45:11 AM (514388711)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5483227B-4E5C-4026-BF6E-6C2DBA428692
Message: Instead he's an issue per week Neglected tropical diseases Polio Pepfar Women's health 0.7% Etc

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:45:39 AM (514388739)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 2589C939-189F-44CD-B5A7-FD64142CAC77
Message: I'm afraid we both know how this will end - and trump won't lose

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:47:00 AM (514388820)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 199BAD29-4FD0-4336-9D9E-56D95C2F9788
Message: Different topic .... did you see the shared drive I sent you w all the papers

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 06:47:27 AM (514388847)

Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: FB94A2FB-DBDA-487D-AEEF-2AE26325FD58
Message: didn't yet . will later

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:47:30 AM (514388850)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A6D7E143-DA22-4A3E-9647-8CD9D19DD5FC
Message: K

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 06:48:08 AM (514388888)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8BEF9D14-AD9B-487E-8DAE-86CE9D047E4C
Message: Plants use more than a dozen innate skills to manage stress. None that human scientists have tried.

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 07:04:58 AM (514389898)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 3E5FC6F9-3461-4EED-AD07-04F0798F8CE7
Message: http://medcraveonline.com/MOJCSR/MOJCSR-02-00031.pdf

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 07:04:59 AM (514389899)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 4A19E596-B8DB-4987-BF07-B59F8DAFDB3D
Message: Very crazy ppl here. Melanin/energy

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 09:05:29 AM (514397129)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: D39CE762-16EE-4A7A-A75F-70C83794FF0B
Message: Can I visit Ed week of May 1?

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 09:05:36 AM (514397136)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No
GUID: 6EFBD6CD-0F8C-4DAA-AD80-351A71C9FA9E
Message: MIT

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:13:02 AM (514404782)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: DF81763A-0173-4C69-9CC6-C6031C8EBA48
Message: I can do Concurrent with the very fake bgc3 thing. It's so ridiculous how trapped bg is ... I think I'm just there bc he cares about my next steps and wanted to help me.

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:13:18 AM (514404798)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 9175C509-61A1-4651-9D1C-53DDF4B65060
Message: If ed is game I'm Game

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 11:15:12 AM (514404912)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: F73BCE9E-4127-46A8-A747-310A5B178FD1
Message: What is Geoff ling doing now

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:15:37 AM (514404937)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: D20E7043-68EE-44F9-B061-0A6E6B90AB6C
Message: Consulting

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 11:15:55 AM (514404955)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 1090EE78-FDC8-4D81-93D5-6F04A7BA5390
Message: Where

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:15:58 AM (514404958)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No

GUID: 44ACEBD9-5E5B-4976-985C-FDD1B0258CA6
Message: Looking for his next gig - they had him on the roster for NIH so he's hanging out till then

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:16:12 AM (514404972)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 99AE9BEB-5F25-4B68-BFB6-038898847513
Message: Baltimore He also attends at Hopkins

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 11:16:15 AM (514404975)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 359352F1-E82C-4F84-BF4A-36207DEF2670
Message: Can I Skype him

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:16:19 AM (514404979)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 0E35ACD8-A83B-4CEF-9ABF-28B75831F252
Message: Sure

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:16:31 AM (514404991)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 2D3D207D-B197-4B58-BF8C-1AA6F6DC978F
Message: What do you want to talk to him about I can ask him

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:16:49 AM (514405009)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 6FBBB7CD-1F18-45D1-A78D-9A400E7094C5
Message: Was thinking more fun to talk in person he'd go to NYC He's a character

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 11:17:22 AM (514405042)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: CABECD72-5F69-441D-95B4-BAA8E2DFA729
Message: Ok

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:17:37 AM (514405057)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 643B7A65-3B92-45EA-8148-DBEB772E29B7
Message: Can we do a dinner maybe week of May 1 or the week after w Ed boyden and geoff and whoever else is in the inner confidential circle

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:17:43 AM (514405063)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 66D7F74F-68E9-4152-91B6-BB31CFAAAC48
Message: I suggest Neal Kassell too

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 11:18:07 AM (514405087)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: F15CA15F-CDE9-4FF5-8C19-8E7C1F61F38E
Message: Ok

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:18:08 AM (514405088)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: BF4B3C71-8CF9-45DB-B1A2-DA3BF7DB2CBA
Message: Genius retired Worlds greatest vascular neurosurgeon with one eye haha But he is doing cool Stuff w ultrasound

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:18:21 AM (514405101)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: B0BC11B5-0C89-461E-B03F-7579CE1CA37A
Message: And friends w geoff and me too He's On my brain council

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:18:57 AM (514405137)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 4B8DCCAB-DC9C-4E7A-B36F-EBE86243C578
Message: Neal Kassell Geoff Ling Me You Ed Boyden Then you pick 1 other?

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:19:35 AM (514405175)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 0B48E4D4-10C3-4576-A76F-CAC019B3DA43
Message: They are all going to Milken so it will need to be after

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:20:06 AM (514405206)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 27283829-8350-4010-9073-6BA178A4860F
Message: What about Thursday may 11

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:20:09 AM (514405209)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 294E297E-D256-4FC7-8A71-ADBEBAF3C53D
Message: Dinner

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 11:21:48 AM (514405308)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 076438F8-7CF7-4A91-86D7-B66ED516DEFD
Message: What dates are milked. I here there first week in may. Gone the 8th

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:25:10 AM (514405510)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 07D349C7-CF49-488E-965B-9A5AACA9000D
Message: April 30-may 3

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:25:41 AM (514405541)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: DA5D7223-AFFE-4A47-9ACD-BFCFE6B19F72
Message: Ted April 24-28

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/20/17 11:26:02 AM (514405562)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 56B30E25-DCA6-44DD-A404-5884E8E93A5B
Message: Could maybe do 4 or 5 may??

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:31:30 AM (514405890)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 67A4BEB7-6C9B-4E24-8587-CE5B848D6FF7
Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:31:45 AM (514405905)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 890EBEA8-935C-4ADA-A3C2-1813413A4B15
Message: Neal

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:33:27 AM (514406007)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 64AF8F1C-AADB-46B5-9395-CA625FC7245A
Message: http://www.nature.com/news/surprising-contenders-emerge-for-trump-s-nih-chief-1.21295

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:33:27 AM (514406007)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 81E01262-68EE-4043-83A4-455DCDA1EC61
Message: See on geoff Ling

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 11:49:01 AM (514406941)
Flags: 1150981
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5BD76BCA-BF04-4651-B1F2-47CBBB656A11
Message:
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/speaking-of-science/wp/2017/04/20/naked-mole-rats-are-now-even-weirder-without-oxygen-they-live-like-plants/?utm_term=.434743f38339

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 04/20/17 11:57:56 AM (514407476)

Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 4390079F-7123-4AD6-9924-0EC2F8EB09C3
Message: Cannot do 5

Sender:[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 11:58:21 AM (514407501)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: E0C7EBD9-30A5-4802-8E8A-D83BAE932ED0
Message: Can do 4?

Sender[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 05:55:34 PM (514428934)
Flags: 1052673
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 91B2F041-4DEE-46B9-AB69-E611433514DB
Message: Should I try to get creative on compensation at bgc3 or just let them do whatever they want? Larry sent me their smart lawyer in case there was a tax benefit for me for a certain package or to see if bcg3 could bundle my salary and pay it to NYU or Harvard to train me as a fellow in endovascular (costs like 150k bc of malpractice insurance etc)

Sender: -[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 05:56:15 PM (514428975)
Flags: 1052673
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A44DAE6D-3325-4489-8021-DB1D9DE86C4B
Message: Larry says that bill has offered to be supportive however it makes sense to me. I just worry a bit about his wife if I do anything other than the standard.

Sender:[redacted]
Time: 04/20/17 05:56:20 PM (514428980)
Flags: 1052673
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: C8663B03-821A-44EA-9039-A7091FD1CE7A
Message: Thought?

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-06-30\[redacted] on 2017-06-30 at 07.39.58.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 06/30/17 04:39:58 AM (520515598)

End Time: 06/30/17 11:08:53 AM (520538933)

Last Message ID: 6948

Chat Room:

Participants: jee,[redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com,[redacted]

Messages -

Sender:[redacted]

Time: 06/30/17 04:39:58 AM (520515598)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2CBBCDC8-B055-454F-AF57-486D7BEC81CC

Message: Thank you for dinner last night.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/17 05:23:23 AM (520518203)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B57A783-4622-4B47-BA5D-D8D116D1CEA8

Message: Why are you being nice?

Sender:[redacted]

Time: 06/30/17 05:48:02 AM (520519682)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F776158D-EEBF-4B69-B828-3C44977C1D09

Message: I guess because I'm in desperate need of niceness since my daughter isn't nice.

Sender:[redacted]

Time: 06/30/17 05:48:25 AM (520519705)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7917EB5D-228B-4B24-9AF8-7EB2A692325C

Message: Did you think it was suspicious? Did you think I wanted something?;)

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/17 05:49:28 AM (520519768)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F6AF3344-EE11-4631-9931-C03910DA1EDF

Message: Not yet

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/30/17 05:51:30 AM (520519890)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3C023FC4-793A-429D-B5B2-A8F836384B19

Message: Contrary to what you and Woody think, I am a nice person.;) □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/17 05:52:15 AM (520519935)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9DBA1BEF-5EEF-4536-A787-28593AA5E459

Message: Glad to see you are having your period ----still

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/30/17 05:53:14 AM (520519994)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 72CB372B-081B-4AA1-8FD5-E2187FD19A77

Message: I am not. You sound like Donald Trump and that's not a good thing.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/17 05:53:49 AM (520520029)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 94583E5A-58D3-4057-8714-1B30FE39EF72

Message: Agrreed

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/17 05:53:55 AM (520520035)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F3214219-0E3A-4F48-AFFA-BB1647D3C410

Message: sorry

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/30/17 05:54:33 AM (520520073)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B63BC70C-14EF-4624-AA43-E166E20479EB

Message: There's nothing to admire about Donald Trump.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/17 05:55:12 AM (520520112)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 67AD3438-60C5-4808-8366-2AE57A9A9C74

Message: Agreed that he is stupid

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/30/17 05:55:13 AM (520520113)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 33882059-D840-465D-8B44-6235CDDFC4AA

Message: The nerve of him accusing the woman of being in the low IQ club when he is the king of the low IQ club.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/30/17 05:56:40 AM (520520200)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0508275E-9ADF-48EC-8460-E846A3D0E66C

Message: What president has time to tweet about things like this. He should have more important things on his plate and he shouldn't dignify himself with these stupid tweets. It should be beneath him but it's not. It's all very disappointing.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/17 06:19:14 AM (520521554)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C559264C-8C72-47FC-BC0E-2851168144E2

Message: which three days will you be in cap entibbe\

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/17 09:55:34 AM (520534534)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 739736BA-D7FA-456F-AF04-8ED01DA8DADE

Message: Tell Woody Suki has a younger sister

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/30/17 10:06:06 AM (520535166)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3026DD97-E101-4CED-BE30-47B92C524CE2

Message: It's just like you to be interested in the younger sister. At least you're consistent. I thought Mika Brzezinski come back of the picture of the Cheerios being for small hands against Donald Trump was good.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/30/17 11:08:53 AM (520538933)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A6A8F95-C4EA-4B33-83E5-44E088378518

Message: Did you just call me?

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-09-27[redacted] on 2017-09-27 at 13.18.07.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 09/27/17 10:18:07 AM (528225487)

End Time: 09/27/17 02:26:41 PM (528240401)

Last Message ID: 9739

Chat Room:

Participants: jee,[redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com,[redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/27/17 10:18:07 AM (528225487)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 041145F8-B717-4C30-844D-46AC4402137B

Message: Thank you for time And pizza □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/27/17 10:20:50 AM (528225650)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89F03704-397E-45B2-B18A-57DCC32639DB

Message: Met this guy PETER MULLER Quant hedge fund

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/27/17 10:46:44 AM (528227204)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F1916E2D-EBFB-4930-88E2-92B7F9907C9E

Message: And

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/27/17 11:03:11 AM (528228191)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2FB93FD0-14A6-4D74-9C9F-1772A78FF8B9

Message: I liked him Very very smart

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/27/17 02:23:36 PM (528240216)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 80E2484B-746B-49A5-BB8A-104B90ABEB3C

Message: Mary erdoes says hi

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/27/17 02:24:19 PM (528240259)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A04500E-EA89-44B7-A99A-8B23AEEB6792

Message: Give her a hug

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/27/17 02:26:02 PM (528240362)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9DDDA0BA-0030-4164-B59F-EB7DA8672785

Message: She sends her love and says not to be a stranger

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/27/17 02:26:41 PM (528240401)

Flags: 1052673

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 064247F5-5FDE-4081-B056-1E2A1489A48B

Message: I told her we met through trump - she didn't believe me!

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2017-10-20\[redacted] on 2017-10-20 at 14.42.35.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 10/09/17 09:15:23 AM (529258523)

End Time: 10/20/17 11:42:35 AM (530217755)

Last Message ID: 10428

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/17 09:15:23 AM (529258523)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 19147C99-1E9C-4798-82B3-971B7E131291

Message: When do you come down?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/17 11:16:22 AM (529265782)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9FF10C43-0406-4355-9C7F-B0F97A0F55A9

Message: I'm in Paris until 23 but can talk on phone anytime

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/17 02:07:55 PM (529276075)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6CA74F02-13DF-47DB-BE50-A3A6E1E802E1

Message: Chat?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/17 02:16:11 PM (529276571)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 03F78FDE-A0B9-49A9-99D9-1869C1F6A770

Message: Did Clinton change his mind

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/17 03:25:26 PM (529280726)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 45C34E16-981A-490B-A2FA-06F4E8B7EFB7

Message: No. Working on dates. Can I call you late tonight or tomorrow?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/17 03:31:24 PM (529281084)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5AE36C1C-ADE5-434F-A170-16301B9187BE

Message: tomorrow

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/10/17 07:59:44 AM (529340384)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 85695BC6-2F91-44E0-8DA7-EDAA667FB0EA

Message: Now?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/10/17 08:00:01 AM (529340401)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A581B5B8-AFB6-44F1-BE33-EED105903981

Message: Sure. Call me

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/10/17 08:18:03 AM (529341483)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB19A161-5132-4ECD-A229-C44CD2D8FCA7

Message: I think it's me. The cell is spotty here

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/13/17 03:23:22 AM (529583002)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 93EEB93C-690D-4596-B4BA-088413990262

Message: Now it's 5.5 billion ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/13/17 05:59:51 AM (529592391)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AC4FF785-14C6-4623-A1AB-3ABF51F2BB5F

Message: Exactly. And that ain't enough

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/13/17 05:59:58 AM (529592398)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB9C3C39-30A9-4D1B-B8AD-9DF6DFC0F22E

Message: With no justification

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/16/17 12:35:13 PM (529875313)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C42A386C-1CDC-4014-9CAA-9C4A0F581103

Message: You have some time to talk?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/17/17 03:37:20 AM (529929440)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A91BD20F-1CA6-473B-951B-414111242449

Message: Awake?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/17/17 03:37:45 AM (529929465)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EAD89D7A-B6EB-4980-9273-6C4928403EBA

Message: Yes I am

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/19/17 08:23:33 AM (530119413)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A6D905A2-5C25-4EC2-808B-717942214D51

Message: How did it go?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/19/17 07:59:07 PM (530161147)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1E11B9E8-F86B-451F-81D9-CCC123EAE1E4

Message: ??

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/20/17 06:21:25 AM (530198485)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 14EF65CA-DF6A-450F-AF5A-1079CFAA78BB

Message: Morning just getting back to DC. It was very formal and he had no data at the meeting to justify his numbers they were "guesstimates". Suppose to have his Witt OBrien people give me the data. They looked a little submissive during the meeting

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/20/17 10:22:40 AM (530212960)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 210755C0-68D2-471B-A1B2-B2480E2E0C71

Message: Next step

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/20/17 10:22:45 AM (530212965)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1079919F-379A-4CD6-AE17-C91C3E38771C

Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/20/17 10:23:17 AM (530212997)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2BE428DE-E4A8-4F3D-B101-597E19B7AD62

Message: Everyone looks submissive next to you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/20/17 11:42:35 AM (530217755)

Flags: 1052673

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F3B230F3-DC01-4E0A-8A90-7E02939ACC44

Message: I think Mapp subdued them. They repeatedly wanted to say things upon my inquiry but were stopped by the interruption or Mapp's hand wave. Next step is to push for the necessary amount, galvanized voices to lobby, get support, make sure it has oversight from feds, take appropriate support and see from there

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-01-25\Terje on 2018-01-25 at 07.15.20.ichat
Service: iMessage
Start Time: 01/25/18 04:15:20 AM (538575320)
End Time: 01/25/18 12:59:02 PM (538606742)
Last Message ID: 12001
Chat Room:
Participants: jee, Terje
Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]
Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 01/25/18 04:15:20 AM (538575320)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: E975E2F9-FEB0-4E08-B959-F3BC0702D544
Message: Call when free

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 01/25/18 05:11:34 AM (538578694)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A7052E08-125B-4737-9EAB-57B16D6542AE
Message: Tried

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 01/25/18 05:21:13 AM (538579273)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 43CD5892-086A-4FF9-801B-B45BE1C0A589
Message: Talk in 2 hrs ?

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 01/25/18 06:40:41 AM (538584041)
Flags: 1126401
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 8411A30E-73FC-415C-806B-FDF39FD76056
Message: Bill Gates is here. Could you ask him if I could see him tomorrow or on Saturday morning? Trump is speaking at 2 pm tomorrow. Macron spoke yesterday. Very good! Børge wants to see you, but prefer Geneva.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 01/25/18 06:45:47 AM (538584347)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 30FF25ED-290E-46D5-BF62-82B77DAF428D

Message: Ok

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 01/25/18 06:47:58 AM (538584478)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5510E517-24AD-4395-A1FA-74D25A9443F5
Message: I will send bill a message

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 01/25/18 06:52:37 AM (538584757)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 34C5703E-F5F9-4A29-9CCE-AE43953F8E77
Message: Thx!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 01/25/18 07:52:23 AM (538588343)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: B73F55D6-3A3B-4562-9574-F2648ABD59DF
Message: I tried

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 01/25/18 12:58:29 PM (538606709)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 0B9CE783-9DC3-49A9-ADAB-9BE1927FB525
Message: Jeff, thanks for asking. Really in a struggle for sure and trying to navigate out of heavy seas. It is a 24 hour ordeal. Get back to you in short while and see your advice. Thanks for asking. Morits

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 01/25/18 12:59:02 PM (538606742)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 02134B09-E1B5-4984-8920-516586581541
Message: Two things . Apt and your health . Focus

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-03-14\Woody Allen on 2018-03-12 at 20.04.37.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 03/14/18 04:23:32 AM (542719412)

End Time: 03/14/18 04:41:44 AM (542720504)

Last Message ID: 13478

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, Woody Allen

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, 19174027204

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/14/18 04:23:32 AM (542719412)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 801FEECF-50AE-4209-8728-8F201E619D2A

Message: I just read that Stephen Hawking died. I know you knew him. I'm sorry for your loss.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/14/18 04:26:24 AM (542719584)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5484D1D1-9B05-43A5-826D-6BE9068EDE30

Message: he was very sick. but amazing as he was in the vegatable state for 20 years. and while in a wheelchair had an affair with his nurse , ran off with her and left his wife

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/14/18 04:28:45 AM (542719725)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E12F8A4-B446-4241-8CD1-25DC8A868C86

Message: There are many crazy women out there. It was amazing that he lived with MLS for so long. It's one of the worst diseases out there.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/14/18 04:29:25 AM (542719765)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C30DCE17-88EE-4B45-AE4D-2EFD5D192DC6

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/14/18 04:32:35 AM (542719955)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 79BE4E65-38EA-4A53-9F35-F95E32C5C6EF

Message: I don't think Donald Trump could've picked a worse person for the CIA or for the Secretary of State. At least he's consistent.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/14/18 04:33:17 AM (542719997)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DA23039D-0CEE-43FE-B1CC-20B8F0A25DE2

Message: its a woman. !!!! where are your principles

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/14/18 04:33:59 AM (542720039)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EFD92F14-EA98-4CD2-9FA8-BAA556290A49

Message: im here in new york since yesterday morn. when is your first expose

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/14/18 04:34:14 AM (542720054)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 711392DA-DE00-4FC9-842A-47F8E3A6C491

Message: I don't care if she's a woman. I like the best person for the job. Woody suggested Kate Upton.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/14/18 04:35:09 AM (542720109)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BD95444F-B74A-4CB6-A002-F0276B824B5F

Message: Still to be decided.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/14/18 04:35:16 AM (542720116)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2F690497-82B1-4510-972C-C17A9D4DE02F

Message: but what does she know about under cover work and deception □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/14/18 04:39:48 AM (542720388)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5353912A-56CC-47CC-9244-58DFD0528261

Message: I don't think she could go undercover as she's too beautiful.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/14/18 04:40:31 AM (542720431)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2A0613FF-8ED3-4407-8FFE-3F594EFEA0C4

Message: woody should explain to you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/14/18 04:41:21 AM (542720481)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D7993E3B-0B4E-4E65-979C-1D0A46CC579D

Message: Explain to me what?

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-04-09[redacted] on 2018-04-03 at 13.52.31.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 04/03/18 10:52:31 AM (544470751)

End Time: 04/09/18 04:15:37 PM (545008537)

Last Message ID: 14613

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/03/18 10:52:31 AM (544470751)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6D867E62-6BDD-490F-8079-4B3F06394383

Message: DJT is certainly moving back to your base. Good job

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/03/18 11:44:40 AM (544473880)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AA07265D-D6BF-4FB2-BA96-4E593C212B33

Message: Thanks

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/03/18 12:37:32 PM (544477052)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D9F7679C-A1A3-4F65-8A7B-0DA9AAEF0535

Message: He should leave syria in exchange for the iraniians leaving Yemen

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/04/18 11:32:44 AM (544559564)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DEFB18A2-5584-48DF-9D29-FF5EDA633998

Message: Interesting crypto , everyone wants in. So amusing

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/04/18 11:33:25 AM (544559605)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4D47F229-F0F6-449A-ABAC-757372B3891B

Message: It's the future mr goetz (Chinatown)

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/04/18 11:33:50 AM (544559630)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 05D7480D-C2C3-4E11-989A-9A1FD670DDD2

Message: My nose !!!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/04/18 12:01:18 PM (544561278)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 969BEEB9-863E-4C91-9C35-224AD468B051

Message: Jake Gittes : How much are you worth? Noah Cross : I have no idea. How much do you want? Jake Gittes : I just wanna know what you're worth. More than 10 million? Noah Cross : Oh my, yes! Jake Gittes : Why are you doing it? How much better can you eat? What could you buy that you can't already afford?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/04/18 12:36:04 PM (544563364)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1992C3BB-8F64-4603-8BE3-C7A77516D8D3

Message: Love this film

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/04/18 03:44:25 PM (544574665)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 056287D4-3372-4FF0-9AF4-C8F801946011

Message: https://www.usnews.com/news/world/articles/2018-04-04/us-plans-to-sanction-russian-oligarchs-this-week-sources

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/04/18 03:45:30 PM (544574730)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9E3117A2-32FF-4150-8872-50352B53BF5E

Message: Well at least it is their elite and not ours □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/04/18 04:18:42 PM (544576722)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 62A15155-E933-494E-AD1C-11351B942C6E

Message: Are you in ny next week

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/04/18 07:33:44 PM (544588424)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CF26496D-F0BA-4077-82B5-52810A55EC6C

Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/04/18 08:00:25 PM (544590025)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 01115362-A3D8-43BE-A451-065C6A49F560

Message: Woody Allen dinner tues if you like to join

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/05/18 10:10:42 AM (544641042)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 76BDA8CC-D93A-42C5-8772-FF0445D71F9D

Message: I liked your fuck Wall Street statement. Don't know how you are doing it but it seems he is following your lead.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/05/18 10:16:22 AM (544641382)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C9AC652-26B4-4902-A75F-7D74C40E1A13

Message: 1000%--- I have Kudlow and Bolton in there

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/05/18 01:41:49 PM (544653709)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 54541181-F61B-47A3-95FD-BD8CCE6AD484

Message: Nice to finally have good soldiers for you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/05/18 01:57:56 PM (544654676)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7AA123EE-7900-4B0B-8EA1-AC726D354940

Message: Old soldiers looking for a gig

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/05/18 01:58:37 PM (544654717)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 167769F0-0CDB-43E2-B40E-810CCDBA0527

Message: Yes but its funny as it is obvious that they now have a boss. . good for you

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/06/18 09:44:55 AM (544725895)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5CB309E1-DBD2-4F31-942C-7287513E9F9C

Message: HBJ sun. MBS mon. Paris I'm not back until tues

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/06/18 09:47:20 AM (544726040)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E122C364-E3B0-4EDB-8FAA-E69D1C8B1D05

Message: Very cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/07/18 02:13:04 AM (544785184)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 86E8CE71-3A0F-440A-841F-F621A9FA95D0

Message: Suleiman Kerimov is being designated for being an official of the Government of the Russian Federation. Kerimov is a member of the Russian Federation Council. On November 20, 2017, Kerimov was detained in France and held for two days. He is alleged to have brought hundreds of millions of euros into France - transporting as much as 20 million euros at a time in suitcases, in addition to conducting more conventional funds transfers - without reporting the money to French tax authorities. Kerimov allegedly launders the funds through the purchase of villas. Kerimov was also accused of failing to pay 400 million euros in taxes related to villas.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/07/18 04:41:05 AM (544794065)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 27766AAA-18FD-42AA-85DC-8EAEC5B66431

Message: Also great story from head of NATO. When meeting Donald wanted to talk about Celina. The mutual girlfriend

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/07/18 05:25:04 AM (544796704)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1343B5EF-09C2-465C-9201-7AD035EA2458

Message: Of course

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 07:01:41 AM (544888901)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 23A37594-5698-4AF0-B000-95CD8CFC9607

Message: When are you next in Europe?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 07:04:29 AM (544889069)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E79C1B5E-06A3-4655-8E0A-94C708E187B7

Message: 1 May in nice -- have been invited to speak @ a gathering of the tribes --- big day today in Hungary

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 07:34:39 AM (544890879)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C6D84E54-BA4B-494C-B962-B2698D071A1C

Message: Good boy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 07:54:43 AM (544892083)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F582D636-F613-460E-8CA4-161E5AAFAAEE

Message: NYT has proposed page 1 interview on china/ trump

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 08:11:23 AM (544893083)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CB9655D4-62B1-4165-AC59-03F14A021652

Message: Finally

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 09:33:28 AM (544898008)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6112BE07-723E-4108-844E-ECAFBF4CCBA5

Message: How long will you stain Europe . ? Stay in

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 09:35:06 AM (544898106)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3FF432B2-9923-46BD-9DF3-4E7DE5726051

Message: Being worked out

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 09:36:57 AM (544898217)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A7FC0298-EE84-4016-963A-97FE1E2EF83F

Message: I wonder if stain Europe was more appropriate. . I am arab ed out

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 09:37:05 AM (544898225)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3EE6D9C9-C7B9-4A5C-9FED-4BFB02799997

Message: Back in New York tomrw nigh

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 09:37:19 AM (544898239)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4B02DC16-8436-46A0-A567-C6DB1CA047B9

Message: Eurabia

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 09:37:39 AM (544898259)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 60434B13-1842-47D6-A0FE-168A5059C8DE

Message: More like yourlabiia

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 09:38:20 AM (544898300)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 97A7B531-0555-4211-A99C-5556A09A8F1C

Message: They are so much like women

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 09:38:43 AM (544898323)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4D4C4CE2-3495-49C1-8ABF-FAD643833F08

Message: The worst aspects of women

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 09:38:54 AM (544898334)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5E4B6625-50ED-4DC2-8BA2-BE8F817673BD

Message: bingo

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 09:45:39 AM (544898739)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 937CF83A-590E-4E82-9A78-5856D8DD63A9

Message: HBJ. Asking me what is the china strategy. . ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 09:46:43 AM (544898803)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E00F7482-6A50-42D8-B681-AAAE774789B8

Message: SKB: full strategic initiative with 301 intellectual property as tip of the spear

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 09:47:05 AM (544898825)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB0C11A6-78E4-4D93-BA89-2E6CC5E8C3DF

Message: MBS has the Louvre and 400 guards. To himself , Im on the way oveer

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 09:47:29 AM (544898849)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7DE48FF7-1B56-4163-877B-92F24C5071D2

Message: No better way to spend s Sunday

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 09:48:01 AM (544898881)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FB35DF8A-303A-435D-8DBB-B1DC86F33449

Message: Trump: 'xi my friend'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 09:48:15 AM (544898895)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D7FB5D7D-B9B6-4D23-AFF1-07B5489C077C

Message: Its Russian easter. - do you plan to come to ny?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 09:48:35 AM (544898915)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B833B70-944F-4AF8-BF52-44821F1904AB

Message: As we both know. That category is empty

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 09:48:50 AM (544898930)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F08CD71E-5AB1-4BF3-8EFC-92D653F8B34F

Message: In dc until Bahamas visit

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 09:48:57 AM (544898937)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B794058-37B6-4503-A2A0-8EE3BFE19825

Message: Then cambridge

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 09:49:15 AM (544898955)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 76626024-2848-448D-B950-F4DE29C3884E

Message: Bahamas?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 09:49:23 AM (544898963)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 191C1214-9963-4BAC-B626-C9FB2E48C18C

Message: I have Thornton in from Beijing with Kudlow Tuesday

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 09:50:10 AM (544899010)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8384CC26-6FED-4886-96FC-8169FB68F250

Message: 2 days with former soros partner that is big sponsor of my work

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 09:52:14 AM (544899134)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AA361CBB-E8A4-4D8F-BC62-32D7245C9AA1

Message: Understood. Do you know what day Bahamas ? Fyi . Terje Larsen meeting with the world bank for a program in dc you might want to know about - I think wed.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 09:52:39 AM (544899159)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0D78D3ED-8EF9-4A33-AE96-9764B24CB5CB

Message: I'm in dc wed

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 09:53:11 AM (544899191)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3BD121EA-FD35-4B08-981F-03D24A158BCA

Message: Bahamas go thu morning return to cambridge late Friday night

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 03:40:56 PM (544920056)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EAF87C24-D12C-492F-A170-D60D45B70B22

Message: Urban scaring the shit out of europe

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 03:41:03 PM (544920063)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DB6B17E7-33BD-46CB-A789-C83069CC066C

Message: Urban

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 03:41:11 PM (544920071)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3C07EC93-997D-4542-9376-256F36A23C6C

Message: Orbahn

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 04/08/18 03:46:15 PM (544920375)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A2E5192A-D7C0-4062-80F4-D1420E4CCC12

Message: Uve seen my quote all over about him

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/08/18 03:47:33 PM (544920453)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 23EC2059-F3E2-4861-BCBC-63A7E37C3BF6

Message: Nope

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/18 01:11:04 AM (544954264)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D7C09047-E0C5-4A97-A563-8D399D4AFE9D

Message: Terje in dc. On the 18th. World bank

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/18 03:30:38 AM (544962638)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5C775F3C-736F-483C-A3F5-02031529DF93

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/18 11:35:08 AM (544991708)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1BE8CAE1-F253-4384-A6AC-F3837723C94A

Message: Hey, im thinking of going to Florida Friday, would you and yours like to come from Bahamas for a day of strategy. I could send plane. . Kathy coming now to download ,

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/18 11:45:21 AM (544992321)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BE1C3A0B-6F85-4763-9A90-F22FF20CF0A9

Message: Would love to but they are now flying me to cambridge Friday night for 3 days of filming

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/18 11:46:22 AM (544992382)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C4DBD8EF-B5EA-44F1-8F03-C77310E722EA

Message: No problem. . rick ,can t believe there is gambling going on

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/18 11:49:04 AM (544992544)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 99657AAA-16D8-4595-95DD-BEE062CC720F

Message: LOL!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/18 01:15:33 PM (544997733)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF3EC2B9-4E56-4279-8492-3AF7FF29543C

Message: Fbi raids Cohen office

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/18 02:15:55 PM (545001355)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2891E091-3176-4CF5-BE27-C6830B51724C

Message: Wonder if they had to assert crime fraud

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/18 02:18:29 PM (545001509)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A590B51-60A4-436B-B469-4F34464182E0

Message: I'm getting full scope

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/18 02:19:43 PM (545001583)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 87F47483-D35F-4DED-A701-A6E8EE1207D1

Message: To get the warrant they would have had to convince the judge that more than stormy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/18 02:21:23 PM (545001683)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 40AF35A0-D05A-438E-B6D9-D1D30EEDB715

Message: Exactly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/18 02:21:59 PM (545001719)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D782510C-D71D-4586-B82C-A9F5713BA696

Message: Im sittin here with Kathy rummer. If you have any questions

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/18 02:22:19 PM (545001739)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 04781BC0-99F3-4771-A965-0D3FA773CDC9

Message: Stand by

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/18 02:25:28 PM (545001928)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B4777F86-A394-4BBA-B467-87E6684ECF86

Message: Also his residence

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/09/18 02:26:03 PM (545001963)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5220399B-8CA9-458F-8B05-5DD4AAE8263F

Message: Yep

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/09/18 04:15:37 PM (545008537)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EAC91B16-E79E-47E5-9D3F-B9A802230B61

Message: If you are around the 18th, in dc. John Kerry

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-04-10\+1 [redacted] on 2018-04-10 at 07.09.05.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 04/10/18 04:09:05 AM (545051345)

End Time: 04/10/18 08:31:33 AM (545067093)

Last Message ID: 14654

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/10/18 04:09:05 AM (545051345)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6021431D-1CBD-4256-803F-BA6AE967A295

Message: Ignore Dershowitz

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/10/18 04:45:19 AM (545053519)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 85A859FC-A54D-4C33-98BF-60BAC1A84C0F

Message: He is going to be the next lead lawyer

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/10/18 04:46:22 AM (545053582)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3018578C-D9C6-4609-B572-2D65E8984B4F

Message: I hope that is a joke

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/10/18 04:47:20 AM (545053640)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 42C964EA-DE0E-46C1-A527-F5983559F448

Message: I have Weingarten coming

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/10/18 04:47:35 AM (545053655)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4D61A9D7-74D2-4873-8D99-2B69EEABF079

Message: In 20 min.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/10/18 04:47:45 AM (545053665)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D348538A-678A-48CB-8988-D17EE4B7601C

Message: Not a joke @ all

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/10/18 04:52:23 AM (545053943)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D796EF05-6C90-4B73-ACF8-8F6921E11FC1

Message: Ok , but you know the truth.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/10/18 04:53:24 AM (545054004)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 61A39EE9-2BBE-4919-800A-0FA64776A482

Message: Everybody except trump knows this is a joke

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/10/18 06:43:33 AM (545060613)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DD06E3BA-2222-4DCC-9966-4B7357B032C0

Message: Call if you get a moment. Nothing urgent Crypto- Kerry- Qatar -sessions

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/10/18 08:31:33 AM (545067093)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D6319952-7560-4F53-A182-D52B5267FB68

Message: LOL!!!... true

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-06-16\Terje on 2018-06-09 at 17.38.08.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 06/09/18 02:38:08 PM (550273088)

End Time: 06/16/18 06:50:37 AM (550849837)

Last Message ID: 16385

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, Terje

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/09/18 02:38:08 PM (550273088)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A3160962-2EF9-4F40-9F45-6ACCFAA93122

Message: Tried

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/10/18 04:03:50 AM (550321430)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C3067957-B173-4BA8-8FFC-0E3FFEEA3BF0

Message: Awake?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/10/18 05:47:29 AM (550327649)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 68B8EEF5-871D-49F7-8F48-E3B9BB045169

Message: Kurtz important. As he will host trump and Putin

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/10/18 08:44:07 AM (550338247)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 87612D27-F80A-43A1-AB40-90F24C2FB20D

Message: Tried

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/10/18 12:13:35 PM (550350815)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8816FDF0-0D71-4E3C-A57C-E97AFAF36744

Message: Dear Sebastian, Steve Bannon, who behind the scenes still is one of the most insightful and influential players in Washington (and very close to the President), would like to see you on various issues. He is now working very closely with Victor Orban and other of your colleagues in Europe. I am having dinner with him in Paris on 22 June. He could come to Vienna any time between the 23 and 28 of that month. He is a very astute and extremely well informed analyst and player, though we have significantly different views on some issues ! I will strongly recommend that you see him, and am sure you will find it very useful. Warmest Terje

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/10/18 12:18:52 PM (550351132)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C6B1BC95-AD63-4D33-99AE-499D10B88814

Message: You might add that if he is in Paris. He is welcome to join for dinner . Up to you. .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/11/18 07:02:57 AM (550418577)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F473C12D-D186-412D-8949-7335914D4CBD

Message: Tried.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/11/18 12:18:56 PM (550437536)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 86F2043E-C018-47FB-932E-B81BAA57033C

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/12/18 02:08:24 PM (550530504)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF12A195-1F2B-412E-ABDD-9907CB73A930

Message: Tried.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/12/18 03:02:10 PM (550533730)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1B205FEB-F861-4104-A682-A0798E378C31

Message: Tried. Call me! Unbelievable!!!!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/18 08:25:20 AM (550596320)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C0BDB2F7-3F48-4BF3-A222-41C30D2EF9F4

Message: Pls call. Important!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 12:57:54 PM (550699074)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 979A0524-FCAB-45FC-B2F1-7765ECD59786

Message: Tried

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/18 06:50:37 AM (550849837)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5901C6D0-8ED3-4327-B07C-AA9CDCD0D9DA

Message: Arrived well in London. Feeling Good. Went with American Airlines. There was no first class! But Thx anyway for, as always a generous offer! Slept all the way! When are you arriving in Paris?

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-06-17[redacted] on 2018-06-09 at 18.17.04.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 06/09/18 03:17:04 PM (550275424)

End Time: 06/17/18 06:24:16 PM (550977856)

Last Message ID: 16484

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/09/18 03:17:04 PM (550275424)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7536C07E-8E09-4615-9E03-E2679BB3AFA5

Message: ??

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/09/18 04:07:04 PM (550278424)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E9F31DA9-6874-4A69-8C4A-7D44696138F2

Message: Will call shortly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/09/18 04:07:27 PM (550278447)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F74C9FAD-8F0B-45A9-A6B6-B6B427B675CE

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/09/18 05:09:02 PM (550282142)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9E062235-C8C7-4A8C-8FB3-C60497AA2961

Message: Didn't mean to cut you off , sorry

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/09/18 05:18:28 PM (550282708)

Flags: 19935233

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 66CDA465-CAF2-4C30-B73D-DFBB54D9FFCF

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/09/18 05:23:35 PM (550283015)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 64372E3D-240B-4D34-9DE9-9A576D9AAEE8

Message: Continue tomorrow focus on miller ;)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/09/18 07:05:10 PM (550289110)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E8E48BC8-33FF-4052-A4F7-59FCFC45DE38

Message: Aye aye

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/09/18 09:57:42 PM (550299462)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9E9E0AB2-A892-401F-A950-22AD36EEA0A7

Message: If you and a "ms Miller " want some privacy. You can use island . Or palm beach house . Anytime

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/09/18 10:12:56 PM (550300376)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 06DD2B83-1A4F-4978-A64E-D97EF3C33633

Message: Thanks brother

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/10/18 04:04:51 AM (550321491)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0BAAB264-E1FF-49F1-BA64-684C48B68443

Message: You -12 o'clock high , me -high noon !

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/10/18 04:06:04 AM (550321564)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BEB279BB-F946-4B4D-A994-72BB8367A655

Message: And the house use invite is sincere and not made often

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/10/18 04:31:15 AM (550323075)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B6A5C80A-4C84-4F7A-94E1-D56CB694B87E

Message: Thanks appreciate that

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/10/18 04:31:52 AM (550323112)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 09B4F302-AC15-4539-A7C4-C57975820CFE

Message: Love high noon--and grace kelly was filthy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/10/18 05:10:20 AM (550325420)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 337B4C3F-99B5-4123-8AC7-38BA74246F28

Message: Yes , if it were today she would have had an " easy pass" installed on her thigh

Sender:[redacted]

Time: 06/10/18 05:11:19 AM (550325479)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A3ACCF72-4105-4523-B06C-21FF88917794

Message: just a good 'main line' catholic school girl

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/11/18 04:28:38 PM (550452518)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C927B18D-EA55-45A9-A92D-99934750852B

Message: Brother- you should really take ms miller to ranch sometime this summer

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/11/18 04:29:29 PM (550452569)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C7E80238-4A68-40B2-8DEC-F4023DC1E7AC

Message: I'm all in!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/12/18 01:48:24 PM (550529304)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E8C23C3D-6FCC-4984-963B-0E6845F2E769

Message: http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/ny-news-trump-michael-cohen-arrested-any-day-20180612-story.html

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/12/18 01:56:57 PM (550529817)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B80A0238-2D08-483B-93AF-5C97344E9306

Message: Yep

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/18 04:10:54 AM (550581054)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 68CCF266-117B-449E-BBAD-0DD89D5AC254

Message: That trump Kim movie was more like high at 12 o'clock

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/18 05:28:52 AM (550585732)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4DFD202B-CDBD-4DF8-8EA3-593CD5121640

Message: https://pagesix.com/2018/06/12/rudy-giuliani-had-an-affair-with-married-woman-before-divorce/

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/18 05:28:52 AM (550585732)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1FF7842A-C787-4B8B-891B-5A89D1A0E0B0

Message: . Driving Rudy nuts

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/18 08:36:06 AM (550596966)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ADD5CDFD-BDB6-48A3-853F-70FA68F76569

Message: When you get a chance , chat ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/18 08:36:53 AM (550597013)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 14F7FD0D-0D89-4D17-8634-DF32E40300CE

Message: Yes will call

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/18 08:38:56 AM (550597136)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 84B3D9DA-58FF-4383-81D0-04FFDA09F6CE

Message: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thorbj%C3%B8rn_Jagland

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/18 10:05:35 AM (550602335)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 54C2E4D4-B231-47D1-9AF5-42EC854B917A

Message: Called

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/18 10:26:37 AM (550603597)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D6E84F4C-6334-4A03-9264-7059AD7C7E86

Message: Try now?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 06:25:12 AM (550675512)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 48FE746F-0A23-46FB-8128-D07E566CD8CF

Message: His reflections in the few days he spent in China also reveal Einstein's tendency to perceive foreigners as a threat. "It would be a pity if these Chinese supplant all other races," he wrote. "For the likes of us the mere thought is unspeakably dreary."

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/14/18 06:30:36 AM (550675836)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BC6519CD-09F6-4335-B562-E53BD1A70D3A

Message: Bannon's deputy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 08:07:01 AM (550681621)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3EEF608F-E07D-4586-A37E-0E8B7C7E6E00

Message: Did you meet directly with MBZ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/14/18 08:09:05 AM (550681745)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2B9375ED-A9BD-44F5-A496-C443D8166617

Message: Yes always -- why?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 08:10:02 AM (550681802)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 895EE6EE-BE16-46C3-B0E4-9BAAE065C76D

Message: No worry, only good

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 08:11:36 AM (550681896)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2209CA65-1A7F-42DF-BCBD-0B3C33844513

Message: For Paris I have the best of china intel . Coming

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/14/18 08:11:47 AM (550681907)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 31E58701-826C-4306-89AA-BA613A5758F2

Message: Brilliant

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 08:14:09 AM (550682049)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D1028303-21EC-47D8-9656-7C01FC6F024A

Message: He says stability , power is stability. . they have manpower to Marshall. Push for robotics, big for genetics. Aging population. . diabetes? Etc . Strategy began 40 years ago. Right on track. . as he said it is a unified nationalist economic country . Made me smile

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 08:14:39 AM (550682079)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D3539F5B-615B-492E-B829-278BF10004AA

Message: And they don't mind suffering to achieve their goals

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 08:19:28 AM (550682368)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A7C9C974-0C97-4DA0-AB6F-D0670A7FD43B

Message: N.Y. Attorney General Sues Trump Foundation Over Sweeping Violations

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 08:19:32 AM (550682372)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FC3FA047-E3BC-4AC6-9170-F53CD3925C3A

Message: It begins

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/14/18 08:19:54 AM (550682394)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7A0DA8A9-A48B-42D3-8BC1-425B0818C6E1

Message: Very very very bad

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 08:22:43 AM (550682563)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9AC53246-1A44-40EF-AB0E-52FE306C2D25

Message: enjoining Mr. Trump from future service as an officer, director or trustee, or in any other capacity as a fiduciary of any not-for-profit or charitable organization incorporated or authorized to conduct business in the State of New York, or which solicits charitable donations in the State of New York for a period of ten years

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 08:24:13 AM (550682653)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7E9F21E0-2171-4EC7-9D3F-EE769892E922

Message: he Attorney General's Investigation found that the Foundation i s little more than an empty shell that functions with no oversight by its board of directors. The Foundation, which does not have any employees, delegated its operations to the accounting office of the Trump Corporation, Inc., a management company owned by Mr. Trump and located at 725 Fifth Avenue.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 08:54:21 AM (550684461)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 09D72699-733B-47EF-BBC1-CCCBC1599239

Message: Landowski cohen weiselberg. All mentioned

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/14/18 09:03:23 AM (550685003)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A4FE891A-4C8E-46CD-A44F-0B82226B33B5

Message: Wow

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 09:04:06 AM (550685046)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A8F738B8-CB1A-4E18-8422-2EB74CF30945

Message: Target the institution. No fifth amendment. Sound familiar

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 09:04:21 AM (550685061)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7AFE846B-EFE3-4506-A18D-B81034CA0A9B

Message: □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 09:07:27 AM (550685247)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 499563DD-70FD-4465-8AA3-62766D1047D4

Message: Weisselberg oy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 09:24:39 AM (550686279)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 39C8F40F-E062-46C2-9825-536DD5D29651

Message: Footnote on complaint. As you are aware, federal law prohibits executive branch interference with any audit or investigation you may conduct in response to this referral

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/14/18 09:40:35 AM (550687235)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8C50ADB9-9BC5-4C10-868E-D25ADB4B66FA

Message: They are so fucked

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 10:14:33 AM (550689273)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CCE8B53B-A0B6-4D06-95DA-E08A2DB31D6B

Message: And there is an allegation relating to 2013. So as to open the returns. Back to then .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/14/18 10:15:07 AM (550689307)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E26DF4B2-B687-42ED-9719-7034567F926F

Message: Does this now get into his taxes ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 10:15:17 AM (550689317)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 62B56235-CCD6-43EA-9FBE-33005891B2B8

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 10:21:27 AM (550689687)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 551416AF-BB9C-466E-AC36-0A900087319C

Message: the simplified argument is that he received an economic benefit that was not reported on his return. Easy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/14/18 02:49:24 PM (550705764)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FF151BED-7C07-4A9B-B1C1-3B0AAC69F089

Message: I think we r taking down Merkle

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/18 03:14:31 PM (550707271)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AA706A6F-9B69-4C7A-B700-F02716E52302

Message: Conti and her , Gilbert and sullivan.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/18 04:29:03 AM (550754943)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CC078FF7-34D6-4D1A-BCA9-43EA890C60E7

Message: Mbz issue - the butler

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/18 04:29:12 AM (550754952)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 56578F3B-16E8-45C5-945E-A9AEC47949BC

Message: F2f

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/18 07:53:18 AM (550767198)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 486AED77-40EF-4B85-9A56-4AEDF59123C3

Message: U around Sunday?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/18 07:54:30 AM (550767270)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F67E7B56-2179-4A31-B862-FE95348045C6

Message: Doing ABC Sunday morning LIVE for entire hour

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/18 07:54:53 AM (550767293)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 33EE30A2-E71B-4931-997C-0B548B73E817

Message: Ny or dc

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/18 07:56:08 AM (550767368)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1E0EA143-41EF-4D9D-9308-AA451C573CD7

Message: DC

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/18 08:50:58 AM (550770658)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 237DAEEF-D65E-4C0D-845E-53661722543A

Message: Zucker ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/18 08:56:18 AM (550770978)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 10319D99-6F02-4D3E-8A31-7660F30DC8B6

Message: Jonathan Karl

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/18 08:57:25 AM (550771045)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 472647DF-09AD-4B8A-A6CA-220DEB5D0EF0

Message: Sorry- did yoh get to meet with zucker

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/18 08:57:54 AM (550771074)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0C52B4B0-17AF-429C-97EE-01DBC025A830

Message: Couldn't get sked to work -- trying for Tuesday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/18 07:38:06 AM (550852686)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 23FF498F-99EC-42C8-B4D3-1F7D21345B82

Message: Need passport details for entourage

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/18 07:39:31 AM (550852771)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6D2150B3-90E6-4DE9-8129-2F37D7B0CC2C

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/18 08:39:14 AM (550856354)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 30D70E63-044B-40AE-9437-79760AEA375D

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/15/opinion/trump-foundation-new-york-attorney-general.html

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/18 08:42:28 AM (550856548)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D134A915-771E-4C3B-AAB9-F249809388C1

Message: I'm getting crushed for follow on interviews given my ABC hit tomorrow -- do we have any flexibility to leave Wednesday night or Thursday just in case --- no change yet but I see this building

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/18 08:44:26 AM (550856666)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6FF96AFE-AF30-46C5-971D-D2880784DF32

Message: let me see what I can move. . chat later ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/18 08:45:06 AM (550856706)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8E2B4609-4065-4008-957B-C02D1A0D59D7

Message: Certainly--- getting briefed by house intel now on IG and spygate

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/18 08:49:43 AM (550856983)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0630DB99-627A-40B1-9306-AF4E74CE8ADA

Message: Keep in mind the you memos on torture (yoo) were set aside , same can be done for no indicting a sitting president,. !

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/18 08:49:51 AM (550856991)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CF920874-2B4A-4520-B11A-611A21EE34A9

Message: Yoo memo

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/18 08:50:14 AM (550857014)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A522D410-20FD-4F26-8E4B-5BD4152F59B0

Message: ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/18 08:51:22 AM (550857082)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E2FFB7DA-158A-4D92-A7FA-7F9E386B747E

Message: To remove the prohibition on indicting a sitting president. , would be exactly the same as withdrawing the opinion on torture . There is precedent. And ...

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/18 09:07:03 AM (550858023)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F92410B5-D9EE-4BBF-9322-D960F28BEB78

Message: Will pull

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/18 09:33:54 AM (550859634)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C403F44E-F3FB-4002-9BE0-E55BBCC0ED9D

Message: Near the end of the Bush administration, Bradbury signed two memoranda for the files, explaining that during his tenure, OLC had determined that certain legal propositions previously stated in ten OLC opinions issued between 2001 and 2003 concerning executive power in the War on Terror no longer reflected the views of OLC.. Rosenstein can do the same

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/18 11:45:30 AM (550867530)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8D2B747E-EE39-4FB4-BF93-FE964BFA0B86

Message: Also pritzker going to chair a xi , us biz meeting next week, if you would like input or questions. ?

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 06/16/18 11:53:36 AM (550868016)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DB138AB5-CEFC-4CEE-A5C8-D90DD8C3295E

Message: In Peking ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/18 11:54:07 AM (550868047)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 294062C4-42FC-434E-9472-27815CC46023

Message: Yes

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 06/16/18 11:54:42 AM (550868082)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 654977B8-58D7-4F35-9716-67509145D00F

Message: When is he going to stop 'forced technology transfers'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/18 11:55:45 AM (550868145)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D36EA048-B72A-4C78-BFC4-AC3B83D6C259

Message: And when will he stop beating his wife □

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 06/16/18 11:56:11 AM (550868171)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 122B7FB9-02D8-4729-BF60-B067BEDF0403

Message: that obvious huh?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/18 12:04:01 PM (550868641)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 47701F17-CE70-46E6-AB73-24FEB52CB007

Message: I suggested. Offering a working group to look into the issue of how ftt creates instability . And propose alternatives.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/18 12:05:38 PM (550868738)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F0F908CA-9601-42A1-935A-744AA813BB97

Message: That's the ticket

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/18 06:30:57 PM (550891857)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 220D5EE4-1F40-40F0-A5CD-0BD7E5A3A56D

Message: Good luck tomorrow

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 06/16/18 06:59:40 PM (550893580)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FE136D5C-F52D-4300-814F-D89F5D807CA0

Message: Thanks

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 07:12:58 AM (550937578)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2F68DEE9-3065-4AA0-BCC5-07A75B72B830

Message: Did u watch ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 07:26:14 AM (550938374)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E48E0A26-80D7-4BB3-9A0F-6FFE4D338D9F

Message: Of course. epci

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 07:26:17 AM (550938377)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BE551DD5-2407-4A9D-80A2-E80F86864572

Message: epic

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 07:33:14 AM (550938794)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E9085397-FEBB-4E4C-8114-2D10E82D0B8D

Message: It worked?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 07:34:12 AM (550938852)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 863650D2-135D-4277-B305-D1A6E1CF11F5

Message: Putting the spell on him □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 07:55:33 AM (550940133)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9BC2FDFB-4A8C-45ED-BFD4-E39FAE64EE6F

Message: LMAO. Pope is wrong on policy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 08:04:40 AM (550940680)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4D4918A7-9BA6-4906-AA01-FA48A49441AC

Message: ex cathedra that

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 08:05:15 AM (550940715)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7C7C38CF-93F8-47AC-8396-3AAD825300D1

Message: You're an honorary jew anyway

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 08:05:52 AM (550940752)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F6516A20-C471-462B-B945-43B1AD2429B1

Message: Now it no longer judeo christian . Just judeo

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 08:05:55 AM (550940755)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F03DFB2E-B543-4864-A637-8B64A91EDDD8

Message: Honored

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 08:06:24 AM (550940784)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D5A4FC65-A3BD-4D72-966D-8FB07F325F9B

Message: I will drop the 'Christian' in 'Christian Zionist'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 08:06:54 AM (550940814)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3ABDC058-922F-4390-905F-390995005AD3

Message: you must admit , you look a little like the priest in the exorcist. Just missing the hat and Karls green slime

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 08:07:28 AM (550940848)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 198AD9BF-4B5E-449A-A3B1-5337A1251606

Message: U get the optics

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 08:08:15 AM (550940895)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 26F9749F-37E6-442E-A621-91A3C4898B1A

Message: Would be great to see his head spin around . Good work. , Im off to New York. Chat later or tomorw

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 08:10:10 AM (550941010)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A9E9AB55-B01D-402A-95B5-7C2FA9C1D18C

Message: One of my favorites. : Replying to @ThisWeekABC @jonkarl Jon Karl was eaten alive by Bannon. Don't have guests on like Bannon if you don't have an interviewer who can match wits. Bannon is an awful man - a dishonest man with a reactionary, right-wing agenda. He needs to be interviewed by someone who can challenge him effectively.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 08:10:31 AM (550941031)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 48A3EE98-87A4-4E45-8E5B-934403A8C0ED

Message: Bingo

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 08:11:08 AM (550941068)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5C9725AA-F9BC-4D2A-848E-B14308955C30

Message: Eaten alive

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 08:15:09 AM (550941309)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 27A42995-F691-466E-8E47-1A20544F7E79

Message: Where did u see that

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 08:39:37 AM (550942777)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EEEF8AC3-38F1-4DBB-A704-F39246374B4F

Message: Comments to abc this week

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 08:44:52 AM (550943092)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EDBD5C11-2880-42CB-BACA-D1D6EFD9FB8D

Message: Just imagine without the glasses

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 09:04:08 AM (550944248)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 07D6D2B4-23B3-4F08-8FD6-313BB00724B9

Message: The power of Christ compels u

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 02:45:39 PM (550964739)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BECA7AA2-2700-4A18-8F5A-785129A16A85

Message: 1, Jagland meeting with Lavrov Putin coming straight to Paris on fri. Staying overnight with me.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 02:46:34 PM (550964794)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B43376D-A993-4323-9E1D-C1615194DC94

Message: 2. Sorry. But I will have to meet you in Paris . Schedule change requires me to go someplace first , (Kathy task). . will be able to go anywhere in Europe I will stay for two weeks.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 02:47:16 PM (550964836)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C2845A91-7745-486A-AC95-BD54D865A44D

Message: Fri dinner at 7 . Miro. Plus plus, . we should talk about who when and where else

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 02:47:33 PM (550964853)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 36929C52-41A7-44A6-9C73-A2533B121CE6

Message: Your review today was powerful. Good work

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 02:57:57 PM (550965477)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D40FD5CA-0C39-4E82-970F-44D3AA7A306B

Message: Thanks --- u get to Paris when???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 02:58:08 PM (550965488)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 90831E55-7AA4-42C3-B96C-94CEFD87996B

Message: Tues late

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 02:58:15 PM (550965495)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 781C2166-1048-46A3-8444-E3AE790669E9

Message: This tues. sorry

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 02:58:56 PM (550965536)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C2742FF9-E7B8-43EC-BA80-45C797D98C67

Message: If you like you can take the plane to italy with or without Me .

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 03:00:01 PM (550965601)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 71ED380C-4678-4E10-AB42-2C263D677015

Message: Let's catch up tomorrow morning ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 02:59:47 PM (550965587)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E1D425C9-1E03-4A11-95F7-470F0FBDAB26

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 03:03:59 PM (550965839)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BBFD375C-D271-4022-9685-48988DF8E71B

Message: Sorry about the late switch. Ill explain when I see you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 03:42:21 PM (550968141)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 08A58FE6-BB30-47C3-8A2F-68E9E3CA97A2

Message: No problem--a lot exploded yesterday and today

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 03:45:55 PM (550968355)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CE88F066-3DBC-4BFE-8BB1-EFC6F138F32B

Message: Said the bomb thrower

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 04:59:25 PM (550972765)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8AA4BBCD-45EA-42FA-A25C-E0E422D27382

Message: to the master bomb maker

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 05:43:49 PM (550975429)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5E0CA06E-462F-47F8-A582-FD8592F56403

Message: just arrived ny home. can chat now or tomorrow morn

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 05:43:57 PM (550975437)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 74350BC9-AE68-49B8-B331-A3BB6E40F161

Message: are you coming to ny?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 05:44:18 PM (550975458)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B998388C-37A6-439A-B224-F38AA8DEE0C4

Message: Trying to work everything out

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 05:44:26 PM (550975466)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 22CBD967-32D0-414C-B2E5-4031811C4A78

Message: wash post bannonism. fun

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 05:44:50 PM (550975490)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2BF64425-2C13-4F54-9BAF-31B33D4A1747

Message: ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 05:46:04 PM (550975564)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A6F26B60-002B-4FC6-BA54-FA2C2C4727CD

Message: author He was fired 10 months ago, but Stephen K. Bannon has won. Truculent, anti-immigrant nationalism; disdain for the "deep state"; disparaging democratic allies while celebrating dictators: These are now the pillars of President Trump's rule. In his administration's policy, foreign and domestic, and in the compliant Republican Party, Bannonism

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 05:46:33 PM (550975593)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9ECFC7C9-7C96-4E7F-BEF0-029A41C12C80

Message: □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 05:46:39 PM (550975599)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 21AB8E44-23CB-4B82-A6C4-D8DCA137360E

Message: What piece ??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/18 05:47:34 PM (550975654)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 41A82808-7FC4-4B3D-8340-49908F9886C8

Message: https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/he-was-fired-10-months-ago-but-stephen-k-bannon-has-won/2018/06/17/4bddc874-70b7-11e8-afd5-778aca903bbe_story.html?utm_term=.aea605e5243f

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/18 06:24:16 PM (550977856)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3E4E27AF-9D8D-4568-AB7F-AD940F8073A9

Message: This guy is #2 @ wapo

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-07-10\[redacted] on 2018-07-01 at 07.15.04.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 07/01/18 04:15:04 AM (552136504)

End Time: 07/10/18 06:45:38 PM (552966338)

Last Message ID: 17204

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/18 04:15:04 AM (552136504)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BB7CE0ED-2E23-4538-8397-FE54E0BA85FF

Message: You being part of my group is a hack that allows a new person to be covered. . you planted a seed in miro . good

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/18 04:15:59 AM (552136559)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4181302C-E57C-41B2-A25B-AF561E6E3192

Message: Miro is exactly the type of guy that will take this entire movement to next level

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/18 04:16:50 AM (552136610)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C415551-C2D1-461F-8191-A087EBBAEA41

Message: Yes, I am working on a security blanket for he and family , his true concern

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/18 04:19:04 AM (552136744)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3C1CFD2B-A2B0-457C-9D10-67FBFF0274E7

Message: Is there any way you can mediate the difference with Jared. He is soooo. outclassed by you , its like child abuse ..

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/18 04:19:34 AM (552136774)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BFC2DB92-70FB-4B5A-A6AF-5E6A07B8C92A

Message: Jared?.. why would I want to do that?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/18 04:23:35 AM (552137015)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 15835AC6-C741-4B23-8482-575F844A9AD7

Message: what is the downside. ? instead of why? , - why not? . BTW. My new favorite, even better than on or off dick , was. You're supposed to me a smart guy but you sound like a fucking moron. !! oy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/18 04:25:52 AM (552137152)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D48E8A99-8331-4081-A41F-2B520485BA50

Message: To do that shows that djt is center of gravity of this movement and not me-- will never do-- they are transitory figures -- the dc game is to succumb to that -- it's why I never did before joining campaign -- I could have been the trump whisperer years ago-- avoided on purpose

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/18 04:26:34 AM (552137194)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8D8B7720-265D-455B-BC19-71B9962456CA

Message: Jared is the idiot son in law-- always dismissed as that

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/18 04:28:51 AM (552137331)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DB6980B1-9905-4C6F-A0B3-53D709809241

Message: Agree on all. I have no views on the third act.. I only would like to see him less afraid of you.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/18 04:35:48 AM (552137748)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B84BED4B-BA6C-44D2-AD42-6A2F2EEE227C

Message: I want him MORE afraid of me

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/18 04:36:04 AM (552137764)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB887D4B-F1AA-42CF-810A-1BC1E5B1D25C

Message: Aye aye

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/18 04:36:47 AM (552137807)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1DDFEBB7-2370-4F64-BB15-CA0849F2A2E8

Message: Bronx tale

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/18 06:55:05 AM (552146105)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6772BCA1-0E23-4598-88CE-21B9C0390B16

Message: Miro in Beijing today ,

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/18 06:57:15 AM (552146235)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 174E861A-7C76-43D4-962A-905C4D582818

Message: He suggested you might like his ex prime minster fico.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/18 07:00:24 AM (552146424)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C2C00011-4879-4C0C-9BE2-3EF328D4AE70

Message: He should tell them we r @ war

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/18 07:31:07 AM (552148267)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 99535A4F-638D-4848-AD2A-5FBF3C5F3F06

Message: I believe xis answer will be , did you guys just realize that ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/18 08:04:24 AM (552150264)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2706B086-45C6-4EA7-8588-B65337E2E9C0

Message: genius

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/18 09:24:46 AM (552155086)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 560B4E27-6162-4608-B531-3768DB9CF690

Message: I told miro paraphrasing your front national . If Steve calls you a fucking moron. Wear it like a badge of honor. He roared with laughter

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/18 09:45:33 AM (552156333)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 52D5F662-0B68-46A8-ADD3-26BCDB91FBA2

Message: well said

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/02/18 04:07:40 AM (552222460)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3AF68FD6-815F-4278-8824-F90616BD6B59

Message: In an interview on Sunday, the chancellor defended her decision to seek a European solution. "We are living in times when there is a lot at stake," Ms. Merkel said, adding a warning that Europe "is perhaps more in danger than we think." "The question of migration can break Europe apart," she said. Ar you going to Europe or getting your blood work done □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/02/18 08:24:50 AM (552237890)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F167709A-4181-45AB-B78D-A70B2DF16001

Message: hacker colleague - Say it ain't so , Joe □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/02/18 08:50:47 AM (552239447)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C2752AA5-FD81-471B-A722-9217EEBC6F5B

Message: smell-the-fear

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/02/18 08:51:11 AM (552239471)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 18709913-74F8-4882-84E1-D16E24C1EA2E

Message: Im not good with smells

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/02/18 09:00:58 AM (552240058)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F12E59DF-1CBB-48ED-8939-2B54E9DC8107

Message: Im probably going to go for the day to the conference. Aug 9 . Or so. . I will be on the ranch in new Mexico before and after , you and ms miller are welcome.

Or whoever else you choose

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/02/18 09:01:49 AM (552240109)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F9C8B3C8-CB64-4652-B461-1E293DD728DC

Message: ms miller currently on 'hiatus'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/02/18 09:02:11 AM (552240131)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C6F64C57-0F42-4595-AA8A-1057BB8031DC

Message: Ok , Im sure you have a deep bench

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/02/18 09:05:32 AM (552240332)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B23D63E9-8E24-4FBE-BAA0-2FCB4CDE8141

Message: Exact opposite --- that's why she is back on the bench ---- women are a total distraction

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/02/18 09:21:32 AM (552241292)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F25D8ECB-FCC3-4254-A87A-1314D17C1D24

Message: Ok. , time for you to see Kruger □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/03/18 03:13:24 AM (552305604)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 34FF2DCA-7908-45EA-B642-80F52A444965

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/world/europe/angela-merkel-migration-coalition.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=first-column-region&region=top-news&WT.nav=top-news

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/03/18 04:13:46 AM (552309226)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B033BAB-2493-4BD7-B6F0-BD81B542B7FC

Message: You going to europe?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/03/18 04:17:49 AM (552309469)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A6929074-DBD1-4582-86E0-01B7E08E6F5F

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/03/18 04:18:07 AM (552309487)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D12F42D0-EB53-45FE-81FF-73A9C6E5405D

Message: Great

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/03/18 07:48:49 AM (552322129)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89F75F05-0EAE-4F1D-B24C-103F7D6F0A47

Message: https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-07-03/glencore-gets-subpoena-from-u-s-regarding-money-laundering

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/03/18 07:48:51 AM (552322131)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D22F6BB4-B971-4F8C-92FC-8498B322D05F

Message: Mark rich co

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/04/18 03:12:33 AM (552391953)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2DF360AB-33F2-4711-AE2E-5976AB43CE7D

Message: Where r u ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/04/18 04:09:48 AM (552395388)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 70817583-AD04-4F27-81FD-DA529D2C9043

Message: Richmond with my dad

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/04/18 04:13:17 AM (552395597)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 714B6A84-EED8-43F6-B9B3-F4C2F418C255

Message: Kurz wants to meet you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/04/18 04:14:52 AM (552395692)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 379FCFF1-0B91-4D63-9C84-06D29F048643

Message: I want to meet him

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/04/18 04:20:48 AM (552396048)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C620E6A5-E7DB-4080-B354-87B54F147491

Message: He said he has been busy with the EU . ready to meet

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/04/18 04:23:26 AM (552396206)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6766ED61-24F0-4D51-B08B-24A0AF90384C

Message: Great

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/04/18 06:10:05 AM (552402605)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 836DFA7C-80B9-409A-AC3A-EB6F17408B9C

Message: Epstein Bannon Kurz. A little too close to Bronshtein , goebbels . ...

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/04/18 06:13:10 AM (552402790)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 32954BE9-B914-4D11-AA61-0034F111FF30

Message: □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/04/18 06:45:55 AM (552404755)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 03246491-70E5-4203-AA98-1123F2E72650

Message: Way way way to close

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/04/18 07:37:46 AM (552407866)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B380DD0A-3A93-4650-A38F-A1D88252355B

Message: Ken starr in ny 11, 12

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/04/18 07:41:48 AM (552408108)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9AE9673D-3B69-415C-BE92-3EE1B758664C

Message: In Brussels / london

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/04/18 07:57:58 AM (552409078)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C8EAE388-B707-40FF-84E1-616D3FC33CB9

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/04/18 11:25:00 PM (552464700)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B9528A5E-BE1F-471A-A672-4084438FE1EE

Message: If you want yo do Kurz he asked for prospective dates

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/04/18 11:26:11 PM (552464771)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F6B40E78-887D-49FC-9600-BA95BF0CA8FA

Message: I wont be there but youll have fun

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/18 02:35:09 AM (552476109)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7519EEDD-B7B4-4B25-B35D-A5E57ED290E0

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/18 07:20:18 AM (552493218)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CC908826-29FE-4518-99CB-668C3E471124

Message: Chat later today?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/18 07:44:21 AM (552494661)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E6E1812C-B22F-4C08-A31D-63EFC573B6EC

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/18 02:54:58 PM (552520498)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A07888D-2039-4C05-976C-56D610E76CCE

Message: Free to speak?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/18 02:55:05 PM (552520505)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CCDBE8FB-1CC4-46B0-8BC7-BEAF9F9D9EE8

Message: 561 655 7626

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/18 05:26:52 PM (552529612)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACFE54F2-4700-4116-A493-DA60BE3CF1A1

Message: Starr talking to cruz and cotton for kavanagh

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/18 05:27:11 PM (552529631)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DE6EFF2A-50A2-4786-BFDA-B2D97E717DC1

Message: That's HUGE

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/18 05:32:19 PM (552529939)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AA91170D-B3AC-48D6-8115-017CEF1763F4

Message: Ive been called many things- human is not one of them;)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/18 05:33:20 PM (552530000)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CA2579BD-131B-4F9B-90CE-A2A67CE55D7A

Message: I was getting too soft; women are bad for the knees

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/06/18 04:48:59 AM (552570539)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7384335D-68C1-4FF2-A122-D3DC3B6CB6BB

Message: Nato private lunch if you like . If you go . Otherwise im in ny wed thurs and then maybe vienna

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/06/18 04:54:25 AM (552570865)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2FB158B9-2889-49EE-BEEC-59016CCE3DB9

Message: Let's talk later am if u r free

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/06/18 04:54:35 AM (552570875)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9A39EC28-AF0C-47B4-B9C8-1C179CF9E952

Message: Easy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/06/18 08:06:26 AM (552582386)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 575AE076-0578-434F-8732-978E1FFECA53

Message: after china. Dollar strong. Big stocks up. . with oil at 74 . Strong strong

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/06/18 11:45:12 AM (552595512)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C40033C5-0D6A-4E86-8845-38492EDC2715

Message: We started strong

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/06/18 11:45:56 AM (552595556)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F6D95D27-2C59-43C1-82F3-325E24B8FA31

Message: I can talk now if free

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/06/18 12:24:11 PM (552597851)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A9EE0A22-CCEF-45E1-BD48-3DCDD79946D8

Message: Dutch tv link

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/06/18 12:50:49 PM (552599449)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C9440CA6-5343-45B6-8FEA-D624B6C285B1

Message: Btw. Pakistani prime minister convicted. HBJ in center place again

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/07/18 10:20:21 AM (552676821)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 563AB91F-7802-4422-9524-F2862DF94C82

Message: Sorry you will miss the cage fight . Ruemmler -Starr on thurs. couldn't find the dutch tv interview

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/07/18 05:37:26 PM (552703046)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B0C748E-CB8E-4110-97C5-52159660E5E1

Message: Europe?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/07/18 05:44:44 PM (552703484)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 324EC545-B07E-4A10-A224-E79F79D3AADE

Message: Right now should be in london @ noon on Tuesday --- return Tuesday 17 July

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/07/18 05:50:29 PM (552703829)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 706F2EAA-9F87-4719-B74D-A37C73768E69

Message: great. I assume schedule in flux, if you want meetings let me know. Otherwise , travel safe

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/07/18 06:24:30 PM (552705870)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9CAC01A7-1387-4DF0-B054-A245EAB15BEA

Message: Roger

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/08/18 06:01:05 AM (552747665)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1150A5C0-BAF0-4D21-9BC9-EEE2E49C0151

Message: Make sure your guys video interactions with you and all women protesters . Easy to set you up

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/08/18 06:09:13 AM (552748153)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7708FE9D-1EAE-41ED-AB2F-D7B21FD6F560

Message: Yep

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/08/18 06:50:48 AM (552750648)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5DB63B22-1C46-41F5-8AB4-945DACD9042E

Message: Calll to get some updates

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/08/18 06:51:41 AM (552750701)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EA06C9CB-9D43-4FC5-A331-A0E38D5572EA

Message: Heading into mass with my dad will call when out

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/08/18 06:57:50 AM (552751070)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 25B9F27A-0068-4EE1-BD8D-F825B7A5045E

Message: I get it the father -son only missing -the holy jew

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/08/18 07:00:40 AM (552751240)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4FEC8A12-3632-4AEE-AFAE-D713EB171AFA

Message: Our ticket to eternal life is worshipping a Jewish carpenter -- have to love it-- couldn't make this stuff up!!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/08/18 12:35:03 PM (552771303)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 160DC5E3-1D42-48E0-9A7E-0E9D7F89A25D

Message: Free to speak?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 03:04:03 AM (552823443)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89A1D227-D000-4FC0-8F92-E1D228C2C884

Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 05:41:05 AM (552832865)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C8563CB4-E038-4BC5-84BA-6F444974C762

Message: Interesting invitations for you , but they need confirmation in London for wed

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 05:48:37 AM (552833317)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0E279F96-539E-41AA-84D5-FF22FC1B3AB9

Message: https://www.marketwatch.com/story/founder-of-worlds-largest-hedge-fund-says-first-day-of-the-war-with-china-has-begun-2018-07-06

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 05:48:37 AM (552833317)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 154FB106-5DAB-4D80-A8C5-F2B93644DF8F

Message: . And people wonder why I suggest he's a dope

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/09/18 05:56:39 AM (552833799)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DEF0C2BB-F8FB-4F87-9300-FE3BF513835F

Message: U don't believe we r @ war

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 06:10:28 AM (552834628)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 68EB1944-4077-49E9-A9CF-5ECDF7CBB60B

Message: Weve been for years

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 06:10:55 AM (552834655)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0179596F-E72D-4687-A970-51DF7C9BCE4A

Message: These guys just woke up- maybe

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 06:18:32 AM (552835112)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 686CCB06-83E9-4386-9BAA-E2473E63E37C

Message: Technology- currency- cyber . These old guys ignore weapons unless they fit into a comic book

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/09/18 08:39:14 AM (552843554)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1707C02B-9077-4573-8C11-9211605466EE

Message: Agree agree agree

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 08:40:08 AM (552843608)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CCBB4926-6253-4019-82A7-AF7F2BBF8212

Message: A

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 08:40:20 AM (552843620)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F8401A14-A73B-40CE-A323-ECD8A66084D9

Message: Call my cell if you have a moment

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 09:37:57 AM (552847077)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4EAD426B-F8DE-4CF9-B095-40600B8D74B8

Message: As is said stock market up 300 points . Where are the trade war chicken littles

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 06:14:04 PM (552878044)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0520CC85-4D80-48EF-A179-71650358CA39

Message: If you stay ken starr with me wed and Thursday New York

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 06:14:11 PM (552878051)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F61D7838-F86A-47AB-8862-73BA86042615

Message: Good work

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/09/18 06:15:30 PM (552878130)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B13ECF6D-31D5-408E-9CC5-07679E3BD519

Message: Trust the Process

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/09/18 06:32:00 PM (552879120)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 01A24157-37F7-432F-A426-4D5163570B97

Message: Ken says the guy is brilliant correct ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 06:32:12 PM (552879132)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1E5BCBE7-F971-4730-B100-6F0958136A1E

Message: reliable

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 06:33:39 PM (552879219)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B030511-B6FF-4ECF-98B2-28FB4D840AD1

Message: Chevron decision

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/09/18 06:34:03 PM (552879243)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89CEEAB3-1866-4BD9-870C-1191BD43CE08

Message: Let's go deconstruct

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 06:34:40 PM (552879280)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB84FA45-31DA-4E0E-B438-FAA10B546691

Message: Bye bye administrative state. . I get it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/09/18 06:39:46 PM (552879586)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6D11ACE8-D6E3-4781-A362-FB922540ADFA

Message: If Chevron were overturned and Gorsuch voted to overturn it, such a decision would overrule a case which had its origins in an administrative ruling made by his own mother.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/09/18 07:03:27 PM (552881007)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6BF377DF-66D9-4719-B0ED-07ED379763F3

Message: Pretty epic huh??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/10/18 01:09:06 AM (552902946)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 92A125AA-5471-4E7C-98AA-FE004346E4D1

Message: Y

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/10/18 01:09:08 AM (552902948)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 665D1D78-EA0A-4406-A13C-BE51CD80900E

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/10/18 03:04:20 AM (552909860)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 49F4789B-9014-4689-AE61-CFA027A9A7D7

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/09/nyregion/former-driver-sues-trump-overtime-wages.html?hp&action=click&pgtype=Homepage&clickSource=story-heading&module=second-column-region&region=top-news&WT.nav=top-news

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/10/18 03:04:41 AM (552909881)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 00513E15-2BCB-4C30-9285-23453E714873

Message: Iits usually the driver that squeals

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/10/18 03:04:47 AM (552909887)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EDDF0751-AEFE-44D0-B6ED-EAC62647CB75

Message: Its

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/10/18 04:11:07 AM (552913867)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9971C19F-6848-486A-ADE8-1DA22B958866

Message: Matt calamari mentioned

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/10/18 04:18:18 AM (552914298)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F45CAF45-3ED2-44B0-94E7-2CB1D87A3A9A

Message: Always a good thing ---a really bright guy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/10/18 07:45:51 AM (552926751)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8C10D192-701F-4103-83CB-E61833A02C30

Message: Starr lunch tomorrow new yotk 230

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/10/18 07:59:47 AM (552927587)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B02BFC09-4A71-470F-ADE1-341DC8FEA456

Message: I'm flying tonight with Hannity

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/10/18 08:55:40 AM (552930940)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 920BB311-D76C-46C2-B53B-1963889F28A0

Message: Great! Norwegian embassy invite for you if you have time tomorrow London. - BTW Stefan Halper real deal !!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/10/18 04:50:23 PM (552959423)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AD7C9B46-E323-4354-9B24-481AB957C7B2

Message: Why do u say Halper is real deal ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/10/18 04:51:50 PM (552959510)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A9E4E594-7411-4FF9-A36C-87957C45E82D

Message: It will wait till f2f

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/10/18 04:52:02 PM (552959522)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 05FBDCD3-0881-4A5C-A5D9-916832C66A55

Message: But definitely

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/10/18 06:45:38 PM (552966338)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9EF1F70F-2DB1-40DD-B8EE-5E7FA462886B

Message: Lots of fun stories

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-07-17\[redacted] on 2018-07-17 at 11.18.23.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 07/17/18 08:18:23 AM (553533503)

End Time: 07/17/18 08:30:48 PM (553577448)

Last Message ID: 17443

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/17/18 08:18:23 AM (553533503)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8130265C-4435-4C9A-A6E8-B7A0A09CC10F

Message: No shortage of crybabies

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/17/18 12:09:01 PM (553547341)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9F505ADF-A575-495F-8638-C1D1FC759CF9

Message: Potus walk back!!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/17/18 12:12:48 PM (553547568)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A537A942-F8A5-4A40-AAD2-8ABDE0100C98

Message: What time tomorrow?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/17/18 12:15:42 PM (553547742)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB7056AF-CA82-43F3-B3A8-14C666EE608E

Message: Trying to figure out-- u free for breakfast

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/17/18 12:16:27 PM (553547787)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A5DF9F12-40D6-4505-BA2E-4D652A348234

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/17/18 12:16:44 PM (553547804)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A58A1731-A83B-4D00-B625-19F9B2A923EA

Message: 7 am?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/17/18 12:16:53 PM (553547813)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A3F559C7-6E98-4349-8296-99F05F32C261

Message: Done

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/17/18 08:30:48 PM (553577448)

Flags: 1052673

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2BAF6284-BA1C-485B-8875-E9FA7CA16D9E

Message: See u then

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-07-23\[redacted] on 2018-07-23 at 05.02.16.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 07/23/18 02:02:16 AM (554029336)

End Time: 07/23/18 05:34:06 AM (554042046)

Last Message ID: 17720

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/23/18 02:02:16 AM (554029336)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE232627-17BE-4951-9918-BA3F548ACBE8

Message: Trump threatened iran ;)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/23/18 05:34:06 AM (554042046)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 02455B24-2BBB-4A5B-AADC-F27394281FDA

Message: Yes, I saw that and immediately remember our conversation

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-07-26\[redacted] on 2018-07-23 at 11.17.08.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 07/23/18 08:17:08 AM (554051828)

End Time: 07/26/18 12:02:23 PM (554324543)

Last Message ID: 17849

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, 19174393646

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/23/18 08:17:08 AM (554051828)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB3377F1-26D6-46A5-BEB0-6DB50167B6A1

Message: Id really like Donald to triumph, if there is something you think i can do to help. Let me know

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/23/18 08:17:27 AM (554051847)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 093FAD1C-A1A8-46E2-950E-F7BD1B82A793

Message: I have been thinking about it all weekend.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/23/18 08:17:56 AM (554051876)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4645BBEF-5257-4F43-B605-43E02383AAD2

Message: He called me after VF article I am going to try to see him on Wednesday.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/23/18 08:24:34 AM (554052274)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4D689F6F-0EE9-4107-B233-41EF1257CDFC

Message: 1. He needs better legal advice . 2. As you said people hired that are loyal

loyal loyal . 3. He needs to rest to recover his balance

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/23/18 08:26:07 AM (554052367)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CCCD7395-972F-4EED-BB22-D5C4061CAE96

Message: Agree. Also needs a new chief of staff who likes him and he trusts not a Washington swamp monster.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 11:32:41 AM (554149961)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 35FEC8D8-928D-427E-B213-925BC987EF84

Message: Stanley-Are you getting your booger in the nose conversation:)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/24/18 11:54:12 AM (554151252)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 11DEF9F2-72E7-479D-A1E0-511BA7A57888

Message: Tomorrow at 11am

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/24/18 11:54:22 AM (554151262)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 86933EEC-5D46-404D-A930-69628D888EEC

Message: He is in St Louis today

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 11:55:59 AM (554151359)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 202C9BDB-57B7-40DD-AFBC-3CAE6C17B26D

Message: Bring along the bicycle pump

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 11:56:23 AM (554151383)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C33EDD5D-C252-42EF-AD1E-DFBC32CC6286

Message: Or an envelope to send you home

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 11:58:22 AM (554151502)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 856CD84E-D490-456D-A51D-E5E3A367E3FC

Message: He HAS to win in November, college educated women will not show,. Coordinate with the hobo. Don't bring him into the tent but have him as the barker outside , like in Coney Island

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/24/18 11:58:39 AM (554151519)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F1960709-B34A-450A-847B-040A1106E895

Message: Hahahahaha s

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/24/18 11:58:53 AM (554151533)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B04F0AB-6B23-47A8-8AA2-387DB6DF32AF

Message: I could make peace with Steve

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 12:00:13 PM (554151613)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 81FBA735-C5BC-4F72-9634-69DF61B99F19

Message: It will take all of you that like him. Working together. otherwise. . it will be Fred sanford, - Elizabeth I feel an attack coming on.

Sender: +19174393646

Time: 07/24/18 12:13:54 PM (554152434)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2C89B74C-7783-488C-BCD3-C9263F131ED3

Message: I see that.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/24/18 12:14:13 PM (554152453)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BEA2C338-753C-4CFF-A840-680B638973A6

Message: Politics makes strange bedfellows. I am ready to be a big boy about it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 12:22:39 PM (554152959)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D8FD1DB7-CC0A-44FC-9DFF-66780CCBE165

Message: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QwM5KpoPPrg

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 12:22:44 PM (554152964)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 68DBE37F-0ECF-4BC3-A66D-F3B0ABF158F2

Message: If nov goes dim

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 12:22:57 PM (554152977)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A6C91CB3-2485-40D9-BD84-5798F3181823

Message: Dem

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/24/18 12:23:01 PM (554152981)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D60EA236-0A4C-434E-9EA8-F541A1E0D5EF

Message: Yeah but he was always bluffing!!!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/24/18 12:23:13 PM (554152993)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1B9DCACB-3D7E-4344-9904-814FD9279BDE

Message: This could be the one one!!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 12:23:53 PM (554153033)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE284843-867F-4217-8566-9C9DBCF8911C

Message: good luck

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 07:01:03 PM (554176863)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9CCA9215-3E1C-48EC-BC03-C9F8B5C1FE9F

Message: Wow/ Cohen was wearing a wire! Not only recording phone. Oy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/24/18 07:22:47 PM (554178167)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E670DAC-C219-44D5-B132-ABF146D879BA

Message: Very very bad

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 10:43:55 PM (554190235)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8C636E64-78C8-460D-AC20-E8F11FB4E6ED

Message: I hope he left the wire home at core club

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 04:05:15 AM (554209515)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A031832F-97E1-4E21-AA45-C354C2ACF2BF

Message: I always assume he has it on

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 04:09:42 AM (554209782)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 87E98648-11DC-4952-A69B-D0E174B2383A

Message: Good luck today

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 04:09:55 AM (554209795)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DA7EB8DB-B91E-4A67-967A-97C2F35328F8

Message: Thanks on plane down

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 04:13:35 AM (554210015)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2AA4AC81-EE40-407F-9F9A-317C745169C7

Message: You, Barrack. Bannon Nick Ribis. (former president of trump org) . Are politically savvy . You can play either the tom Hayden role. Or the war consiglieri

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 04:16:12 AM (554210172)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5E2BB001-C734-41D1-8F24-9C19DF2B2B95

Message: I like it going to suggest it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 04:20:07 AM (554210407)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5308881F-60F9-4975-8B88-B30AB5E4B5D4

Message: BTW , was John dowd the perfect. FAT stanley

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 04:20:30 AM (554210430)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 61124943-5FA0-4367-A292-F6003487DAF7

Message: Hahahahah. What a loser

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 04:20:36 AM (554210436)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9C1845C6-549A-43FB-8154-834A12A86CFA

Message: Ever meet the guy?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 04:20:53 AM (554210453)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 835FFF98-C092-49FE-AD98-42E997BFFDE1

Message: Could have been one of the worst people I met in Washington

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 04:21:31 AM (554210491)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5A0FB6EF-B306-4085-8CE2-7086EEDDD8CD

Message: No interest, imagine also what you would look like with ty Cobbs mustache ? Wasn't that a give away. ?

Sender: +19174393646

Time: 07/25/18 04:22:20 AM (554210540)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E9BD9AFC-9671-4BAE-A410-D6327AC111F8

Message: Him I liked he gave good advice but he wasn't splashy enough in media hence Giuliani

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 04:23:04 AM (554210584)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1E4F0473-BB14-4DD3-873E-7AF9578B8E05

Message: Agreed, however his and boltons mustache reminded me of the old Wyatt Earp series

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 04:23:41 AM (554210621)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A3ED562A-8B79-4728-93DF-2E0CC7CFBB05

Message: Though there was a cute blonde

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 04:28:21 AM (554210901)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D00741A6-26AA-4217-95FB-706704EB5437

Message: Ha. I love it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 04:31:38 AM (554211098)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D7D2FCE6-1BA0-4007-92F3-39CD04EF30F9

Message: Lesson #1: Don't care about what other people think Lesson #2: Go for the job you like, are passionate about and are good at Lesson #3: Everything is not going to go in a straight line, some things are out of your control" - Anthony Scaramucci Portfolio Earnings: □ SYK (7/24/18) This is you and me!!!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 05:37:22 AM (554215042)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7F3F0052-9C65-451F-9B9E-79FDA460E0BE

Message: And if were kept outside hope Hicks could play an important role

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 05:51:53 AM (554215913)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 20045D7C-C9AA-4F69-AD45-A029387E9864

Message: Hope wants back in

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 07:56:59 AM (554223419)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 083EB286-BBDB-4F7D-82B3-025C3C56ACD5

Message: #4 loyalty to friends

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 08:14:56 AM (554224496)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C1C5807D-0A08-485C-A6C8-032AF5E1BEB6

Message: Amen. Will add that

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 08:15:00 AM (554224500)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A3A1369E-1139-4A0C-BAF2-D173F0224FC0

Message: Waiting here

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 02:14:17 PM (554246057)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B6B05633-3227-45F4-83A5-AF8112D2D4D6

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 02:16:25 PM (554246185)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 81E25672-65F6-4960-B5A8-34C6DB999AC2

Message: Just finishing

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 02:16:40 PM (554246200)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 734F669D-E651-4DBA-A9AA-11D894C241F9

Message: Had to go back and wait around lots going on

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 02:17:04 PM (554246224)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BD35ABC2-3758-4151-AFC2-8E3C59CACE97

Message: Yup

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 02:20:02 PM (554246402)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 99501215-AC5A-4972-9D08-2B936CE6D560

Message: Positive not definitive

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 02:20:28 PM (554246428)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2FD1BCD5-9379-41BD-B2B4-DAB72A858D17

Message: Step one

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 03:46:56 AM (554294816)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D663A069-CC61-483B-A4DE-D38F6D6D9ECD

Message: HE is skeptical of my help . But let me know if you think there is something constructive I can do for you

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 06:44:01 AM (554305441)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7D398D59-2D59-4FDC-8431-CCDCEDF6B212

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/26/18 06:47:11 AM (554305631)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D933D152-CB8A-4D83-968D-3A11C592CD70

Message: Hey sorry got home due to rain at 3am

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/26/18 06:47:16 AM (554305636)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A8762AC8-B9C4-474F-B867-15426E250B3D

Message: Going back tomorrow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/26/18 06:47:31 AM (554305651)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 625FF399-43D6-4389-8785-FBA5D0AB9C0F

Message: Free for a call around 1130 EST

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 06:47:37 AM (554305657)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1763B440-FA59-4CD8-96B2-30240DCF336D

Message: No worry. , yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/26/18 06:47:50 AM (554305670)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7475DCDF-97DF-462C-9CF6-97ABF5515E24

Message: Will call you at 1130

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 06:47:54 AM (554305674)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DA8D8D43-7A7D-48E1-A446-E6BF261F03FD

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 08:40:48 AM (554312448)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D2FF68DD-3B02-44AF-A700-5BCBAB361176

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/26/18 08:41:01 AM (554312461)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E277A7CD-F8F6-44C9-BFFD-27667794C774

Message: Running a touch late

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 08:41:08 AM (554312468)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CD843484-93B4-46F6-866C-686BC71082D1

Message: Ok

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/26/18 12:01:09 PM (554324469)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5BF8E7CD-D917-4C07-A97E-C7A208E02328

Message: https://www.dailywire.com/news/33568/polls-republicans-trailing-badly-congressional-ben-shapiro

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 12:02:23 PM (554324543)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EFDA7866-65A9-437D-8198-DC552200CF4F

Message: Yup

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-07-29\[redacted] on 2018-07-24 at 16.30.44.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 07/24/18 01:30:44 PM (554157044)

End Time: 07/29/18 06:54:30 PM (554608470)

Last Message ID: 17987

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 01:30:44 PM (554157044)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7A552F7B-812C-48CB-944F-EF72EF5C7D21

Message: Chat?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 06:45:47 PM (554175947)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4A91F7DA-F7EE-4B9F-821D-7A83FEAD81B5

Message: Wow, i was right -cohen was wearing a wire !!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/24/18 07:00:15 PM (554176815)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F13D328A-1082-49F2-B6A4-6434B5B48834

Message: Yep

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 07:02:38 PM (554176958)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AF0E65E9-1C4E-4152-8F92-CEDF4FF9D8FD

Message: Next is his Fred Sanford speech , Elizabeth -its the big one !

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 07:04:52 PM (554177092)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DE2E9C08-59CA-478B-8D07-8D73A1449C5C

Message: And delivered to cnn ! By lanny - can you imagine what will come out? Oy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/24/18 07:05:22 PM (554177122)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 824F0142-18B6-4C4E-8D4B-6E6C8680AEE9

Message: 12 more to go shipmate

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/24/18 10:42:36 PM (554190156)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5AF37769-ABCA-4FCF-BD46-6D5E0CBB9225

Message: Minimum

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 03:53:04 AM (554208784)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5E00CDC3-F8A5-47E9-AC4A-A5BBCD7D1C80

Message: Live by the tape , die by the tape

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 02:14:12 PM (554246052)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3CC1E391-1537-4CBB-9716-5331CC326A5A

Message: Along with some other tidbits, i was shown a photo of macrons boyfriend. Ahhh hypocrisy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 02:24:58 PM (554246698)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AC41F452-FE9B-48A6-9171-D091C40270DF

Message: Is that true???

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 02:25:11 PM (554246711)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DC917785-746F-4430-96EA-E2223705C23E

Message: The 'soldier '

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 02:29:14 PM (554246954)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 137ED869-612C-46D0-AABA-3F6E2B4C7465

Message: It gives new meaning to no worry I have your back.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 02:29:56 PM (554246996)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DE0A3609-C978-45DC-BF39-207F213B2C80

Message: Or. Remember the French stand behind you. Yech

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/25/18 02:30:23 PM (554247023)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F8E5D6CE-DAB5-4A8E-BD98-96C02BC35747

Message: When is the next cut. Of. Made in Vietnam

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/25/18 02:30:52 PM (554247052)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 35C360F8-906F-4804-A353-2B56E260B863

Message: Coming tomorrow -- got announced today

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 02:14:41 AM (554289281)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6E56D81D-55F4-401E-AC78-AFA583ED4E58

Message: Lets talk about strategy as November looks more problematic. . you don't want to spend all your time in front of committee after committee .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/26/18 03:41:56 AM (554294516)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 87AF9BB1-9A94-420F-8771-B4221A3E2A4B

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 03:45:27 AM (554294727)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2608D3DA-4BA5-4238-A9C8-7706F88C850A

Message: 011 331 441 70210 if free

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 10:55:50 AM (554320550)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 95245ABE-2554-4A78-B149-A36AA6A9BFD4

Message: https://www.cnbc.com/2018/07/26/trump-org-cfo-called-to-grand-jury-to-testify-wsj.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 10:55:51 AM (554320551)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F94600EE-E9E5-42BD-A95D-0596E886D37E

Message: . surprise surprise homer

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 10:55:58 AM (554320558)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 610BC3C7-FBE8-4798-8CCC-C125D1B0AB65

Message: gomer

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/26/18 10:56:34 AM (554320594)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B2D1ABDD-C6BA-49F7-9038-96A95B42F2F7

Message: ???

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/26/18 11:01:38 AM (554320898)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 77FB8BFE-9F52-455C-B2FD-795C64520220

Message: Over

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/26/18 12:55:13 PM (554327713)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4F521D0D-3D4E-4C15-AAB4-1413047665C4

Message: He has not testified yet. .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 04:06:19 AM (554382379)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 099E0B32-EB31-4646-95E5-0D267293B383

Message: The noose is tightening .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/27/18 04:09:15 AM (554382555)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B64ABF9E-E929-43D4-A488-399CBEAB4F27

Message: I cancelled my Hannity hit tonight

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/27/18 04:09:34 AM (554382574)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 12EB5E41-D073-4AFB-A926-F3DBAB0A359E

Message: Have u seen the FT this morning

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 04:13:37 AM (554382817)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 03B936C3-E813-4A20-8EE9-4C3A5435CB65

Message: Yes. Ganesh writes well, don jr , perjury. Congress . Matt calamari soon up to bat. . trump still carrying on re you and Roy Moore. .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 04:16:29 AM (554382989)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 34F13863-81DE-4483-BF21-E3EFA248967D

Message: I thought that Ganesh got the last paragraph really right. And that contrasts with dharma ending . The current ending implies the end of relevance. After destruction , almost walking toward the sunset. As opposed to standing there as the sun RISES

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 04:21:48 AM (554383308)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 10FE427E-76DF-4C37-96BF-97E5C0AB631D

Message: I think you want to project WINNING. As contrasted with always destroying. . there was little winning in the film. McNamara was portrayed as out of touch. Id like

you to be portrayed as the exact opposite. Really in touch.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/27/18 04:22:33 AM (554383353)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6271DED7-959B-4FE1-8B5E-9CA32605A5D8

Message: I'm talking about TODAYs FT?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 04:23:38 AM (554383418)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 142CDB24-93AF-4C2C-9267-7508C89C29ED

Message: Sorry, which article

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/27/18 04:24:45 AM (554383485)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9CAF3488-833C-4CDD-80FB-BC4AF42F37B2

Message: Lead editorial brother-- sean is already getting it framed for u

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 04:27:39 AM (554383659)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FA5C036E-A85B-4DEE-BA8C-6C01B68FBECD

Message: Sweet

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 04:28:54 AM (554383734)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 373EF84E-B9EC-43FE-B75E-488C78D5F26C

Message: Wasn't as funny as seeing the term " shmucks" in the same paper to describe pensioners. The jews are getting careless.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/27/18 04:30:57 AM (554383857)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6B899526-1F02-45D3-B863-B03DEB2CBF2E

Message: Do u know anyone in Europe that wants to control the European Parliament and with it the EU-- I need to get serious about taking on soros

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 04:42:45 AM (554384565)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 96E4EC2D-F070-418B-BC2D-61D33C32B4DA

Message: There are lots of issues around this. Not for text

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/27/18 04:43:00 AM (554384580)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB7C4715-7DC0-487F-A49B-ECE6818CEC8B

Message: Cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 04:46:44 AM (554384804)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 05DEE271-B6EC-4246-B90D-C52EF9ADA181

Message: currently -Im back in the NY tues only for the day. Then island ,palmbeach and ranch. -of course you are welcome at each , anytime. Ranch the most private. And I will go for the day to the hacker convention

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/27/18 04:47:10 AM (554384830)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9C95C2C1-97DD-4F60-96F7-3CC4A6434C0C

Message: Vegas?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 04:47:14 AM (554384834)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 18833780-B38A-4967-8418-94E7AA584387

Message: yup

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 07:00:22 AM (554392822)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 64A4DCA0-1D9A-4BE9-AD77-74F168A1DBAA

Message: It depends on who you would prioritize to meet. Im going Sunday to nice. Miro will be back in ny mid aug. . if you have a chance. 011 331 441 70210

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 11:36:47 AM (554409407)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 99F29688-175A-4B1B-923E-923EFD7D7157

Message: tom pritzker with me tues at 3 .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 11:41:17 AM (554409677)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 63E34314-7D19-4DDF-8010-3BF58200CE79

Message: Open Society Global Board Leon Botstein Global Board Member Spent all afternoon here

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 11:41:46 AM (554409706)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 51C08941-4034-4076-A011-5D11ED254097

Message: □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/27/18 11:42:36 AM (554409756)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C1572DDB-DCF9-470E-AB3A-9F9DB4EBB2E5

Message: Did u tell him I'm coming for them

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 11:42:55 AM (554409775)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E79A8028-88B6-441C-BF28-082891EECD47

Message: we're

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 11:43:55 AM (554409835)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E6E82B9-67AF-46D4-AFF5-445DC1A3B253

Message: George son will take over. Soon.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 11:45:01 AM (554409901)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6FEB495F-1414-4413-87AF-64D007198EFB

Message: the key is to get him to focus more on the arts. □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/27/18 11:45:53 AM (554409953)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 10F915DA-5EAE-4A5A-999E-6CA8B4265004

Message: George son a goofball-- I want a piece of george

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 11:46:31 AM (554409991)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A257B303-74FF-4A0E-A2ED-A210694A42CA

Message: Thats a good thing. . that should be easy as he is falling apart

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/27/18 11:46:54 AM (554410014)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A9190288-C6C5-458A-A7AC-44006A1EF01D

Message: Yes-- need to be the one that takes him down

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 11:47:03 AM (554410023)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 23905083-0D78-49F9-B016-15D5F4E5A014

Message: No shit sherlock

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 11:51:21 AM (554410281)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A519E850-8E8F-413D-8311-3F5D4D7952D4

Message: Theres an argument to be made that it takes you out of the blast radius ,. I asked today , how many people around Donald can have a heart attack the same week and not look suspicious

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/27/18 11:52:36 AM (554410356)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7321E33E-8B84-4540-A70F-A260C0105617

Message: Maybe its like those cruise ship diseases. Or a new form of legionaire disease where the entire staff is incapacitated. Like on those cheap cruises

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/27/18 11:56:12 AM (554410572)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E17FADC-888E-40A8-833C-587619A70AAF

Message: LOL

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 02:31:03 AM (554463063)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 404A1D5F-7BAF-4D49-B19E-BE841D149B69

Message: Great idea to do Hannity every week. ! very clever. . FT article got wide attention. .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 02:38:51 AM (554463531)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 942D6F4C-182E-47A2-BF50-F38149DC169A

Message: kurtz read the article Cohen weisselburg pecker did not

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/28/18 02:47:15 AM (554464035)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8A699C79-967C-4585-9820-95EBF8315A15

Message: U think doing fox weekly smart???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 03:01:37 AM (554464897)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 51EBDDDD-B12E-47B2-88F8-8C6211ACFCA2

Message: Yes but.. Europe needs to feel love . Not sure how you balance

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 03:25:26 AM (554466326)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 14D1E9F3-5574-401D-8458-CD90F60091FC

Message: Also with so much shit about to come out , your credibility must be paramount

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/28/18 03:30:15 AM (554466615)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CEB82C26-72D3-48B3-939A-22B1D8360C18

Message: I balance by getting there on the ground

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 03:33:42 AM (554466822)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 20C6DD56-E5CD-4300-93E8-04D87B8B94C3

Message: Agreed, do you do some Hannity from Europe, or back and forth

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/28/18 04:05:32 AM (554468732)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 70510DBB-BA7D-498F-850B-B72518EB4F87

Message: I can do Hannity from Europe

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 05:11:15 AM (554472675)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E202F89E-F90A-4AC7-B932-931DA30E2A54

Message: Its not what I understand. I might wonder if it is possible to do two ground games simultaneously . Telling some to ring doorbells and get out the vote while you are in Europe should be carefully considered.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 05:57:50 AM (554475470)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D32E0D08-430F-4577-9466-C090BD53349E

Message: Note, I spoke with the president of Ethiopia and Eritrea , they have agreed not to do any more work with the Chinese. ! as they now understand the trick. In fact there is a possiblitiy of the two countries becoming one.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 05:58:24 AM (554475504)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CBC6ABC9-BC9F-4298-9185-57D661FB3BD2

Message: Even better than high tariffs

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/28/18 05:58:48 AM (554475528)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 08278E8B-4DBD-496B-A6D5-924A429FFAF3

Message: Wow!!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 06:00:18 AM (554475618)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D4553E0C-C3CE-41C7-839F-0ADF5EE22331

Message: When the govt changed hands they found all these Chinese " loans. " etc. designed to create ownership through the side door

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/28/18 06:01:23 AM (554475683)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 53986378-5D92-4B48-805A-039EF357143F

Message: East India Company strategy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 06:01:35 AM (554475695)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3697EC37-3D79-4604-8607-C1EA27E9FD6A

Message: Yup.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 06:02:33 AM (554475753)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 51DF8129-B1A5-4E4C-BC35-3CC662042353

Message: old strategy however once again. Doesn't work with internet and instant sharing of info

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/28/18 06:02:51 AM (554475771)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AC5DCAC9-8B4C-41A3-B552-90DB4D326949

Message: Agree

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 06:04:56 AM (554475896)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9FB98C26-2566-4E32-9C5A-C031AE5304A4

Message: Whether it be Donald , Cohen pecker they play by the rules of the 80s. As you said the land that time forgot. - don jr was advised to take five in front of the senate , daddy said no.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 06:06:02 AM (554475962)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DD7E6D39-6316-4B4B-BCC9-A678C5F0C21F

Message: Im happy to have you meet them and piggy back on the new china strategy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/28/18 06:07:40 AM (554476060)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EA06A18A-797D-480A-B77D-12A85CCFBE03

Message: Epic

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 10:10:55 AM (554490655)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8F98C627-A6BC-4C23-A768-75B97C573E91

Message: https://nypost.com/2018/07/27/cryptocurrency-king-is-hippie-former-child-actor-who-loves-steve-bannon/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/28/18 10:11:36 AM (554490696)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4515E4F3-E90C-4913-8E60-032D89A23993

Message: Huge article in Rolling Stone

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 11:47:19 PM (554539639)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A27CCC0E-B210-4BBE-B69D-4301857479A4

Message: U atound

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/28/18 11:47:31 PM (554539651)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 149E9DBB-5646-43DE-A829-D8CA1FDFEAFF

Message: Around

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/29/18 12:11:23 AM (554541083)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AA71041E-01CA-473B-8FB4-966D19522F45

Message: What's up

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/29/18 12:12:28 AM (554541148)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6CA680C8-22EB-4A3B-B0DF-9916AA2B5C9C

Message: Go to sleep. ! Im in New York this afternoon till tues . Then gone

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/29/18 08:26:11 AM (554570771)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EEC72CA5-3CF5-4966-8D52-F5A944590A56

Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/29/18 03:36:15 PM (554596575)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BEF72D3D-E621-4261-8D84-EA75A52377DC

Message: early breakfast??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/29/18 03:36:38 PM (554596598)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0517C733-6AF0-4F77-AA77-26DB44B2ED8B

Message: ny mon or tues

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/29/18 03:42:10 PM (554596930)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3F09AA15-1476-4FC2-A766-6FA67FD9E445

Message: Dc --- uniting the tribes in a war council

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/29/18 03:43:23 PM (554597003)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6D9CBA29-B91B-4B95-921C-96B0EC1E0AF1

Message: good tonto . Im in palm beach starting tues night. want to talk about europe f2f , no rush

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/29/18 03:46:18 PM (554597178)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 00A4860C-0D16-423C-9F13-F5E1A47FE015

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/29/18 03:46:34 PM (554597194)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0299EC7A-E9DE-4335-ADC8-D1DC62012BBB

Message: Blowing up The Koch Brothers today

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/29/18 03:52:13 PM (554597533)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89B9600F-9BAA-4925-989D-45E826F17069

Message: david koch has serious dementia, sitting at home with 3 male nurses

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/29/18 06:42:47 PM (554607767)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2E486470-F3D1-4A01-BEBF-1F5E97A709E4

Message: Its only Charles. - more dollars than sense

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/29/18 06:52:34 PM (554608354)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 19404729-0355-46B8-9FF0-6F55D7ED173D

Message: Don't know how to win

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/29/18 06:54:04 PM (554608444)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 65BFD670-DC65-45AC-A8DC-E3DC5F8245CB

Message: I hope you are referring to them !

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/29/18 06:54:30 PM (554608470)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 411317E8-B93D-47EE-A2C9-2D8ED7986673

Message: Yes!!!... we've got this

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-07-31\[redacted] on 2018-07-31 at 06.36.05.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 07/31/18 03:36:05 AM (554726165)

End Time: 07/31/18 01:11:15 PM (554760675)

Last Message ID: 18120

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 03:36:05 AM (554726165)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C8F0205D-F050-48E4-937C-FD0E860CC3DA

Message: don't forget to visit dr kruger, I need you alive and healthy for the long game

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 03:36:36 AM (554726196)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F862756B-92CD-4069-96E2-E40AF7A7F3B6

Message: no you no movement. . simple math

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 03:41:51 AM (554726511)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D40CDC90-0EFC-4FC2-8259-A76346179FA1

Message: Yes : agree

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 03:43:53 AM (554726633)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FA91A7F5-050F-4094-AD46-85DAB78DBFE3

Message: agreeing is easy. getting it done more important □ . I spoke to him you

will get everything in the office. no press , my private area. cat scan heart . chest x-ray full blood. . you can go im 24/7

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 03:44:13 AM (554726653)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3ED1909F-4F16-4C0B-85A6-613BF3EE9920

Message: Thanks

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 03:44:35 AM (554726675)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C1CDEFD2-299F-47F8-8887-DE09665DA6BD

Message: Did u see trump just took my script and lit up the Koch's !!!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 03:44:44 AM (554726684)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 70DE49D3-002A-445A-A95E-E425A5CC3FB9

Message: yup

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 03:45:21 AM (554726721)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 002283B1-2E09-46EE-8FB7-438E711A5399

Message: im serious about davids dementia. . he is out. so it is only charles.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 03:46:17 AM (554726777)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF668920-6528-4528-B400-DEA4AEB589FD

Message: i guess it would be cruel to point out that the only reason for their position is davids dementia. I would find it funny , but not many others would

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 03:49:26 AM (554726966)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D92324B1-9052-4EB1-8406-A06C4191E685

Message: btw as i said turkish lira weak !! nov 2016 - 3.15. today 4.9

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 03:49:37 AM (554726977)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8F47869D-2D61-44C3-BA3C-E2F5C61E03C7

Message: David was such a bad guy-- treated folks like shots

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 03:50:06 AM (554727006)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0E04B29E-A19D-4825-A7EE-4E4912EBE3A8

Message: China -Persia- Turkey having bad run

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 03:50:54 AM (554727054)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7077F6DE-CC9F-4BFA-A5D3-5B76F0DE3E03

Message: he now sits in his living room. turning the lights on and off, as that is the only thing he is able to control. drives his nurses crazy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 03:53:20 AM (554727200)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 19FE60C4-7725-48F7-B9B1-6F432CECBBB8

Message: persia was a cultured place. super smart. it died like the city of atlantis . it is iran.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 03:54:26 AM (554727266)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AC749431-2B05-4FAE-8886-BF42833516F8

Message: otherwise you might be tempted to call libya rome

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 03:58:27 AM (554727507)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACDB0E6E-8044-4ADB-8254-AD674D27EF55

Message: russian ruble unchanged . . says alot

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 03:59:44 AM (554727584)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8736B500-3BA6-4BC3-990B-86E5F2A608D2

Message: What does ruble tell me

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 04:03:54 AM (554727834)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6A9431C6-AB59-46DF-9B74-C14230811BC8

Message: trump is right in trying to bring them into a partnership.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 04:04:14 AM (554727854)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 59699D2B-BB02-400A-AFF8-BFB8823A1890

Message: Yes!!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 04:04:23 AM (554727863)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 56D5313C-34D2-4360-8B42-B66377864318

Message: putin has been kind so far , not to point out , how the us involves itself in others elections

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 04:04:58 AM (554727898)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E87A72E7-035E-4D66-BAEA-9E3B09865118

Message: LOL

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 04:07:26 AM (554728046)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 34CC8AF4-30E0-4397-9779-64744599CC06

Message: hasn't pointed out assasinations to overthrow govts . . coup funding. . imran kahn in pakistan , a much greater threat to peace than erdogan . khomeni. xi or putin

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 04:07:52 AM (554728072)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5789F583-7159-421A-A412-44713667B53B

Message: The populist in Pakistan ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 04:08:34 AM (554728114)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A3382B63-7799-4A51-859E-1B4A9870A37B

Message: really bad news.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 04:09:28 AM (554728168)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F3BC9062-3570-473D-87BF-12EA14A9AC92

Message: The cricket player?-- how could he be worse that the Islamist ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 04:14:14 AM (554728454)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B52028CC-7514-4513-8975-5B823560F831

Message: makes donald look like einstein. incapable of truth. , devout islamisist . many nuclear weapons. (not erdogan or khomeni). he was married to two friends of mine. one daughter of jimmy goldsmith. super wealthy take over guy. forced her to convert. wacko

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 04:15:37 AM (554728537)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 14FA760E-29A6-46B4-A4D3-916809764B12

Message: it follow your prediction around cults of personality . he is a cricket captain. . not a chess player , but he's good at rousing the crowd

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 04:56:53 AM (554731013)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FF6D5FDA-EC23-4D15-881A-55DC645C3246

Message: any questions for pritzker , he will be here from 2 to 330 if you would like to ask yourself. . can we use csis for anything ? tom has GREAT relations in china.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 05:50:28 AM (554734228)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D0B91F78-EF75-4786-B648-E4E0D082D036

Message: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FuaMR8d4xJo

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 05:50:28 AM (554734228)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DDA1DDDA-FEB1-4B47-8E16-D7C4D0738DA5

Message: if you have time, lavrov is the best of his kind

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 05:56:05 AM (554734565)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF581412-1E25-4220-82B2-68FB3D860964

Message: Tom is totally sold out to china -- csis carries

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 06:00:29 AM (554734829)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E69512F1-F1F3-444D-83CD-BF0C1333DA90

Message: im told that some of the party members there wanted to chop of his head. so im not clear

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 06:15:02 AM (554735702)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 07AA72EF-6807-49D8-9091-B4C51503DA5C

Message: Kruger said less than one hour to do all. iIm doing my best to whittle away at your future reasoning □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 09:42:40 AM (554748160)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B901E629-349F-4764-8CCA-56726146E3AF

Message: https://www.vox.com/2018/7/31/17595988/ethiopia-eritrea-peace-abiy-ahmed

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 09:40:32 AM (554748032)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B37A1648-9972-4BF6-B887-814D76E4D978

Message: . As advertised

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 09:46:24 AM (554748384)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 75E074DB-F6C2-4DC6-A3BC-EE05280C0EAE

Message: Yep

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 09:48:54 AM (554748534)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B0926510-FDD4-40CF-A13A-413D52CB052E

Message: And and both will have a private dinner with yuou

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 10:19:58 AM (554750398)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CB87B188-CDF2-4384-BCC7-0CD4A375ED3A

Message: Very cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/31/18 01:09:11 PM (554760551)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 648D5132-1A4A-489B-B45A-4EB54802DA7F

Message: No space between yours and toms view on china. He now has a detailed story of how . Hes off to see kissinger to bounce it off him . You will like it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/31/18 01:11:15 PM (554760675)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 82FE32E5-0441-438A-9E73-BC8A7440954F

Message: Brilliant

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-08-06\[redacted] on 2018-08-01 at 09.52.44.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 08/01/18 06:52:44 AM (554824364)

End Time: 08/06/18 06:52:57 PM (555299577)

Last Message ID: 18493

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 06:52:44 AM (554824364)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 39B77186-B7F8-4890-B9FB-987B7D66A580

Message: Tommy Robinson. !! good work

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 06:56:46 AM (554824606)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C8533ED3-DBED-4C76-A3B2-3F04CDB62086

Message: Thanks

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:18:53 PM (554851133)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 92EF7FEA-8354-460D-B046-011C0CC03984

Message: Want to visit Florida for weekend? . lets talk today or tomorrow . Lots to catch up on

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:19:44 PM (554851184)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6A2D0FE6-1C4F-4AA2-94BA-AE0D0956A61F

Message: Cool

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:19:59 PM (554851199)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5B3D7977-3FBE-4C69-8CAF-DB48759D67BE

Message: In cambridge with Errol

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:21:29 PM (554851289)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 53ECB132-B6AD-4862-A465-CD22896A9A57

Message: Great use of time. Can we take out. Fuck you if you want clean water ? . ending with a celebration .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:25:11 PM (554851511)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0DC332EE-E371-42E5-8307-1E323214CCB7

Message: Ending with a celebration ???... is not burning everything down a celebration!!!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:25:57 PM (554851557)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5BFDEB1F-1C08-4E42-970E-A3483CBF4880

Message: You sound like bush in Iraq and Clinton in libya □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:29:27 PM (554851767)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2729C74C-244C-4C9E-8FF3-FAD11E2401B5

Message: LOL

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:30:22 PM (554851822)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9DEC43CC-6315-4DB5-BDEF-A99B46084244

Message: You guys are the best at it. . I am looking to its impact in Europe . Again

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:31:09 PM (554851869)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3789113F-EB93-4A69-8480-56BC4F1B8A5E

Message: Kristalnacht always has the big fire. symbols that cause many not to listen further

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:33:26 PM (554852006)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9589F7B0-0C9D-4601-87C7-89664AAEE92E

Message: Kristalnacht is NOV 9. 1938. A little close don't you think

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:34:07 PM (554852047)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2694E717-6C09-48A7-A1BE-F338C11C41EE

Message: Opening night

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:34:20 PM (554852060)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 159A140A-FBAF-44DF-85AE-3A44752BD32A

Message: Considered the beginning of the holocaust .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:34:39 PM (554852079)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 08DD3F0B-A899-465A-8989-416243F30D89

Message: Thats one way to describe it.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:35:18 PM (554852118)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B8B0A26F-ED59-4F45-BDF8-A489D829C367

Message: Come join us at Auschwitz , opening night. Special

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:35:47 PM (554852147)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 102C165D-2565-467B-B587-BC918EEB8767

Message: Byob

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:36:03 PM (554852163)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 76020844-66B2-4C46-8972-8A8E10D85351

Message: Wow

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:36:42 PM (554852202)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B4E2362F-2A65-4EBB-B2A4-B789026503E1

Message: mid terms Almost eighty years to the day.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:37:43 PM (554852263)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5F8E997E-3206-407F-BFE7-00B3F6716B1D

Message: Btw , tom and Henry believe that china wants to weaponnize and control their consumer base.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:37:46 PM (554852266)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 81F5411C-0DE8-4330-B94E-EF621FE1D574

Message: Incredible

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:38:14 PM (554852294)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 61114E2F-EE10-4A61-B2F3-2013E8DFAD13

Message: Weaponize as in stop buying western goods

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:40:22 PM (554852422)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1BE15CDB-415E-491C-9E7A-C4B45C3B554D

Message: All consumers digitized . Evaluated , they get points for certain behaviors . This is the next ten year plan. They say if you want our 500 million people buying X. We want Y .. and if xi says no Microsoft products. Its not like Donald asking people not to buy Toyotas. In china. The next day , no Microsoft products sell. . genius

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:40:59 PM (554852459)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CE30C268-861B-44A8-8B89-7BF341C8FDED

Message: Total control

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:41:24 PM (554852484)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6668499D-EBF4-46C1-A8C0-50A398925DA2

Message: xi has moved the party ABOVE govt. . lots of tentacles. . they used to be side by side.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:41:54 PM (554852514)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7C0D0BB9-566C-4330-9EB6-CF0E306BAE8D

Message: Total control-- it's what we have going for us

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:42:14 PM (554852534)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A7CA5F4C-8F3B-430D-8252-8CD0544D8855

Message: 60 million in charge of 1.5 billion

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:46:55 PM (554852815)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ABCB9BB2-2306-4C90-BA66-A4ED9FB8C26C

Message: Tom was the the top of the news in china. Xi , believes he has a better way to govern that he will be able to convince the world that the democratic US. Model. DOES NOT WORK. So he will offer an alternative system. Putting the belt road , made in china 2025 . And not allowing different views from that of the party . All purchases can be directed monitored and like a video game , the individual gets social reward points. Very clever

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:48:25 PM (554852905)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 74AD7177-91A2-40C1-B42E-357932A5CDAC

Message: Xi said he had a better way to govern ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:48:48 PM (554852928)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8216B537-4898-4761-ADD0-38ED4155588E

Message: Yes a new form of govt for the future

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:50:02 PM (554853002)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C71ACE5B-C514-41F5-9D3E-2D4E000D9815

Message: Feel free to reach out to Tom for a download directly. He likes you .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 02:50:14 PM (554853014)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3738CA01-FCD0-4587-B16A-D273192E403D

Message: Thanks

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 02:57:36 PM (554853456)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 87B3B62C-12E1-427B-B7AD-E33A6D57FFE1

Message: Also keep in mind that right after the burning of kristalnacht , Goebels released his move. . it was the eternal jew.. / my ex girlfriend used to say she wanted to make a move taking off only the " w" and make it the eternal J E

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 03:02:25 PM (554853745)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 85662439-D895-4674-8C79-8E8946E06940

Message: She meant the 'internal'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/01/18 03:02:43 PM (554853763)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 36EBAA41-6412-460A-8888-A0B73A79E5DC

Message: Now you're talking DARK

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/01/18 03:07:06 PM (554854026)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 167298ED-7BFE-435F-9899-510F09CDAA32

Message: American Dharma baby

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 04:00:22 AM (554900422)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89E8B489-E9F1-4343-A028-BC66C40B8F8C

Message: At least get your blood taken. 15 minutes .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 04:00:53 AM (554900453)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A088CAE1-7E94-4924-9122-A9107BDA6629

Message: Next few months you will need your energy and stamina. No reason not to prepare

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/02/18 04:24:01 AM (554901841)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2B5942FA-6BE8-4B9B-BF9D-4A9A21B19AB9

Message: I know I have to do this

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 04:24:53 AM (554901893)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 12F53C12-7302-432B-AE0A-9C467178EDF5

Message: I m encouraging you to get from " knowing " to doing □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/02/18 04:25:51 AM (554901951)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2217D65D-0028-480E-BBBD-4B4ECFE28531

Message: u sound sometimes like my blessed , departed mother

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 04:29:10 AM (554902150)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 914963FC-B9F5-49D7-A187-1030A8B6115F

Message: Self organizing systems . revolutions. Start with knowing. Discipline separates out the winners from the hopefuls . Seriously , no excuses. You are important in many ways , no more though than to yourself

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 04:29:33 AM (554902173)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F4F39FDD-E8AA-4F9D-985A-354B10DA4F7E

Message: Sorry to be a noodge

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 04:32:03 AM (554902323)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E6E38FF-1767-49C7-95A4-34C9E7B2A051

Message: Especially a psa test

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/02/18 04:35:22 AM (554902522)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D54D9DC2-0FF6-45FB-891D-FD3F8B351093

Message: Can I do this tomorrow afternoon ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 04:36:02 AM (554902562)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2816A68B-8D35-4E78-A4A2-87EB93BD1197

Message: Time/ ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 04:37:01 AM (554902621)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 81353DA9-631F-423D-B326-40AEBC687099

Message: And so we are clear the reasons are only to catch things early if need be . Often waiting is a good thing as you have more info. . however in biology , you don't want to wait until its now too late to stop

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/02/18 04:38:48 AM (554902728)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5E016DF7-4B4D-45DE-B9CB-3066D67E239F

Message: Agree-- although I'm an idiot and superstitious about all this

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 04:42:33 AM (554902953)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 80060BF7-6070-4734-B58A-0DBD77A3987F

Message: Im aware . And I don't trust any doctors or lawyers. ANY. , however , one of the advantages of the global elite , is that they live longer. No worry , you can be dark and still prefer to live. :)Call Bernie on his cell directly to set . [redacted]

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/02/18 04:44:15 AM (554903055)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 09296F81-3729-46A0-BACB-06492F32DC89

Message: Thanks

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/02/18 04:44:26 AM (554903066)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 13B6EF2E-2B85-466B-B4F4-27E05FAB6411

Message: Bernie last name ??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 04:44:30 AM (554903070)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 30B99F1A-92E6-4B9B-B6EB-9CB57EDFD724

Message: Kruger

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 04:46:06 AM (554903166)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0A47D252-3880-41A9-B867-9A8850E89735

Message: As you might imagine I believe in top- down economics. . without you at the top , there is no movement. ZERO !

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 05:22:58 AM (554905378)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C1871C1E-92FF-4DB2-8577-09AA9DEA4FA3

Message: When you say " departed " I think of scorcese not your mother

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/02/18 05:45:00 AM (554906700)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7764C7FB-BF99-4CC9-9CC9-7CC3F922C1E5

Message: LOL

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 07:30:16 AM (554913016)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AF4D5B17-2F67-4A5F-80C3-443BF09AAB20

Message: Alternatively , if you take a trip to palm beach. All bloods etc. can be done my head of Mayo Clinic a good friend. . reminder money medicine law. _ JEWS only

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/02/18 07:36:14 AM (554913374)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F64842C3-E71C-4973-A46D-B6BA3BFF8D21

Message: I've only had Jewish doctors and lawyers since leaving the Navy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 07:40:18 AM (554913618)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D2D0A037-8EED-4DAA-A649-10AA2402A80E

Message: Bernie not available until Wednesday. Though im sure we can organize to drain you of some of that vampire blood

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/02/18 07:43:56 AM (554913836)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2C08F2FA-055A-4765-BB19-1455B08B5D80

Message: Not blood --- ice water -- that boils on contact

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 07:46:07 AM (554913967)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8AAD5C77-E839-4F5A-9D11-774C5315F918

Message: I didn't know bill burke was circumsised. Though im sure he feels as if he is still undergoing the procedure

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 10:37:26 AM (554924246)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89F965A3-61DB-4475-9055-CB42B4C7560E

Message: Do you want to go to the Venice film festival. Should we try for a Europe trip around then?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/02/18 12:02:07 PM (554929327)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A41B940F-5C44-4FA7-ACD4-D7285F8A9DA6

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 12:57:19 PM (554932639)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3312564E-F2CB-47E2-9AB1-CB249C0449C8

Message: Cool .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 06:07:02 PM (554951222)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D99468C5-2CE5-4BE7-BF12-8EB5F7D8718B

Message: Are you around next wed eve or any time thurs . Ny ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/02/18 06:08:34 PM (554951314)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4533A9C7-2AA6-4B06-846E-4A86B5AC76BA

Message: No -- DC

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 06:09:07 PM (554951347)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F8BE3C6A-ABF0-4F42-846E-FC5773A4AEBD

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 06:13:15 PM (554951595)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 27B05962-6EC5-40CF-8A95-C564D7C535AA

Message: Jared next up to bat

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/02/18 06:13:30 PM (554951610)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5D822232-95D9-4B41-9F7F-84FFB321DE39

Message: ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 06:14:01 PM (554951641)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B0464829-C71F-4955-8C1F-48E3EABEB984

Message: [redacted]

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/02/18 06:17:53 PM (554951873)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C34F4F0C-CC8A-4A8C-AFE1-2C4FFE646313

Message: No rush

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/03/18 04:39:06 AM (554989146)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 28194BC3-EE77-4F43-B8F1-80EE91E1D09F

Message: Give me 2 minutes and will call back

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/03/18 05:09:35 AM (554990975)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6846CC4E-6B7A-4E6E-89E8-AD0570DEC06C

Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/03/18 05:16:51 AM (554991411)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0A40E6CE-1359-4A0B-9282-42A98AD2FF69

Message: I sent you an interesting email

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/03/18 05:19:33 AM (554991573)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E96BB36E-A44A-4280-9782-A698713324CD

Message: Who is that from

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/03/18 05:19:44 AM (554991584)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5F90BEC6-0FAE-4D87-B093-0AC69AAEA8E0

Message: Call when free

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/03/18 05:20:51 AM (554991651)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DFFCF9DD-CDE7-42E4-95E2-7E4B574BC26E

Message: Unlimited money

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/03/18 09:00:46 AM (555004846)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 09F518E7-A2F1-49FA-89AC-E1ADA1F9878A

Message: Its not that I know you better than your ex wives its I know the exact tactics that I use

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/03/18 09:00:58 AM (555004858)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 91927ED7-8D0F-4A36-BC79-4947840810B0

Message: To no avail

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/03/18 09:42:12 AM (555007332)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE741DED-00AB-4208-B5A8-61E8BC674A30

Message: we r getting there

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/03/18 09:43:31 AM (555007411)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DF7C63CA-7263-4DA6-B536-4322B29A0CEC

Message: Xeno's paradox

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/03/18 01:12:26 PM (555019946)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE8F9863-BBAB-45E6-B50E-BF915CADB1C6

Message: If I throw a ball at the wall, when it has travelled halfway, it still has half the distance to travel. As it continues, the fraction left to travel continues i.e. one quarter to go, one eighth to go, one sixteenth to go, etc. since the

denominator of the distance continues to double... I am thinking mathematicaly speaking, the ball never reaches the wall.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/04/18 06:10:37 AM (555081037)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 764E8DF9-B14F-4529-8EAF-CC324AFF099F

Message: Very zen-- what am I missing , I'm just a dumb cracker

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/04/18 06:11:13 AM (555081073)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B50A500D-38B9-464C-8A51-D34FF9FE6643

Message: Its like you going to the doctor. You will agree to go halfway there. Then halfway again. . never actually having to give blood

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/04/18 06:11:32 AM (555081092)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 98F0F51C-A16D-4EB9-9F1D-9B5352AD3892

Message: □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/04/18 06:14:00 AM (555081240)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 47A645DC-0C2E-4F5E-858A-CE42970A69C9

Message: Cracker gets it now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/04/18 06:16:20 AM (555081380)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1A0C6541-7C37-466F-A79E-50A68AE08CE3

Message: If you can come on wed eve or thurs I can ask miro to join and help strategize. . He will run the European security counsel. All fun. I would like he

and you to be able to meet leaders. , I bring nothing to the table at this time

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/04/18 02:03:43 PM (555109423)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4B0D0E2B-0FFF-43E2-9485-4FE29E1677A8

Message: Any idea of this weeks schedule. ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/04/18 02:06:19 PM (555109579)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2306C867-3D07-43E4-8F97-4A3F71DA6A58

Message: Sunday thru Tuesday CT/NYC ; wed for next 10 days DC

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/04/18 02:08:36 PM (555109716)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F5E89CB0-B14F-4206-B1F2-D01CB19270B8

Message: Is your plan to return tues eve to dc . Or wed morn?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/04/18 02:09:21 PM (555109761)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 828D5DD2-8F06-45DC-B859-077ADB0536C9

Message: Thinking late Tuesday night ; what's up???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/04/18 02:13:39 PM (555110019)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB5D7773-111B-483B-B2D3-138FEE2FBDA4

Message: Trying to find time for a f2f to make Europe productive . Im in Caribbean currently , I was planning to come to New York wed. Afternoon, but if you think useful I could try to come late tues

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/04/18 02:20:20 PM (555110420)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 80C3C666-8A79-4870-9CD3-945B509021A6

Message: Would love to grab breakfast with u on Wednesday but don't want to have u change your sked

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/04/18 02:21:10 PM (555110470)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8A9540DB-66F4-402D-B693-0D0FA407CDCD

Message: Will play it be ear, no worry ,

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/04/18 02:23:51 PM (555110631)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4D88A9A0-7915-4AF7-A42B-350298B7F5CE

Message: Cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/05/18 03:37:40 AM (555158260)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EDAB919C-E967-44D2-938C-C8C66A0D9157

Message: https://www.politico.com/story/2018/08/04/campaigns-dark-money-groups-donors-anonymous-ruling-762440

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/05/18 03:37:47 AM (555158267)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 919D4060-9845-4001-B4B1-7F0D91EECD6A

Message: Ill see you for breakfast wednesday

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/05/18 04:44:52 AM (555162292)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4804BB67-381C-44B8-A74D-3A53FC461AA3

Message: 7 am?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/05/18 04:45:22 AM (555162322)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 93992063-5BEA-4383-AB1B-B003810380CE

Message: yes. Ive ordered extra cheese for your omelet

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/05/18 04:48:50 AM (555162530)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5192CEBA-21FF-4E69-A4F2-DFC8451C7665

Message: Why I'm so out of shape

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/05/18 07:22:54 AM (555171774)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6F6D66C8-553E-42D1-BE47-C4BD58BFE9EC

Message: I think you should meet brad Karp. Head of the law firm of Paul Weiss. Serious guys.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/05/18 08:09:45 AM (555174585)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 075D580C-9BF7-4EB0-8369-BA8BC8EA67D6

Message: Steve Bannon's Big Plan For Europe Has Some Big Flaws. By Akbar Shahid Ahmed. Can this really be his name? Sounds like an snl skit

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/05/18 08:38:39 AM (555176319)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 884A2AF5-5D3D-4CA6-A977-2BA798AA33C9

Message: Very gay Pakistani

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/06/18 08:16:15 AM (555261375)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB5E0AE1-44AF-4194-8425-B546C0EB3496

Message: Im flying in tonight instead. Breakfast tomorrow? We can also do Wednesday

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/06/18 08:19:11 AM (555261551)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FBDE03F0-6A93-469A-B8A3-705B0F072F25

Message: Let me work it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/06/18 08:19:47 AM (555261587)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 411A0F2D-34AF-4324-8E83-AA6E1BBA602B

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/06/18 08:20:16 AM (555261616)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 993834E0-8D02-474A-902E-55532091F636

Message: pencil in tomorrow @ 7

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/06/18 08:20:20 AM (555261620)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EC1449DB-11B8-4047-B8F4-F6317B5A61C5

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/06/18 06:47:49 PM (555299269)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2B14AC50-C132-45B8-9BF3-238FE8F6741E

Message: 7 am?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/06/18 06:50:41 PM (555299441)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 333A7995-0FFD-4A67-9224-E638BF205D96

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/06/18 06:52:57 PM (555299577)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 94684662-C911-4A9F-B94B-2DF719B59489

Message: Great

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-08-20\[redacted] on 2018-08-20 at 17.35.02.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 08/20/18 02:35:02 PM (556493702)

End Time: 08/20/18 04:21:47 PM (556500107)

Last Message ID: 18968

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/20/18 02:35:02 PM (556493702)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D1AB57D4-977D-4ED9-A62B-6E7BF4E24C5D

Message: Do you want Woody dinner Friday?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/20/18 03:01:00 PM (556495260)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A46B6395-7706-42D5-82A8-2F47F64B454C

Message: Early?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/20/18 03:01:09 PM (556495269)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FA97BAB1-065A-47A3-83F4-3315DAF37DE9

Message: 7

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/20/18 03:01:15 PM (556495275)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A4FB2FC2-B9DA-421E-9966-1E23A9BE8BCA

Message: I have to get out to Hamptons n

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/20/18 03:01:19 PM (556495279)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7FC72F9A-A3AC-4E17-8850-D17F1E963FB2

Message: Yes that works

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/20/18 03:01:23 PM (556495283)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1EBBABBF-B328-4C9B-A1AA-34A779F84985

Message: Where?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/20/18 03:01:39 PM (556495299)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8310FA8F-4CF4-4255-9480-C52B1C6FA70E

Message: Ill move it to 630 if you prefer. My house

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/20/18 03:02:35 PM (556495355)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CD938BA5-2904-4544-989C-EFD8D4DC5CBB

Message: Yes 630 would be best

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/20/18 03:02:38 PM (556495358)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A0B77C45-94EE-403E-9DCB-375BB4E07201

Message: Perfect

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/20/18 03:02:47 PM (556495367)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B2362D6D-AEA2-4228-B6E3-3BAD146FEA6C

Message: Done

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/20/18 03:08:11 PM (556495691)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 39973DBB-61C6-49B3-9B31-4C788B2A67C6

Message: Jeans and tee shirt ok

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/20/18 03:15:05 PM (556496105)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 04831D09-454F-4368-B095-32D6C60478AD

Message: Perfect

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/20/18 03:15:15 PM (556496115)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE7CF877-1FC0-460D-839E-A8CC7E96FC51

Message: I look forward to it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/20/18 03:16:33 PM (556496193)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9C9B0274-8B83-422F-BD9B-56DE2E7F786D

Message: Is there someone else that is fun that you might want to bring. ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/20/18 04:18:40 PM (556499920)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 86358BD0-C747-4766-8E55-443420018D1F

Message: Let me think about. Is he bringing his wife?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/20/18 04:19:01 PM (556499941)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7722349B-057D-436C-BEE6-9F21E5782723

Message: He is the only person allowed

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/20/18 04:19:48 PM (556499988)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FB0CCE67-2F82-4E75-BBA8-E7D51319CDE1

Message: I gotcha. Ok I will come solo. I some point I need to make peace with Bannon. Let's discuss how

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/20/18 04:20:05 PM (556500005)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4B763159-74B7-475C-A44D-C2BB07D2AE89

Message: McGahn effed over Trump.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/20/18 04:20:23 PM (556500023)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1F6120B0-43CE-4BA1-926F-071D64A68F17

Message: Will he stay?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 08/20/18 04:21:47 PM (556500107)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 93251A12-8325-4A44-9AC6-526E6EEF89C7

Message: Caught in bind now. Doesn't want to let him go and cause more damage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 08/20/18 04:22:16 PM (556500136)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FAF6DE8F-E67A-4121-834E-8AFBC42FCA5C

Message: k

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-08-23\Eva on 2018-08-19 at 01.17.51.ichat
Service: iMessage
Start Time: 08/18/18 10:17:51 PM (556348671)
End Time: 08/23/18 07:20:19 AM (556726819)
Last Message ID: 19078
Chat Room:
Participants: jee, Eva
Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]
Messages -

Sender:[redacted]
Time: 08/18/18 10:17:51 PM (556348671)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 75F683DD-09EF-440B-B8CB-FFBC99B4E1BB
Message: In NYC... you here?

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 08/19/18 10:13:21 AM (556391601)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5B573BBA-2627-408E-B158-D6481CE1EBD1
Message: In Palm Beach?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 08/19/18 10:16:09 AM (556391769)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: A214C7EF-B242-496C-9E20-F0627FBF90DE
Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 08/19/18 10:18:30 AM (556391910)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: DE51E4D6-9721-4248-8E87-585F1C4A0F74
Message: I just called....

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 08/19/18 10:48:29 AM (556393709)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 34270792-9451-424A-83AC-65B375CD4DC1
Message: 1 hr more

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 08/19/18 05:42:38 PM (556418558)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: E0727F94-1C83-4995-AD0D-996A37F550D5
Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 08/19/18 07:05:59 PM (556423559)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 29C305CC-6399-4785-9E61-00C15FCD45F4
Message: Wow

Sender: [redacted]
Time: 08/19/18 07:07:44 PM (556423664)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: B8C6C074-8F54-4EF2-ACE6-35FCA7A71A9E
Message: Wedding in Bogota

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 08/21/18 11:03:28 AM (556567408)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 87D25B33-716C-4B88-A03F-2829DA876C5C
Message: On the news someone blew tires and will need to have emergency landing

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 08/21/18 11:05:28 AM (556567528)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: F4417737-4978-4F0D-B06A-4865931805B0
Message: □□

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 08/21/18 11:13:18 AM (556567998)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 2088D539-B242-4D8D-A727-E005AD2829D6
Message: Rappers post malone?

Sender: +16463880059

Time: 08/21/18 11:15:20 AM (556568120)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 6230ABED-F0EB-4365-8C55-16889CCB1A70
Message: The name is Post Malone

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 08/21/18 11:15:38 AM (556568138)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: FE9660D7-0CD3-4559-AE6B-E83EFF746C05
Message: Typical

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 08/21/18 01:18:09 PM (556575489)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5C0A3AC3-55D8-432C-9A0D-B2AD6FACCC03
Message: Plane landed safe

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 08/21/18 01:27:42 PM (556576062)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: FF39F063-1FCB-4C01-9890-4663211268DB
Message:

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 08/21/18 02:22:44 PM (556579364)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 2A92ED55-2026-425C-824C-E87DCDBC6B5B
Message: Explain Cohen for me.... Will he ho to jail...? Will he help to eat out Trump??

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 08/21/18 02:22:49 PM (556579369)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: E2179499-B147-47E6-B252-CB0B5E13B403
Message: Rat out

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 08/21/18 02:23:03 PM (556579383)
Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 70EFE6BC-6930-4BA1-AC3F-ADD9D2591D9F
Message: Yes for 5 yrs

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 08/21/18 02:23:22 PM (556579402)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: DF0208CD-5615-4894-B68C-0B313E19CAC7
Message: He already did

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 08/21/18 02:23:51 PM (556579431)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: FBAA6033-E3D4-4415-ADB3-1943592CB3C9
Message: Wow!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 08/21/18 02:23:59 PM (556579439)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: F419827B-4B8D-4AC6-85F5-C8FD7E93673A
Message: Cohen said he broke the law at trumps direction

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 08/21/18 02:24:36 PM (556579476)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 5F8BE06A-0CFD-4BE6-A425-0FBDD858423B
Message: □□□□

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 08/23/18 06:58:47 AM (556725527)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 0768787E-D642-439E-A245-F4612987300A
Message: How is it?

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 08/23/18 07:02:13 AM (556725733)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2FEC3311-7477-429F-B46E-D8BC05246AC6
Message: □

Sender: +[redacted]
Time: 08/23/18 07:20:19 AM (556726819)
Flags: 1060865
Is Read: Yes
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 84252D59-B238-41A0-83FB-980221535781
Message: Any of the bank stocks worth buying? I own BARCLAYS..... it has done bad□

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com
Time: 08/23/18 07:24:03 AM (556727043)
Flags: 1085445
Is Read: No
Is Invitation: No
GUID: 900C39DA-6FA8-434C-99DA-C4CBABCE87F3
Message: Don't like

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-09-23\[redacted] on 2018-09-23 at 12.49.22.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 09/17/18 05:47:56 AM (558881276)

End Time: 09/23/18 09:49:22 AM (559414162)

Last Message ID: 20972

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 05:47:56 AM (558881276)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 927CBF06-ADAF-4F19-82F0-A64F925813BE

Message: Yes, I did laugh at trumps'. "Tremendously wet !!. " I liked you pounding on come out and be heard. Re op ed. . imagine if these admin officials are part of the military . Do you want them not to follow orders.? Its ridiculous for the press to defend.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 05:51:23 AM (558881483)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FE15DEA5-6810-402F-BD7D-F766BD913F60

Message: Exactly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 05:53:28 AM (558881608)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FC111DC5-7D7F-4320-85CF-AF14782DF987

Message: In addition I thought the dem Kelly was no slouch but in typical female form blabbed. Yes make the republicans fight on all hundred seats. Your suggestions of forget 20 or them and focus. Pincer like on the ones that count

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 05:56:29 AM (558881789)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D292CF88-5257-47D6-886B-17D47BE54E8B

Message: 'I also would develop one of your knee jerk answers. as powerful as. " I need no one to tell me how to raise an empowered woman". To the personal atttacks on you, " this isnt about me. Its about Blah blah.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 05:57:51 AM (558881871)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 226110C5-6D07-4944-B4A2-1B0A30660E46

Message: Its not about giving me a platform. , its about ... its not about me being a propagandist. Its about . . ITs not about trying to label me a racist a homophobic or ..... Its about ..

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 05:58:10 AM (558881890)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 40645264-941D-48DD-A3FB-5F4A0628ADB9

Message: POW!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 05:59:24 AM (558881964)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E7D66DCC-4182-4DFF-B96C-FD046A6DCBD4

Message: I feel like Mickey in Rocky 1

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 05:59:24 AM (558881964)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 61E1AA2B-A718-4AAB-957F-BA81DD82603E

Message: Love it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 05:59:47 AM (558881987)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1E9FA6AB-991F-4523-A4B1-DFDEA5E736BB

Message: I need to fuck up my ears

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 06:00:08 AM (558882008)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E495AA1F-F328-42D3-86C9-6E98A79AF434

Message: "I got this knowledge it's all up here ..."

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 06:01:57 AM (558882117)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5B60DE9B-F400-40BA-B4B4-2D262BE87CCF

Message: He is clearly more lion then tin man and scarecrow, . Though he might have no brain or heart , must admit he has courage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 06:02:08 AM (558882128)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4128BF7C-274B-421B-96BB-E0D0DD4209ED

Message: □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 06:05:01 AM (558882301)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D5B68CDB-0894-41ED-9B78-D7B60302CB90

Message: "Courage is the most important of all the virtues-- because upon it all the others rest"

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 06:06:56 AM (558882416)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BC188952-2F8F-42A1-A31A-98D4F23849C0

Message: Look familiar

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 06:07:15 AM (558882435)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F2009DE1-58B7-4B18-81AD-2FDB3582932A

Message: Love that guy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 06:07:18 AM (558882438)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 56E6E9C3-41A4-48E2-9477-0411F0BAEBFE

Message: Gary cohn

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 06:07:29 AM (558882449)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 83276E25-2AFD-42EE-A995-E64AF10031D0

Message: And rob porter

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 06:07:48 AM (558882468)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C9E488E0-550F-441C-B4A9-8AAFF5A74622

Message: lol

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 07:06:05 AM (558885965)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FD599A0C-7D0A-43B6-B0DC-C2F8689E68AA

Message: You might even consider setting it up with hannity, what do you say when they call you/.//. etc

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 07:11:31 AM (558886291)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F0E97339-6036-4BC8-BE71-8C9A6D623C09

Message: wear the ACCUSATION of racism etc etc etc

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 07:15:53 AM (558886553)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1C0F6646-E79C-46AC-A949-B9987AAF21F6

Message: But take the time , you argue your statements were taken " out of context "/. Too vague . " I believe if people void of ideas and fear of fair debate need to resort to cheap name calling- you have won. And wear that WIN with pride. ..

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 07:17:36 AM (558886656)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C57390A8-172E-4035-B8E1-F17568B9E6F9

Message: Not the accusation . Wear the fact that they are bereft of argument and must dig down into an empty debate barrel and come up only with the sludge of name calling. , wipe on , wipe off

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 07:19:17 AM (558886757)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A3E8985C-4794-4798-A2A7-08BE28F8511A

Message: Killer

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 07:24:03 AM (558887043)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9503FAF2-F957-4277-8743-270347849937

Message: People fearful of debating the results , the facts . Isis gone. Markets up .

Currency super strong. . sanctions on Russia. Iran and other purveyors of destabilization on their heels. . these people say don't give him a platform. Don't listen . Don't debate. Don't look at the facts. Call him names. He's a racist. fascist. Mysogonist . Dont let him speak. !

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 07:24:25 AM (558887065)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EEE815E1-08EC-4CA4-97C3-15A08D54E283

Message: How great

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 07:29:25 AM (558887365)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CDED5271-3389-4567-8F6A-58451D4F5F7F

Message: Do you want to attack me . ? do you want to defend the right of people to subvert . A duly elected official? Stand up , have a debate. I don't hide in the shadows. You might not agree with me, but thats ok. Lets discuss it. I don't attack you personally , and see no reason that you should attack me. Lets discuss FACTS . You don't like mothers being separated from their children. It happens everyday to people that commit crimes . Everyday . . they are separated . In Chicago those parents are killed in the street. They are permanently separated. . Focus . !!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 09:30:47 AM (558894647)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 546E5B81-0FE4-467E-9CE8-F50357030931

Message: Trump is not Abe Lincoln. But they have similar internal politics to contend. With , these silly analogies are just that silly.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 09:31:03 AM (558894663)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 77A3A0A1-EDAB-4EC6-BF57-EC830E5BC858

Message: Silly is good word. Not too harsh. But no one likes to be called silly

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 09:40:32 AM (558895232)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0FBF703D-609E-4509-BCC8-DFEDBA85A4BB

Message: He is Lincoln in this regard

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 09:44:36 AM (558895476)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C37F4563-7350-4AFB-A298-132B47BAB46A

Message: They share similar problems. That is it. They try to conflate the person from the problems they face

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 10:17:28 AM (558897448)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 24226DE7-BE93-452E-BEA4-91061FAF74AC

Message: How quickly they forget.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 10:17:31 AM (558897451)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CFDD9CCE-B48A-43E2-8DC4-5DD8088F7D4C

Message: https://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/2013/11/22/crystal-mangum-duke-lacrosse-rape-accuser-guilty-murder/3680701/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 10:18:27 AM (558897507)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EC7E4B7C-F093-471A-8052-CEF4A8407FAE

Message: Providencal timing

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 10:18:47 AM (558897527)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D3E6BD3A-74EE-43DA-98F1-6B09F97039E2

Message: Oh from 2013

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 10:19:24 AM (558897564)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 044069B6-23EA-4CAC-A8F3-785C260C6D84

Message: Yes, and UVA rolling stone. Believe the woman mantra. Led to havoc

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 10:21:04 AM (558897664)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2D9FE319-EC52-4EC5-BFD7-D8E3070D57C7

Message: Havoc : but payback for 10k years

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 10:27:59 AM (558898079)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 09AC793C-8E90-4410-B5BC-1774F87475CA

Message: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vH7fZK7-x_o

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 10:28:00 AM (558898080)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 32D955FE-7EB3-4F30-BBCD-0064C678ACBC

Message: . Have your guys snip

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 05:01:00 PM (558921660)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B5FD8858-33DC-4DD5-9403-CAF283CC25D5

Message: About Terje A film version of Oslo has been announced, to be written for the screen by J. T. Rogers and produced by Marc Platt, whose credits include Bridge of Spies, La La Land, and Wicked.[19] Rogers indicated, in a television interview, that the motion picture may include some details of the story omitted from the play.[1]

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/17/18 05:54:39 PM (558924879)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EAF691A3-A9C8-49FD-9D30-6C331DF3A29D

Message: ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/17/18 10:38:07 PM (558941887)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DEE9FF04-68F4-48A1-AF67-B08E2858B7F7

Message: Your breakfast

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/18/18 04:05:26 AM (558961526)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A3AC2615-5E77-4178-8BC1-6E3A079283D0

Message: ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 04:38:36 AM (558963516)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A1F3DDEF-4FC9-4922-B632-E2C44E6FD54D

Message: I thought you were having breakfast with my friend terry . The oslo play and now future movie is about him

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/18/18 04:39:42 AM (558963582)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FF59F2D9-8C71-4195-BE0F-E329232B49BB

Message: Yes 830

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 04:40:17 AM (558963617)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7505FDDF-6ED6-4839-8654-D2183B232DF0

Message: I sent you the article on "Oslo " the play

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 04:45:34 AM (558963934)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1AFD8427-D148-4EED-BF36-AF6B160A045C

Message: I love the image of you meeting with the Nobel peace prize person. How funny

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/18/18 05:30:13 AM (558966613)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ED9E6382-D2BC-4DD0-BC2A-0DE915416430

Message: I'm all about peace

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 07:21:59 AM (558973319)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1752B398-3E0A-4205-A0B0-C70B62A1331B

Message: in her book, Daniels also delivers a below-the-belt blow to the size-obsessed Trump, describing his genitals in lurid detail. She says his penis is "smaller than average," but "not freakishly small." "He knows he has an unusual penis," Daniels claims. "It has a huge mushroom head. Like a toadstool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 07:22:22 AM (558973342)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0E78EADA-E3C7-4C27-A36F-141948D0B866

Message: He s not going to like that

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 09/18/18 07:45:03 AM (558974703)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0AC5CEC3-FE48-4167-973F-147E66B9337E

Message: WTF

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 07:47:32 AM (558974852)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F3E4080D-53BF-41D4-8DCE-09D92AE382E6

Message: Do you know when you are back from Europe yet

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/18/18 07:47:47 AM (558974867)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1FA60CDA-B821-45EF-83AE-71A54C17D14D

Message: 28 sept

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 07:48:19 AM (558974899)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1CDCB30D-754D-49E8-BDB9-DF351A7AD999

Message: HBJ 28th or 29?

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 09/18/18 07:48:40 AM (558974920)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0917ED61-3DF0-419F-BF45-9C7E21DB2E69

Message: Saturday 29 sept???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 07:48:46 AM (558974926)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B4CAFB7C-6F29-4B9F-AB0A-CBCE3F988EFB

Message: Ok , ny

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 07:49:05 AM (558974945)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0A42B513-4B66-4BC2-9969-8AC9464A7CF0

Message: Ill set

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/18/18 07:49:16 AM (558974956)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3390B896-DC47-47B2-A945-B5FD770B28F8

Message: Thanks

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/18/18 08:10:33 AM (558976233)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8DB081B5-6049-42AB-BB30-6D3EF1321DA7

Message: Shit is insane right now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 08:38:35 AM (558977915)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9C294DCC-8BF3-4DF6-AC7E-283B32B514A4

Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 10:44:43 AM (558985483)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4A9B4970-4320-486E-9DF8-ABBC7928C911

Message: Hey. I know you have Europe plans. But if I were you , id be in New York during UNGA. Then im also going to Europe on the 30th. . miro will be in New York as will Terje with every foreign minister. . just a thought

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/18/18 10:45:44 AM (558985544)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 69C0EA36-A291-40E0-9BE5-98CAC18789A5

Message: I've committed to these events in Italy and Czech Republic -- working it now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 10:46:54 AM (558985614)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D8E8FE43-4056-43F1-8F53-8ADAF801EBEC

Message: I know

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 11:19:39 AM (558987579)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 87C69B54-A77C-4CA2-BDF5-A69F517DF76E

Message: Italy yes. But new York is the only place to be that week,

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 11:33:09 AM (558988389)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DC12A61C-3361-48DE-9DAE-1D2AC4C685E4

Message: Davos guys, china guys, miro . Terje . Middle easterners etc

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/18/18 11:55:08 AM (558989708)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 38E0545B-58BE-47BC-9DFD-BE9EF5B0AB29

Message: Yes-- but don't think it's right for me to be meeting them during UNGA week in NYC -- isn't that for govt officials ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 11:55:49 AM (558989749)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 98B5C5A6-A803-47BB-9026-39D8F8E7E7DA

Message: No they are here to meet non govt. that they can meet govt all year

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/18/18 11:58:10 AM (558989890)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5BE523EB-D85F-4C5D-A22D-5866F85F28AF

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 12:57:33 PM (558993453)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9068411D-796F-4AB2-92B4-27265B748757

Message: Its the Super Bowl. And you are off to play in a college game in europe

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 12:57:35 PM (558993455)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 53C5283E-4B35-4DD6-A24D-ED23209ADCEE

Message: □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/18/18 02:19:30 PM (558998370)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A027EC50-79F3-4082-A1A8-21E58A491A62

Message: They are here all week correct ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 02:19:52 PM (558998392)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B7D10E5-B320-48D2-AF1F-419E23D8D226

Message: Yes till 29

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/18/18 02:31:03 PM (558999063)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D0FC9C4C-A8EA-4023-8809-31C7B61E282B

Message: https://www.wsj.com/articles/germanys-intelligence-chief-loses-post-over-comments-on-far-right-protests-1537291148

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/19/18 07:04:06 AM (559058646)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1A16343B-45B1-463F-9406-97D3B045FFB3

Message: "Former Vice President Joseph R. Biden assailed President Trump's supporters during a speech Saturday at the annual Human Rights Campaign dinner in Washington, lamenting that 'virulent people' and the 'dregs of society' still had a friend in the White House," T

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/19/18 07:04:29 AM (559058669)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E3B1F1E5-965C-4FF0-A833-B916B5D3054C

Message: Yep--perfect

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/19/18 07:07:35 AM (559058855)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A9A53421-5D56-4B9A-8B01-6864A3619414

Message: When do you leave?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/19/18 07:23:08 AM (559059788)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 389C95CF-805C-44D4-81D2-ECDD5492B4E4

Message: Tomorrow

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/19/18 07:23:24 AM (559059804)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 159881C5-5EC9-44E6-8FC7-9447B5FC8813

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 03:13:44 AM (559131224)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FCE7B6A4-1A01-4669-BBC6-88981D05E3AE

Message: Your times up movement strength. Prophetic in kavanaugh

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 03:13:58 AM (559131238)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D3D01037-5EDB-4ED5-9739-A12D2CEBC64E

Message: Travel safe . Let me know when you plan on returning

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/20/18 03:14:22 AM (559131262)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DD68CCD1-F147-40A5-9CEA-A03157C0A0DD

Message: Scary

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 03:15:53 AM (559131353)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9E667BAB-DEE6-4A32-83FC-1B8510772CF4

Message: every guy can visualize himself siting in that chair , being harangued by Harris Feinstein etc. . did you grab, grope. How many drinks . How often. . can you categorically denie it didn't happen. . yikes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/20/18 03:19:23 AM (559131563)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 383BB263-334F-4E9A-A517-E784C3B76EDD

Message: The victim must be heard and must be believed

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 03:21:05 AM (559131665)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF3A8A29-0512-4A56-AA60-B500D93C1F1A

Message: But as a political move , do the dems get a " good move sir "

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 03:49:24 AM (559133364)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 14A25FFC-DE52-4588-A685-2EE82D381151

Message: are you going to champion citizens party . Or workers party

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/20/18 03:52:13 AM (559133533)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6783F8D8-A368-4D7C-A010-4D4B452A50FD

Message: Yes-- 'The Republican Workers Party'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 04:19:20 AM (559135160)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CBA20551-62B7-4F14-B46E-5197A367CFB0

Message: If you have time to give some blood before you go. The results will be waiting for you return . You CANNOT put your head in the sand. sorry. . I m aware of the superstition and the desire not to confront harsh realities. . thats what friends are for

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 04:19:31 AM (559135171)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 36226CA0-59AA-43D0-ADFC-7B0496C699DE

Message: □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 04:59:15 AM (559137555)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7EEFD95E-8522-40BE-9684-B25614BBECFE

Message: Yes mother

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 04:59:43 AM (559137583)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 125E2DBC-AAFF-4B6F-A800-2A3AE05F8EEE

Message: It all goes to shit , if you are not healthy.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/20/18 05:35:05 AM (559139705)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0AE85A08-BF78-48B3-81B9-5461D99F1E66

Message: I know

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 05:35:27 AM (559139727)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5B999B17-8B12-4C2A-97AF-20E7044A1AD1

Message: Knowing vs doing . Not a close call

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 05:37:05 AM (559139825)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 32B2541F-FBAE-41B4-ABD2-5B20D71B6F74

Message: lucifer with a stroke . Bent horns and all Doesn't look so good .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 05:38:56 AM (559139936)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF37CF5C-9AD5-49D3-A294-93D8F21DD54C

Message: You and I are both relentless. . hang. On hang on. . needs two functional arms

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/20/18 05:44:37 AM (559140277)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FC923368-EAD4-40EA-B9CA-219951539590

Message: my version of talking truth to power. □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/20/18 08:41:31 AM (559150891)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CF959497-C335-4E3B-9281-85997172E965

Message: Received

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/21/18 06:33:38 AM (559229618)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 67D16509-B5BD-40A5-ACF4-53B19AA37E06

Message: Chomsky called me with Lula . From prison . What a world

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/21/18 06:35:53 AM (559229753)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0C705D16-FB30-4DEA-9AC1-AF173F7C1FB2

Message: Tell him my guy is going to win in the first round

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/21/18 06:37:47 AM (559229867)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A1335318-9742-48EB-91B7-3C06041FA56E

Message: During Thursday's press conference, a message from Lula to the Workers Party (PT) regarding the organization's militancy was revealed.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/21/18 06:39:28 AM (559229968)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FDA2F53C-7593-4659-B306-514DA080E530

Message: Bolsonara the real deal

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/21/18 11:43:32 AM (559248212)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 48235A93-B851-4F86-8728-5D897125F75C

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/21/us/politics/rod-rosenstein-wear-wire-25th-amendment.html

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/21/18 11:55:06 AM (559248906)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 386DCE57-53BF-4F4C-AC3B-D3B97C5F3216

Message: Bolsonaro is the REAL deal

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/22/18 04:10:22 AM (559307422)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FE9C3FA0-F1D5-4A40-82FE-D4F15D393F80

Message: http://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/ny-trumo-white-house-funds-legal-bills-manafort-gates-20180921-story.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/22/18 02:23:13 PM (559344193)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 537E4F8D-EDEE-4655-BAB9-1B5A56FA15F2

Message: This judiciary hearing is a trap!! Ive been through many of these. MANY!! She will cry, make sordid allegations. Say she feels bullied, fearful, traumatized. Every thing bad in her life was s result of the rape attempt. Suffered anxiety! Her relationships with men etc. this is a very special skill set needed.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/22/18 02:25:22 PM (559344322)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 62375517-9C4C-44E9-951B-7FF493AE5FA0

Message: Ive sat in kavanaugh chair. Im thinking of November

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/23/18 05:16:03 AM (559397763)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A2726B56-9D6B-455A-9C59-6AA1741F01C9

Message: Trump on Florence 'One of the wettest we've ever seen, from the standpoint of water'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/23/18 05:16:15 AM (559397775)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CB7302B8-B330-4D67-A9D3-835D2CFD71C7

Message: stable

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/23/18 05:51:55 AM (559399915)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3DD253E9-055D-4C55-978C-D8DA81B4EC1B

Message: Very Stable Genius

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/23/18 07:51:18 AM (559407078)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7E2366B8-82AC-4A26-9F49-962F6BBE017B

Message: bromwich no slouch.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/23/18 09:49:22 AM (559414162)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4CA74CDA-2CCC-4FF2-8342-4F8038DCE5BC

Message: you girlfriend is coming for lunch. questions?

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-09-28\[redacted] on 2018-09-28 at 13.40.45.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 09/26/18 11:51:48 AM (559680708)

End Time: 09/28/18 12:56:23 PM (559857383)

Last Message ID: 21168

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/26/18 11:51:48 AM (559680708)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9C4AA0C9-873D-4EE7-AB79-EF0C841ED23D

Message: Red white and blue

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/26/18 12:07:28 PM (559681648)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 87955342-D5A9-45F5-A8E9-A4AF9A0CA65E

Message: Need white 'hair shirt' under it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/26/18 12:26:38 PM (559682798)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CBDA6468-8F3E-4399-BA7A-BC0A7ABDA0A4

Message: we can make it small sp your minions can wear it on their collars like the SS

Sender [redacted]

Time: 09/27/18 02:48:27 AM (559734507)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 20899A68-B97D-4642-8CA9-B7866FD166ED

Message: Like it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/27/18 05:37:59 AM (559744679)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1814466C-1C56-4874-9342-2902A6E083F8

Message: HBj cannot make it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/27/18 05:38:54 AM (559744734)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2D8B639F-DC34-4A1F-BD88-9B6F59902E9A

Message: Weather and un traffic has changed many plans

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/27/18 07:07:08 AM (559750028)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C46FD926-7B9E-486E-8011-0EB86A775024

Message: np

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 03:53:23 AM (559824803)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C9FDF8D-F8B7-4657-A213-098EAB596CF4

Message: do you i see you sat afternoon?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/28/18 03:59:48 AM (559825188)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D45B87DA-F6F3-4E2E-8B39-D08E0EEA0910

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 04:00:05 AM (559825205)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F2D48CC6-7F98-4208-9F43-DC44EDFD90B9

Message: cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 04:00:09 AM (559825209)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A85F42AA-D695-41EE-8B3B-9DE4B30BF4C4

Message: lots to report

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 09/28/18 04:00:32 AM (559825232)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 86EC43AC-A6E3-4AB5-B42F-730F33459F61

Message: What did u think of yesterday??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 04:03:18 AM (559825398)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D7E6A596-1F80-49A7-A990-BC846577C63A

Message: horrible choice of prosecutor woman. critical and maybe lethal mistake. . prosecutors don't cross examine. they prosecute. . power on their side . she should have been a criminal defense attorney. . is there a history of anxiety in your family, was the lights on in the bedroom.? did you ever see kavanaugh again? how many times before. ? how did you get home 8 miles from the alleged party if you did not drive.? who drove you , etc

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 04:07:35 AM (559825655)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D8BEA091-EE8C-4E3B-8630-6D07DF734752

Message: who were the people on the beach you spoke to .? did you use kavanaughs name? which attys did you interview.? did you use kavauaghs name. ? the therapist notes are inconsistent with your story. . 4 boys . did you run out of the house. . how did you hear the conversation with he bathroom door closed.?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 04:08:22 AM (559825702)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FA90EBB9-CCFC-41A7-B925-6F48A531934A

Message: instead of . are you certain it was kavanaugh.? that's a prosecution question , not a defense question DOPE!!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/28/18 07:28:12 AM (559837692)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D54C3C48-0C3F-43F9-9AD9-DFB992AAA68B

Message: Calling the vote

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 07:33:34 AM (559838014)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 782AFAA2-E5BD-48DE-A16A-EE917FB2AC0D

Message: Yup

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/28/18 09:39:10 AM (559845550)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 680416ED-0FDF-40CF-BFAB-6ED012E2871C

Message: Is the dollars strength showing vote of confidence in US economy??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 09:44:39 AM (559845879)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8145AB92-B002-425A-85CF-6AE9656BCB45

Message: More the us . I dont know what the " economy " means?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 09:45:53 AM (559845953)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FD55861F-6512-40E4-952D-2D703DC551D1

Message: Markets? Jobs , exports, health like the economy is defined bu lack of disease combined with resilience

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 09:54:05 AM (559846445)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 554EB378-DD22-47D6-B3E5-358649C99CFC

Message: The world experts vote every day . And they vote US dollar. Turkey iran South America, ie venezuela argentina Brazil failed socialism - India. CONFIDENCE IN THE FUTURE- US

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 09:54:36 AM (559846476)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8EC96A4C-E455-4538-A78E-56F355C9B91E

Message: if you need more talking points- ping me

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 09:55:56 AM (559846556)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AD182B69-3BD9-4ED7-B025-A94F802DEED0

Message: musk believed and is a victim of arab bluster bloviating and is now sued by the sec for trusting those guys

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/28/18 10:38:55 AM (559849135)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 72EF48B4-948B-4525-B6B4-E0006950F4E4

Message: He should not be running a public company

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 10:40:45 AM (559849245)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 93BDAE25-AA7B-42AD-A925-7E26F11B9EDB

Message: Agreed

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/28/18 12:48:56 PM (559856936)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F3BA6B2D-C2F2-47E2-AB73-353DBFE65B4C

Message: Was the dollar weak under obama ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/28/18 12:49:42 PM (559856982)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 02DEAE1C-052E-4482-AAF1-C175DF131729

Message: Yes, euro 135

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/28/18 12:56:03 PM (559857363)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C4D4C15E-51C6-4780-94D8-D72D27B3B7D5

Message: Stronger under trump

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-09-30\[redacted] on 2018-09-30 at 09.12.55.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 09/28/18 07:29:13 PM (559880953)

End Time: 09/30/18 01:25:12 PM (560031912)

Last Message ID: 21395

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, +[redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 09/28/18 07:29:13 PM (559880953)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EFD46AB1-6F00-4257-BF27-F3245D8FF0ED

Message: Did u see the maher show ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/29/18 03:26:21 AM (559909581)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CBCF1235-004C-4579-B836-FC11DB926189

Message: Yes, well done. Only one 5 min round not enough. I think your thoughts should be posed as questions rather than declarative statements. ie. Are you aware that trump has added 10 trillion in value. ?? Isnt it a fact that.. would you admit that..,

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 09/29/18 03:28:00 AM (559909680)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 09E9DDC3-31D5-40EE-9976-AE4256B73F68

Message: Like that

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/29/18 03:34:32 AM (559910072)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 37F6B892-4E01-445F-80FD-B00BCD16D081

Message: it engages the audience that instinctually rejects pronouncments. . when he said he got the market direction wrong. you might respectfully ask didn't you also get ..... wrong. and wouldn't you admit that your confident predictions re the election itself was way off the mark. so di you think your ability to predict has gotten better ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/29/18 03:36:39 AM (559910199)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C9BC14CE-9214-4F11-B1EC-D00C8EF676D5

Message: more cross examination then direct testimony. what is you schedule today?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/29/18 03:40:45 AM (559910445)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E3F09132-2218-45ED-B982-99DD7F100810

Message: Just got off the plane -- trying to sort my sked but coming back into the city this afternoon-- what's your sked ??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/29/18 03:42:21 AM (559910541)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 86F55A98-CF6A-44D9-8F76-3442FBF759AA

Message: here today only anytime after 130 free .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/29/18 03:44:29 AM (559910669)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 001485E0-BBFB-4F4E-8209-F08FC44F9487

Message: Let's pencil in 5 pm???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/29/18 03:46:45 AM (559910805)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DB81FFF1-84B9-482B-94AC-FC1AE817BE9D

Message: perfect

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/29/18 03:49:36 AM (559910976)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9C406931-EE4A-4C65-B5E4-9342B43C5E93

Message: your return of serve is almost perfect. now its time to perfect your serve . as you can see i hate tennis

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/29/18 03:53:19 AM (559911199)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB4E4ED9-0001-4C5C-98CB-2B88A43C8B24

Message: Like the analogy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/29/18 05:44:30 AM (559917870)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1F755C6D-AFFB-4541-8599-FDC11EF05647

Message: [redacted]

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/30/18 04:41:49 AM (560000509)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E46497CA-E1F7-4836-AFF2-019A5EDE8AF9

Message: i delayed my trip a day. so im still around. tell burke they should make sure they ask ford about her medications , what type and for how long. . my guess is that katz won't let her answer

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/30/18 04:49:01 AM (560000941)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 97454E15-953A-490B-A0C2-38D17ECA1541

Message: Roger

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/30/18 05:23:07 AM (560002987)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C824FCC2-13CF-4192-AD8F-DE22B94E3ED5

Message: https://www.pharmacytimes.com/news/8-medications-that-may-cause-memory-loss

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/30/18 05:29:44 AM (560003384)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 08AACCED-20FB-4CD5-AB60-0F2D519E3503

Message: Is this a hint

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/30/18 05:36:49 AM (560003809)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B83D7125-7359-42BF-9612-72F8CE3A3CCF

Message: duh

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/30/18 05:50:08 AM (560004608)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 60E73416-0013-4BD4-91DF-2E97344992A4

Message:
ttps://www.researchgate.net/publication/321089419_False_memories_in_social_anxiety_disorder

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/30/18 06:08:30 AM (560005710)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D6C0F382-87BC-4B71-AD7D-1518D4BA8A08

Message: she couldn't recall if the lie detector was given the same day as her mothers funeral or the next day.? MEDS

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/30/18 06:12:55 AM (560005975)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 06F1BFF0-1391-4618-A75D-3B5FAE8812DB

Message: Oh I get it now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/30/18 12:25:40 PM (560028340)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 95EC62D9-C3E9-4B71-80B4-53BB99CAB151

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/30/18 12:29:37 PM (560028577)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 701F9FDA-762F-4E13-A0FB-C679D1830653

Message: This guy is the real deal

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/30/18 12:59:03 PM (560030343)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A29523B0-C0D7-4AF0-B85D-BF194F12B3E5

Message: he would like to introduce you to the head of their right wing party I told him after nov. donalds head would explode if he knew you were now buds with the guy who on monday will decide the nobel peace prize. I told him , next year it should be you when we settle china

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/30/18 01:00:48 PM (560030448)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D136E3AF-7503-4D7C-A7F6-B3357346D0CA

Message: Defeat china

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/30/18 01:01:05 PM (560030465)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 832A60C6-424E-415C-8D83-769C25A85B85

Message: same in my books

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/30/18 01:01:18 PM (560030478)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A2FB736A-107A-4AF2-903C-04BF7CC42502

Message: its the way to peace □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/30/18 01:15:12 PM (560031312)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5947AD86-C63E-4F6A-9184-929A7AE79EA7

Message: instead of peace through strength I believe in peace through vanquishment

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/30/18 01:25:12 PM (560031912)

Flags: 1052673

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B9A6656-106E-45BB-ADB5-7A62062C4062

Message: Exactly

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-10-02\[redacted] on 2018-10-02 at 10.17.28.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 10/02/18 07:17:28 AM (560182648)

End Time: 10/02/18 04:37:14 PM (560216234)

Last Message ID: 21507

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 07:17:28 AM (560182648)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF216ACA-304B-4282-9702-1993EFD341C4

Message: Yes, euro rupee. Pound. All weak. □. as predicted

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 07:17:34 AM (560182654)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 521653C6-AE85-44FC-B27D-C63D9D1DF18A

Message: YEN

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 07:21:52 AM (560182912)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 47A4FE24-D868-4B4B-AA1D-AE8B6284A02C

Message: I did notice the New Yorker review of dharma picking out the fuck you if want clean water line. □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 07:50:13 AM (560184613)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9671B5EC-F057-45AA-98AB-C1AB41465774

Message: Yummy Indonesia's rupiah weakened past 15,000 per dollar for the first time in

20 years as sentiment toward emerging-nation assets soured and oil prices jumped.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/02/18 11:11:03 AM (560196663)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E925132D-714C-4A88-99EF-4E25CCBBD12F

Message: New Yorker a RAVE!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 11:16:25 AM (560196985)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B3493527-CC21-40C6-8B18-DE9EAE4B8777

Message: Great , the structure of your media empire will be the first second and third line of defense. . as I know you are writing a book , many of your recent contacts should be protected under source privilege.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/02/18 01:15:09 PM (560204109)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DD8AE3BC-C5C3-4DE1-821A-BF45C5DF35E4

Message: Turned the boom deal down--$4 million and only requirement was zero mention of trump

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 01:15:43 PM (560204143)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 252A505A-3999-49E8-8288-37ECA6A7F9E6

Message: The times article is way off base. They didn't really ask pro's

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/02/18 01:16:14 PM (560204174)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6FF7FB42-A5D4-49C9-ACD8-C3EF145971E2

Message: What times article

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 01:16:15 PM (560204175)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5BB5D1C8-FC60-4424-A7D2-0414EDA98877

Message: The fact that you are writing a book. Give you a writers privilege □ !

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 01:16:28 PM (560204188)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7A613AC5-4195-4C2E-A993-F807EE9CC877

Message: Front page on tax schemes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 01:16:41 PM (560204201)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FDBE8268-51DA-4800-9E13-D59080B7DAC5

Message: Trumps tax dodges

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/02/18 01:22:20 PM (560204540)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 78F25D84-AED9-4F47-8CA1-7AC319EE74F9

Message: The nyt says I'm writing a book??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 01:22:41 PM (560204561)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EC7FC2D8-BCAB-4E2F-A603-52F5B77DCCB2

Message: No. Ill explain on the phone

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 01:22:44 PM (560204564)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C4754B66-FBD2-4B29-A366-E8280D333047

Message: No rush

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 01:23:06 PM (560204586)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 45824B74-F8DE-478C-B8E7-9B1660175575

Message: Sorry my morse code doesn't always work

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/02/18 01:26:58 PM (560204818)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 616C800C-A400-4761-9D2F-117CA12961F5

Message: U in Europe?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 01:27:13 PM (560204833)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 50289D38-A87A-4A27-B073-2E7E378790C0

Message: 561 655 7626 palm

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 01:29:08 PM (560204948)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FD918228-DFAE-4157-ABDF-3825688759AA

Message: Two separate things. Trump piece on taxes , is unfair. 2. Unrelated to 1 . your media structure for lots of reasons should be set up sooner rather than later.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 01:29:11 PM (560204951)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6AC13154-F801-48AE-9145-8F847C407B88

Message: Sorry

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 04:25:52 PM (560215552)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 41CB975E-ACB5-4D31-A32E-52E85C8966E4

Message: https://www.marketwatch.com/story/new-york-launches-tax-investigation-into-trump-after-ny-times-report-2018-10-02

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/02/18 04:26:06 PM (560215566)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6E6C40EB-F76B-4483-854C-A4A42602EE0B

Message: Surprise surprise gomer

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/02/18 04:36:06 PM (560216166)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6314DA0A-9637-4FE2-B616-326F869F64A6

Message: Bad bad bad

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/02/18 04:37:14 PM (560216234)

Flags: 1052673

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AC354D54-448F-49AC-BED8-EEB162199EA9

Message: Just heard from senior producer @ 60 minutes (who won is 24t Emmy last night) that ny state AG indicts shortly after mid terms

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-10-09[redacted] on 2018-10-09 at 02.07.32.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 10/08/18 11:07:32 PM (560758052)

End Time: 10/09/18 05:19:35 PM (560823575)

Last Message ID: 22030

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/08/18 11:07:32 PM (560758052)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2FB5B919-33FF-466F-A33E-781B2326B52E

Message: Re Bolsonaro/ if you are confident of a win , might be good fir the brand if you were seen there

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 03:00:25 AM (560772025)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4EC4D033-2AD4-4A5E-8194-F2F8FFEC9668

Message: May go Saturday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 03:00:41 AM (560772041)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5C878000-077E-4424-9621-27E1B4C684FE

Message: Great

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 03:05:28 AM (560772328)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6841CA56-B439-418E-8837-7FA0BEDD268F

Message: More chapters in your book

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 07:36:56 AM (560788616)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0A5A104D-882F-4827-8A77-3E2501F78B78

Message: Why haley resign

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 07:44:31 AM (560789071)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2F86B9CE-D55C-4198-B249-5174676C6D22

Message: Going to primary trump

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 07:45:01 AM (560789101)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6C816362-243B-4113-8D2F-5AC6239482BF

Message: ?

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 07:45:21 AM (560789121)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7618F9D3-589A-47E0-9FAD-88696637B96D

Message: She is going to primary trump

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 07:45:36 AM (560789136)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B201334-7517-4CDB-A219-1C35B655F3BC

Message: Do you mean run against?

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 07:45:47 AM (560789147)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F4717578-A34B-4A98-BB97-7EBE6B1EE608

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 07:45:58 AM (560789158)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8A3D225B-2FFD-4FDF-9DED-E98CEABBB979

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 01:21:46 PM (560809306)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7BED049C-B2F0-4664-92B8-1A9D67DC6E5E

Message: Miro thinks safer to go to Brazil AFTER the runoff

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 02:35:12 PM (560813712)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 77527EE0-6CD5-4A27-95C0-CBAE971C3A70

Message: Any more haley color

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 02:36:53 PM (560813813)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BD6CBC1E-DBB9-4B93-874C-38202BFEAE1F

Message: Lots -- Paul singer plot to have trump lose house , have nikki go primary him in 2020-- not subtle

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 02:39:40 PM (560813980)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D0104E4D-1E27-4D56-AFE1-F8D67FC01F10

Message: NFL

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 02:40:06 PM (560814006)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BA6C11C0-7008-44AF-8788-985A96D8B7F9

Message: Old School

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 02:40:16 PM (560814016)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6D15170A-5179-4C19-9B2A-BCC8C5B963BE

Message: Just when we were getting the tiniest traction

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 02:40:29 PM (560814029)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6FA4380A-5222-463D-B794-877D3996283A

Message: I think this may tip it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 04:38:08 PM (560821088)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5C7781EE-0175-433F-9CBC-15E66121CC05

Message: Why does miro think after

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 04:38:55 PM (560821135)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 32E52E74-7249-48FE-8DA9-5B841C854833

Message: Certainly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 04:39:25 PM (560821165)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BD135A2E-6DF8-4A56-8207-D82B5C27E4B7

Message: Certainy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 04:43:04 PM (560821384)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5943AD7A-24D8-41EE-9FAF-9F116DCE78BD

Message: HBJ excited about kashoggi issue. Highlighting out of control Saudi s. Though they took my advice and put together a huge team of techies with the promised of investment paradise

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 04:44:22 PM (560821462)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 01365EC2-BA9A-4E07-A82D-F841A6E8A155

Message: HBJ gets that the emir is as out of control as MBS doesn't he??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 04:46:47 PM (560821607)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8027F961-23C4-463E-B0A7-8B962708EBE8

Message: High school girls

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 04:48:37 PM (560821717)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5A60ACAA-878D-4E22-A1E9-ECEE38933B0B

Message: Easily insulted. Vindictive- superstitious- petty/ grand and petulant .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 04:50:42 PM (560821842)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4AE9A4E8-29EF-4C18-A059-C6ED7464D3A2

Message: Yemen / iran / oil - zamel, nader . Prinz / 1 mdb / deripaska -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 04:51:15 PM (560821875)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2DCE6377-C87B-4A18-AB1C-2C90179AB3E7

Message: Fingerprints everywhere

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 04:58:14 PM (560822294)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 59F4A295-F09C-4283-9CEB-A930513B4887

Message: Emir or MBS?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 05:04:35 PM (560822675)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3E9DEFBD-1615-4BF0-BB9C-1AEC8E289864

Message: ALL! each ! Beyond belief.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 05:07:23 PM (560822843)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 75409411-419F-4CE0-9777-65613051597B

Message: So deeply fucked up-- Brazil, Qatar, Turkey, KSA, Iran, Argentina, Mexico,Venezuel,Egypt , Russia, China , Africa , Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 05:10:31 PM (560823031)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D80AEC13-9696-4E8F-9646-085ECD12F62C

Message: Great opportunity!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 05:13:56 PM (560823236)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 76CC28DE-2EB1-4BF9-B3DC-57754F54463F

Message: Its like the worlds fair . I cant decide which pavilion to visit . All interesting in their own way.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/09/18 05:14:56 PM (560823296)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C97F01E5-2FAB-4DC6-A03D-46B8ECA746BC

Message: The internet has caused Regression to the mean . (no pun)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/09/18 05:19:35 PM (560823575)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 435856DC-79D2-413F-9EEC-ACE92589018E

Message: LOL

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-10-23\[redacted] on 2018-10-23 at 07.16.16.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 10/23/18 04:16:16 AM (561986176)

End Time: 10/23/18 06:06:30 PM (562035990)

Last Message ID: 22577

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/23/18 04:16:16 AM (561986176)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 35E539E2-2895-4FDE-BF17-40516F532408

Message: Trump calling himself a nationalist made the roar with laughter- good work

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/23/18 04:49:37 AM (561988177)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B3AB1DD9-C280-46BB-98C8-DE524ED8BBB2

Message: He went all-in

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/23/18 06:38:13 AM (561994693)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C7AA5F1A-7256-47FF-85D7-994733695F05

Message: Sovereignty of the US ! He should have two pens in his shirt

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/23/18 09:36:40 AM (562005400)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 367D424D-D5AF-4384-85E4-0D9C69BE3860

Message: https://www.express.co.uk/news/world/1035283/Khashoggi-murder-Body-parts-found-saudi-arabia-turkey

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/23/18 03:18:29 PM (562025909)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0BD02F4B-B953-4AE1-A713-FA39C49F828C

Message: Very bad if body is found chopped up

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/23/18 03:18:41 PM (562025921)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 65477050-5061-4AE5-BE56-A2012538DE3F

Message: MBS maybe leaving the yard

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/23/18 03:19:47 PM (562025987)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 43B6B418-41C0-423A-A64E-D680469F9B7D

Message: Do you mean Mister Bone Saw? Turkey wants money

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/23/18 05:45:55 PM (562034755)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 359DB9A2-43BE-498E-BE7C-A639DCC6E966

Message: You are welcome to come to palm beach after Hillsboro

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/23/18 06:06:23 PM (562035983)

Flags: 1052673

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 45816F4A-42E7-4950-8652-DC2218BB5F08

Message: Cool

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/23/18 06:06:30 PM (562035990)

Flags: 1052673

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB1601BC-3C4F-420A-8F91-9C250EA393F7

Message: Thanks let me check it out

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-10-24\[redacted] on 2018-09-29 at 15.27.26.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 09/29/18 12:11:39 PM (559941099)

End Time: 10/24/18 08:56:58 AM (562089418)

Last Message ID: 22608

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/29/18 12:11:39 PM (559941099)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4EB0D045-6373-4DCF-B698-D0E164F48AE4

Message: Running a little early

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/29/18 12:11:56 PM (559941116)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A111141C-8CF0-4FE2-94BE-C7D215B24FC9

Message: My guy will be in the city at 4:20

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/29/18 12:16:55 PM (559941415)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FA4919D5-A704-46BF-88E5-B988D864CDB8

Message: cool I'm ready

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/29/18 12:17:24 PM (559941444)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 66E23C91-BDB4-4739-80B8-90A46C3D5E4B

Message: do you want something special for lunch

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/29/18 12:23:46 PM (559941826)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 99AB0507-DB16-43FD-8693-CED5FEB32229

Message: Awesome

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/29/18 12:23:50 PM (559941830)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E5D1B1DA-E687-40C0-BCC2-AF11A367CB80

Message: Whatever works!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/29/18 12:23:52 PM (559941832)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 996333AB-F5E5-424C-9A7C-52E1D9202594

Message: Your call

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 09/29/18 12:27:03 PM (559942023)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A8145CDA-9D6E-4744-88FC-0E373EB1E7F8

Message: Just convince him to be in Paris during fashion week

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 09/29/18 12:27:26 PM (559942046)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 83C65491-9D9B-40DC-A879-A4E0577B6061

Message: i leave tomorrow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/24/18 05:55:38 AM (562078538)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 39770D9D-74D1-4AEB-9E49-63997FD125EC

Message: Hey. My guy told me you have an idea for a better trailer for film?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/24/18 06:02:13 AM (562078933)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 88753C74-F49A-408B-940C-E6D5AB4BD9B1

Message: Add Kavanaugh , Canada trade, Maxine waters. screaming. . Kavanaugh hearing congressman Blumenthal , the liar. Talking about one lie means all lies. . I think a short ground and pound. Instead of rehashing napoleons battle plans for Waterloo . □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/24/18 06:41:42 AM (562081302)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F7DA4B11-E841-42C5-89D0-931416C67749

Message: Add Pelosi being asked if she leaked the blade ford document.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/24/18 06:41:47 AM (562081307)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EDF0AD69-B062-4312-89FD-04FB7BDFC573

Message: Blast

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/24/18 06:41:59 AM (562081319)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F492283A-C784-4167-BC9D-D219AF602AB3

Message: Blasey

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/24/18 06:42:30 AM (562081350)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CE5F8717-6DF0-4A7C-8A1C-8DF2F66FF0E1

Message: Trump at war and Iran. - old news

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/24/18 07:01:29 AM (562082489)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F21C7A60-2A01-428F-A9AF-653E99D2E16E

Message: Add caravan , people banging on Supreme Court doors. .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/24/18 08:19:20 AM (562087160)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4EF02001-769B-4934-A3DC-0C9774ADBDA6

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/24/18 08:19:26 AM (562087166)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 677D7A35-19BF-470A-B5A9-EA26678679C2

Message: Will pass on to our editor

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/24/18 08:47:41 AM (562088861)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FD56975E-8AF6-4A7E-85A2-6544378F6EAF

Message: How was Paris for FW?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 10/24/18 08:50:51 AM (562089051)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FB8F44FD-3670-45C5-A961-4601ECD2534B

Message: I only have a dust ball left in my testicles. That and a small puff of air

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 10/24/18 08:56:58 AM (562089418)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 86F170B5-0E8D-480E-9938-A551EF82DFFD

Message: I'm putting up a poster of you in my apartment

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-11-28\[redacted] on 2018-11-28 at 17.34.09.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 11/11/18 06:24:28 PM (563682268)

End Time: 11/28/18 05:20:15 PM (565147215)

Last Message ID: 24024

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/11/18 06:24:28 PM (563682268)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6B69EB15-8551-4D23-9450-E6F7C59B0A00

Message: U around tomorrow

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/12/18 03:34:02 AM (563715242)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 431F1DC8-B772-4C49-A192-514CB75D1E59

Message: it is not violent . it is not racist. the little guy fights your wars. he understands violience it has destroyed his community , he understands racsasim it destroys his workplace. blacks understand racism they overcame their hurdle in this economy and have risen to .. can't say you gave THEM JOBS,

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/12/18 04:57:44 AM (563720264)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F21897C9-993A-4D66-A456-4F3DDCE35F7D

Message: Out in CT in meetings this morning

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/12/18 04:59:23 AM (563720363)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D5BAD7CF-CD84-4E2E-9339-E6EB10BA675A

Message: 1 pm???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/12/18 05:02:27 AM (563720547)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8AABE0A5-3250-4972-93B4-3C4E40A570AD

Message: done

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/12/18 09:11:49 AM (563735509)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A60F6CB-51D0-4EB4-B6E2-F75257324774

Message: If get there@ 1230 r u free??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/12/18 09:24:14 AM (563736254)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 120C3FA4-6F27-4402-B530-E9CB359B1FA6

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/12/18 11:41:13 AM (563744473)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1201A0A9-2B52-4046-AC2D-2F35410BFCEE

Message: Thurs lunch - HBJ house Paris

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/12/18 11:43:25 AM (563744605)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 29C6686B-1B86-463C-83F0-89200516AC0C

Message: Perfect

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/12/18 12:09:29 PM (563746169)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 381B5345-8672-4FB8-8C91-54632B75443E

Message: Thanks for meeting yesterday and today

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/12/18 12:09:55 PM (563746195)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CBDFF420-B059-41BD-96B3-3C8C4C25C34E

Message: Of course

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/13/18 03:23:41 PM (563844221)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B51B7AE4-6C1C-49A0-8CB7-F403E8814D90

Message: Well done yahoo. Again. Military blacks side by side with deplorable. Questions. , is the market much stronger than you guys pontificated it would be ? Punch !

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/13/18 03:26:27 PM (563844387)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 42AB7391-7A14-4817-B2B1-4A17069C29B2

Message: Thanks ; learning curve

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/13/18 03:34:36 PM (563844876)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0DBD3949-DD8A-4462-9C13-F9FA08B49D79

Message: Let me tell you what we are not. ~

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/13/18 03:35:03 PM (563844903)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BCEB7A53-C9A7-4D9B-9693-AD2F2612F406

Message: Genius

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/13/18 03:36:54 PM (563845014)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A23FBF4E-BC47-411F-8030-E28849015C79

Message: When you see Jabor you can tell him , I told you he is my arab brother. And tell HBJ that I told you that he and Ehud Barak are head and shoulders above the rest. They will then know you are family

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/13/18 03:37:14 PM (563845034)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D5C705DB-A008-4B51-B9C8-0F1AAA52915F

Message: Done

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 02:56:30 AM (563885790)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 69AF257E-274E-4F73-B5DE-87FA9AECF2D2

Message: I see you schedule missed. If they organize a plane from Scotland does that work?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 03:02:31 AM (563886151)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 587546A1-DD48-4E1C-B877-4331E6643708

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:02:41 AM (563886161)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A473C434-0970-418A-9D37-B306CBCFB5A4

Message: Roger

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:10:22 AM (563886622)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D28C7D0B-D639-4F31-ABA9-6EE7CE7E24CF

Message: When can you leave scotland

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 03:10:53 AM (563886653)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B5F139C-81B4-4153-B088-B1667A4A0727

Message: 7 pm tonight

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:14:01 AM (563886841)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 32E33710-6877-4AB1-A2C5-B7C187E61349

Message: I have them orgazning. transport. No worry,

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 03:14:33 AM (563886873)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3793C13F-9BDB-4788-A73C-FB868FEBA508

Message: We would leave tonight correct ??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:16:23 AM (563886983)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E45328A2-06CE-44CD-BF7F-26886D36B4AA

Message: how does it feel to have the most highly paid travel agent in history

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:16:46 AM (563887006)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 29A1F67E-4852-452C-9225-8F1872D06EE1

Message: □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:16:58 AM (563887018)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 92889C21-75AC-4293-874E-D8B70335827E

Message: Send your preferred times directly to jabor

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 03:19:15 AM (563887155)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6766D7E6-0CF7-446A-9E8B-B53DE2B3B652

Message: Not too shabby

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:19:16 AM (563887156)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B757CCB-A2B9-444A-A200-0B980BD2049A

Message: On another note. Instead of economic nationalism doesn't care , about your race . Ethnicity. etc. (people hear DOESNT CARE). And it sounds paternalistic. . It cares if you are a citizen , and that is it. It doesn't " matter " if you are ....

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 03:19:33 AM (563887173)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 860158FA-C676-4DC0-AB31-567401B11838

Message: Got it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:31:37 AM (563887897)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AF0CD785-7446-4DFE-8997-F7EB33757E70

Message: Short notice for jet charter. But can find for tomorrow morning to Paris lunch in Paris and then fly you to wherever

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 03:42:01 AM (563888521)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D09230C3-8FD5-42F7-AAAF-9515997A9B66

Message: Perfect

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:44:19 AM (563888659)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BD268C3A-325A-4C94-AF26-08B140ADBE81

Message: Done, email Jabor. Passports. For jet co

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:44:38 AM (563888678)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E21ABB2F-351C-49CE-B1F7-0CBD65AD4686

Message: What a life

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 03:45:23 AM (563888723)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BE4ECE33-51B2-43AF-8D81-B97EE7231FEB

Message: U r pretty good asst

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:45:34 AM (563888734)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C24A3298-CDC6-47D4-A537-459AEEDA57A0

Message: Massages. Not included

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 05:35:36 AM (563895336)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7FC6D565-F8BA-4C9E-910E-889B3DE1EAE5

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/14/world/middleeast/avigdor-lieberman-israel.html

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 06:04:02 AM (563897042)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E8C582EA-57B0-489B-905D-A3D22A5C6140

Message: Wow-- this guy farther right than bibi --- I'm a fan

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 06:04:51 AM (563897091)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6366D40A-8755-4280-B50A-4350B06B1306

Message: Chess board will become even more interesting. I ll give you more face to face

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 06:16:56 AM (563897816)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5DB983D3-8BE1-4024-9D20-6081D34C49A5

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 11:54:38 AM (563918078)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3F7E8997-BD95-4CDA-A316-75794F7C3015

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 11:58:21 AM (563918301)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6C4C187E-026E-4BD5-9B65-DCD6F343FB10

Message: That photo is huge

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:51:48 PM (563932308)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B6B669FA-BD4C-4BBF-A1D1-E7EF8C4B22CF

Message: I was in the military . Side by side , with blacks hispanics. Races ethnicities. Working TOGETHER. . economic nationalism is not racist , not violent. ISIS. and their defeat. The deplorable fighting side by side . To make the country safe. Do you know what all the soldiers. Have in common? Do you? They are citizens. They are not undocumented citizens. They are not illegal citizens. They are bound together to protect each other.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:55:33 PM (563932533)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 35241963-7E41-4266-8542-79DE1182D82B

Message: I said if the left refuses to engage on policy but resorts to calling our men and women racist , etc. I said wear the name calling as a badge of honor , wear the evidence of a bankrupt policy . The scraping of the bottom of the lefts empty barrel , only left to hurl insults. I abhor the Pittsburg massacre. I abhor the killing of the young black men in Chicago. These are our citizens .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:55:45 PM (563932545)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4CC74765-3FC0-43F2-9459-02AC0740E65F

Message: What it is not. Have fun tomorrow

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 03:56:54 PM (563932614)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F91FA528-63D1-42A6-A96E-9441F34CEFC0

Message: http://www.nydailynews.com/news/national/ny-news-avenatti-arrested-domestic-violence-20181114-story.html

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 04:03:52 PM (563933032)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E0A1E492-7C1A-4D53-9EA1-D8E3FA7609C7

Message: That spiel is perfect

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 04:15:47 PM (563933747)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2DFA4285-6A4A-45B0-BAAB-719033691BCA

Message: Two years ago before trump horrific images . Beheading , burnings tortured/ isis was terrorizing your minds . The deplorables side by side with black - white citizens. Fought- lives were lost . We have won . And the left calls us racist. ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 04:16:11 PM (563933771)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A67758DF-4233-4C72-8160-FBFF53E8AD1D

Message: Excellent

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 02:24:50 AM (563970290)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5BA090C9-FAC7-48F6-9CCE-4D43E052A45D

Message: Also I would try to avoid double negatives. . black unemployment is at an all time low. Better. - Black employment is the highest its been , and its deserved.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 02:25:20 AM (563970320)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F12D5A62-9986-4B17-94BF-A8BA51E1A1F1

Message: You can ask HBJ re his diet, he just lost 25 pounds. He is proud of that fact

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/15/18 04:13:36 AM (563976816)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AEFEC072-5595-4DFA-A1F2-6F056087A60C

Message: Wow-- on it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/15/18 06:26:45 AM (563984805)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6577FFB9-24B6-469B-9D51-109546E16FAA

Message: Incredible meeting-- thanks -- will brief in person

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 06:28:19 AM (563984899)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EEEFCD1A-1A5E-4D4C-A3A0-587D1600E195

Message: glad

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 06:38:29 AM (563985509)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 508FCB77-1F4E-4FDE-949C-80BDF171B149

Message: You did berry berry gud

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 06:54:07 AM (563986447)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 53F13688-5F9C-43C3-802C-1629825A48C7

Message: Are you going to be in London at all or straight to Oxford.?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/15/18 06:58:13 AM (563986693)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 378F8AB4-6211-4E41-ADE3-FB9AC6F2AD59

Message: London tonight-- leave for Oxford @ 2

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/15/18 06:58:42 AM (563986722)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AEB33FAB-64B4-4124-962A-1DFAD708AA6A

Message: Really impressive guy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 07:03:26 AM (563987006)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E98FDD67-AF37-4FAC-A734-8ADF272729D1

Message: do you have 15 minutes in London to meet owner Ferrari/ fiat ? Not urgent , but well connected through Italy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/15/18 07:04:18 AM (563987058)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5C61009F-DF1F-4F19-9FEE-916B8D9F4064

Message: Yes :: anytime up to 1 pm or after 8 pm

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 07:04:34 AM (563987074)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0AF05B83-81BB-4B68-8EE9-DFDE364B5EA7

Message: Ill give him Sean contact

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 10:13:06 AM (563998386)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 127F799E-3E65-4E73-85F3-A12997270676

Message: HBJ loved it. Said you and he were able to speak shorthand

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 10:13:30 AM (563998410)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E5AFCBB3-9F0E-471E-8CF0-C9CFFDC151B1

Message: And was impressed that you didn't bullshit

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/15/18 10:13:37 AM (563998417)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8C326367-E16A-4BAA-A4C9-AAF8DB31500A

Message: Yes: he was everything u said and more

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/15/18 10:18:23 AM (563998703)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B2A38BC-DA95-443F-ABAD-3642C41DD296

Message: If our guy is in AD I'm going tomorrow after oxford

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 10:33:32 AM (563999612)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AFACD7BB-F6FB-48BF-8544-91069209A69E

Message: Great

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 10:43:01 AM (564000181)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E6B8890C-E53F-4A8D-884A-9936EDC9F754

Message: All the boys are there . Fun location.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 10:43:51 AM (564000231)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3F188C1E-623C-400B-A4D0-B7B65B490FC0

Message: I'll make sure you're well looked after

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 05:39:03 PM (564025143)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ECCF90F6-0AFC-4020-9724-9D23FCB78A10

Message: https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/fethullah-gulen-tayyip-erdogan-foe-us-removal_us_5bedf361e4b0510a1f2f16e9

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 02:47:14 AM (564058034)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9FF3143D-17B0-48B4-AECD-FC16582A6C29

Message: Hey: I've gotten pulled into the Brexit thing this morning with Nigel , Boris and Rees Mogg-- can I take a rain check on fiat guy until I return?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 02:48:43 AM (564058123)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7E4A9450-2AC1-46F0-B615-6C9C2EFBD327

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 02:48:54 AM (564058134)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3296A0D5-DC05-480E-B8D3-AC701645B1F9

Message: Can u contact?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 02:49:38 AM (564058178)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 456FC74B-608C-4224-9C4F-11C30163C7CC

Message: Are you going to AD

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 02:49:40 AM (564058180)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7F67A7A8-35A9-4016-A94A-5C6770E9C6FF

Message: The guys are trying to move on. may today / tomorrow and I'm having a meeting right now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 02:49:48 AM (564058188)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 33ED5E55-706E-4F7B-9BA5-5BDF9444827D

Message: Great

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 02:50:05 AM (564058205)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 46D738E2-5E36-4831-A151-D4CBD3D630B9

Message: Trying to get to AD tomorrow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 02:50:22 AM (564058222)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2B078BA3-ECF6-4513-93E7-00A2851D4ED8

Message: Have to be in dc Sunday so tight window

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 02:51:02 AM (564058262)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 74C9C09F-095B-4979-B18B-1CFDB3E3EE71

Message: You will let your friend @ fiat know?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 02:51:50 AM (564058310)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0B3B35FE-349D-4D79-97C1-A797FE2E2577

Message: I'll try . His phone is off . Also have sean reach out

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 02:52:30 AM (564058350)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6E35A3AD-C7E1-406D-BCB8-08215B403282

Message: Sean is

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 02:52:58 AM (564058378)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BA7C66E5-8D6A-490F-B48B-8281B246E89C

Message: Apologize, but I need to stay on this right now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 02:53:18 AM (564058398)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9526E758-1542-46A4-8C4E-BC6EBC77D9BF

Message: No problem ever!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 02:53:27 AM (564058407)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F4D32FA1-A158-4348-BCB9-66D44BE8EAAB

Message: Flexible wins

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 02:54:29 AM (564058469)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BD4048DB-C492-4E41-AC62-A1ECD07FEA5A

Message: UK a hot mess

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 02:55:38 AM (564058538)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 29D4C445-EAB3-435F-9118-109211B5F820

Message: I canceled meeting

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 02:55:50 AM (564058550)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 268348B4-2EFA-4395-ADAB-1D90CDEA6AAE

Message: Thanks

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 03:01:22 AM (564058882)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 254621EC-C93E-4459-93A0-B24ACEBCBF2E

Message: I think staying as long as you can uk . Best- so people get the commitment of your follow through

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 03:01:47 AM (564058907)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AD8A7F48-7C7A-476D-A38C-AEF7678FCEE1

Message: Agree

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 06:53:50 AM (564072830)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 65090AB7-1DC2-4AAD-8EC9-330B61A43B66

Message: Heading to AD tonight ; just confirmed meeting

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 06:54:08 AM (564072848)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EADB42DD-97B8-4152-A56E-A7A9321C6E4F

Message: Miro and Terje are there

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 06:55:00 AM (564072900)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 818AF4E0-044D-438D-9085-AB8A6905DCE1

Message: In AD?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 06:55:10 AM (564072910)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF8B4847-B0E6-4D81-BA64-10EB296D5074

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 06:56:36 AM (564072996)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 75A8109B-5F6A-4538-A2A8-A3B8F9257B70

Message: I just reached out

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 06:56:57 AM (564073017)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7AE30852-5238-4A7B-AC2B-B2543722AEE4

Message: can u let our friend know in heading over tonight

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 06:58:36 AM (564073116)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8E12BC2B-8073-43F5-AD2A-9E0BB56D8F9C

Message: do you mean your Paris lunch friend?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 06:58:48 AM (564073128)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2FFF2D39-B9D9-4392-AB47-AF599176FFB5

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 06:58:55 AM (564073135)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4BF23379-DD82-4930-B7D0-CA2ADBAC66AB

Message: Done

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 07:00:10 AM (564073210)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 332C0666-ED54-4DDE-A323-F68A93E3054D

Message: We meet late Saturday afternoon

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 07:00:42 AM (564073242)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DD27C4AE-3730-4995-9B25-0B9A08256A13

Message: You are a busy boy,

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 07:01:05 AM (564073265)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AF7354D0-E879-4BD9-B4AC-99FEF8E73FBF

Message: Will Theresa may survive

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 07:01:11 AM (564073271)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C0F8F2A5-548A-4213-8DCA-8A6FE04A4576

Message: Man with a mission -- I told him I would get right to work

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 07:01:52 AM (564073312)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 757B190D-DB77-46A4-9140-A276CF0BF13C

Message: I don't see how BUT the guys over here have no balls

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 07:02:07 AM (564073327)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5A528782-FB83-46A7-9316-A1F2E76A3D77

Message: Exactly my fear. Pencil neck and all

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 07:02:56 AM (564073376)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB761ACF-343B-4F23-8784-D78353CCDEEE

Message: Boris ; Gove; Rees Mogg; David Davis -- somebody has to step up

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:05:47 AM (564084347)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 12B14908-6F34-437A-94BA-2B4D0B31C75A

Message: Tomorrow meeting powerful. Reminder. Phones not secure AT ALL

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:06:08 AM (564084368)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACE7C51C-B4A0-417C-A17F-3A413B99D763

Message: Wait until you return for downloads

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 10:38:05 AM (564086285)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF3B8C77-ED20-4121-BFA4-87AD9A817614

Message: Protesters slowed down speech----don't think I can make the flight---we r enroute to heathrow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 10:38:13 AM (564086293)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4900CF2A-939A-4756-87B4-4E58205BCB4D

Message: Seeing if we can make it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:40:38 AM (564086438)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 43B84F0F-1300-4AAF-99F7-4B280D3BAEC8

Message: There. Is a gulf air that leaves at 950 with a stop in Bahrain

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:40:51 AM (564086451)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 30CA9217-566A-4433-A360-149C62584865

Message: Arrives. 1130

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:40:53 AM (564086453)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 35580324-A18E-4E26-85DE-9877AE0D980C

Message: am

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 10:41:11 AM (564086471)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9560199B-F029-4B53-B87B-25D7B1523D6A

Message: On it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 10:41:54 AM (564086514)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BC05C097-5290-4D59-8AF2-79F4DF2506F1

Message: U r an amazing assistant

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:42:15 AM (564086535)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 570B6702-F54A-4AD0-974F-5EFBB9B60C16

Message: Remember. I was once poor

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:42:51 AM (564086571)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 83897CBE-D595-4F04-8BCB-4B06E230DEB2

Message: Tomorrow. Important . very

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 10:44:24 AM (564086664)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 60B40429-8CB4-48C6-9B6A-286ADED7C455

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:44:48 AM (564086688)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C8CA8192-C798-4B56-80EF-D430F3B27962

Message: And an Egypt air with a stop in Cairo that leaves 1030 pm . Same arrival time

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:50:25 AM (564087025)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1C4D7CA8-5B5D-49AC-A7A6-236F28714AD8

Message: Third choice 955 , virgin to Dubai. Drive an hour

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 11:04:06 AM (564087846)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 81CDB1A1-2EEA-4D48-B458-7C4D3083809F

Message: On it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 11:09:09 AM (564088149)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 04AFCDF9-1F80-4462-A25A-3BDC0D8DDB12

Message: Israel likely to go to early elections. What fun!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 11:11:36 AM (564088296)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 31F6F267-D709-46FB-9BE7-39DC9E915CC8

Message: Bibi doesn't make it does he ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 11:11:50 AM (564088310)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 539612E9-225E-4F29-B9F2-703DEE78437A

Message: Unclear

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 11:14:42 AM (564088482)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0A95189A-11A3-4208-A6E5-DF5D99338D90

Message: Fyi if you choose to fly home from Dubai, miro will be there and also leaving early afternoon

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 11:15:57 AM (564088557)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 54A26F43-3361-42DE-9172-328923BB79DF

Message: I'm leaving @ 230am -- meeting Hungarians in NYC before heading to dc

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 11:27:58 AM (564089278)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 67AF9924-D441-4966-AF17-F5817E0045A0

Message: Ok , my phone is blowing up with people wanting my friend to dare to be great - again ! Oy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 11:28:24 AM (564089304)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CB0E32E1-879D-4F39-AE01-E65C3B6E6815

Message: What a move

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 11:29:28 AM (564089368)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4EE01ADB-4D28-43F7-976E-508EECC7A353

Message: I tell everyone im only the f and b person .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 11:30:08 AM (564089408)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9D3C2DE0-7E65-436A-81C1-BCFBDBC347D9

Message: Best F n B director in the business

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 01:32:15 PM (564096735)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B4912D2-6644-4C41-9F01-85D4001B6E28

Message: 930 BA leaving now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 02:51:37 PM (564101497)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E7CDA52C-20B8-436C-A71D-6E6FF17404E5

Message: Well done . Push hard. If place needed. Paris apt ok

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 03:01:59 PM (564102119)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8BFA0D91-787D-4C37-A301-E09E2B29C802

Message: Thanks

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 03:05:39 PM (564102339)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 682892C0-4991-42E0-BC8A-36384A9E9964

Message: Great opportunity ! Weak govt everywhere. Saudi , Yemen US , UK , France. Etc. often difficult to make deals with the weak as they are afraid of being seen to be vulnerable

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 03:06:30 PM (564102390)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A10B7E3C-2D23-4BDA-93E8-12BBAAE245DF

Message: Each sensitive to concessions . So a strong third party . Can take the brunt.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/17/18 12:10:31 AM (564135031)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 088CB41B-920D-43BD-BD69-0FA58F7A35A6

Message: Good luck

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/17/18 12:21:47 AM (564135707)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3137DF80-1BC7-4F3E-8026-7D21E9E08002

Message: Trick - make it personal- this is what " I " !! need ,want, would appreciate -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/17/18 12:26:24 AM (564135984)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 30C81CDC-D4BA-47E5-8326-9E581993A338

Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/17/18 02:30:50 AM (564143450)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EA78076F-D104-4A66-9210-8037618E98B6

Message: mideast People respect YOU. , more than the policies , trump or you as the head of a movement. . they will do things for YOU , rather than for the " we"

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/17/18 02:40:41 AM (564144041)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 236266B3-7213-4888-913D-74A66A97DF62

Message: https://www.cbsnews.com/news/jamal-khashoggi-killing-connected-to-mohammed-bin-salman-crown-prince-saudi-arabia-cia-says-today-2018-11-16/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/17/18 03:24:11 AM (564146651)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2466E882-5062-4DB9-9BC4-3ED378CAB60E

Message: Got it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/17/18 08:55:38 AM (564166538)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 50FA4596-FCF9-4356-8346-AE02A6EC9872

Message: Light the candle

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/17/18 09:28:04 AM (564168484)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0151ACDF-47BB-4EDD-94D5-5D525375E631

Message: :)

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/17/18 11:19:26 AM (564175166)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 72775769-3123-4F6E-AB6C-ACBC5B0A87B6

Message: Scale of 1 -10?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/17/18 11:39:54 AM (564176394)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E373F6C2-2017-4C6E-A5E7-593EDB4C5924

Message: 9.5+

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/17/18 11:47:01 PM (564220021)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E1377683-246A-464D-9468-652D2864CC92

Message: Still planning nyc then dc

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/17/18 11:47:04 PM (564220024)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CEBDAD9C-DB34-4A1A-AD19-3B5B113333DC

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 03:19:11 AM (564232751)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8700D1FE-4338-4B9E-A305-A8AC28545EAF

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:23:33 AM (564233013)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 404FEFDF-C6D6-45BC-8905-97DC861A4E20

Message: You hit all the points at Oxford. Accusation of racist? Votersupression. higher wage. Good work. Btw your close in protection guy , needs tweaking. Spends too much time looking at his phone.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:23:49 AM (564233029)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 21B91BF0-136E-4E95-AD3C-1834A5A2CC7B

Message: □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 03:24:28 AM (564233068)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F984D498-5A30-470C-BCA8-1142179682E3

Message: Guy with goatee?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:25:02 AM (564233102)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EC56D5BC-E328-4B86-AB40-2B9E551096D1

Message: Green jack and goatee/beard , guy on wall to your left as you looked forward

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 03:27:00 AM (564233220)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 27A42F8C-2A18-47B1-B03C-AB9BA7CCEA6A

Message: I think they were livestreaming the riot outside gate that we had to go back thru to see when we could exit

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:31:13 AM (564233473)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 76083772-5296-4D1D-948F-A9F144371949

Message: 3 things. 1. No excuses. As It was in the beginning of your talk , not relevant. And the most dangerous time. 2. In the streets your guys want sunglasses or glasses. As people throw liquids at their faces and it protects the eyes. 3 and during your talks scanning the crowd.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:31:45 AM (564233505)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B9CC56C5-6F9F-437A-A853-4E4923CE4537

Message: Need to keep you for the next rounds :

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 03:31:46 AM (564233506)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 50B8C0E6-0E88-4D9A-A724-ECB724DD268C

Message: Got it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 03:31:57 AM (564233517)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C527EFFF-2BCA-4B12-B368-B30DBCF1C657

Message: Riot outside was serious

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:32:15 AM (564233535)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3BAE75B0-DCD2-4143-9C0A-DF3B464BFCF6

Message: I was very aware in real time

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:33:49 AM (564233629)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0F4166FE-ACAF-4D77-A615-4EA352BA0728

Message: Guns not used often there. So not treacherous . But some of your other up and coming venues are less gentlemanly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:34:54 AM (564233694)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E3FC2968-ADFC-4CBB-AC48-7878A26F196F

Message: And I couldn't tell if he had an earpiece. If not we should upgrade equipment

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:36:56 AM (564233816)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 15FFF670-F770-414F-B40C-C8A0894BF29A

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:39:18 AM (564233958)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 309FC6CE-3497-4CD9-9BE2-B3D6F86CE5E4

Message: Sorry I take no prisoners

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 03:41:42 AM (564234102)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5D5C2348-DFD0-4E8D-A2A5-4FF7B640A769

Message: Agree

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:56:26 AM (564234986)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D4BC5FC5-4B4C-4EFC-89EF-4BA4BF824C9C

Message: As some of your policies are really left. - I might ask the questioners. Did you agree with anything I've said? No? Do you believe in higher wages? . do you believe in reducing voter suppression.? If they say Yes. . tell me what do we agree on? Pow !

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:57:22 AM (564235042)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0F0288E8-B279-479B-AFE2-B8B865EB6DE9

Message: Sincerely. .. your cornerman

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 10:43:07 AM (564259387)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 47FB7F45-8B54-4F82-9716-6F9DEF6A2C23

Message: When you get time to brief me , give me 30 minute notice

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 10:43:18 AM (564259398)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F7515403-2751-4C4E-B401-F390C32826F0

Message: Tonight

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 10:43:29 AM (564259409)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D830F48B-47EF-46F4-AB1F-EAB204F9B826

Message: Senate intel prep

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 10:43:33 AM (564259413)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0D8C261B-FDC0-42BA-A8AC-EBA190ED7A87

Message: Now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 10:44:55 AM (564259495)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 675042F8-7264-42D3-9086-7A78056A6BDF

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 02:47:54 PM (564274074)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1EA15730-5AE4-4A8B-BA16-E64D22641AF0

Message: Can talk when u r free

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 02:48:57 PM (564274137)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B51BCF5B-447B-4419-9708-583B38689541

Message: 561 655 7626

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 02:49:36 PM (564274176)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CF2111BF-B1A6-4395-82C7-D5E763125E59

Message: Standby

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:28:41 PM (564276521)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9263E14E-CDC9-4F7B-BE25-6EC7605694AA

Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 04:08:44 PM (564278924)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8C46E178-73F7-4557-A6C1-D159C5890730

Message: When Lewis appeared before Congress in 1993 to testify in favor of protections for children's television, Lamb Chop was granted permission to speak. - maybe you should bring lamb chop tomorrow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 04:13:57 PM (564279237)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FD6F5C63-EA4C-4229-893E-A9909DD475AF

Message: Don't fuck with 'the chop'

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 05:25:57 AM (564326757)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A2D8F648-93F2-453E-A634-2C6590182E1C

Message: Thanks

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:18:54 PM (564365934)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 92900C54-C476-4C68-84A7-683C25A440D7

Message: How was it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:19:26 PM (564365966)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BB6D9D3C-2AE2-4940-89E0-B13DC837DDAF

Message: Did lambchop take 5

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 04:23:54 PM (564366234)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D9D154BC-1DAA-46FE-958A-E84FEED1639B

Message: Dude : 8 and 1/2 hours

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 04:24:03 PM (564366243)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 621F7199-614D-44E3-9381-C4574B669A2B

Message: 15 minutes on u

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:27:44 PM (564366464)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 31D86BE8-204E-45A1-9383-82AE03096AB8

Message: Members or staff

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:29:01 PM (564366541)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 62769A6D-68A7-4F38-8455-194422FCF9E6

Message: Was burke allowed in ? Does he have clearance

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 04:30:20 PM (564366620)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0F88DE34-9872-4F5D-84AE-959FB6347AA3

Message: Staff ::: took alex spiro--- his NYC partner , stone cold killer

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:31:49 PM (564366709)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B86343AC-7FAB-4FA6-8C54-7CFF5301172D

Message: Why me? Did they want bagels and coffee

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:32:11 PM (564366731)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7A83E03A-BA92-4430-AEA0-DAA2962A0210

Message: Or did they get your text s

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 04:33:01 PM (564366781)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 107E81A8-29D1-435C-A30C-415E845F6B17

Message: Neither ::: went thru list of 50 names-- Leon Black

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 04:33:53 PM (564366833)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F6E0FDDF-CB6C-4B1A-9954-6A2593D40A0C

Message: Then u--grilled me when I said I knew u about relationship with djt

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:38:09 PM (564367089)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 892ABBB5-5321-4170-B069-56FA90431219

Message: Did they ask you if i had a silver bullet

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:45:40 PM (564367540)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 43C5A1FC-486D-4C9C-8703-04ECCC56C469

Message: Toughest we're republicans?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:45:43 PM (564367543)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A326BE7-DF7A-418D-ADD3-FBAEDAC78716

Message: Were

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 04:46:11 PM (564367571)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9449AB70-0128-4C83-9B66-431832B42A84

Message: No democrats-- spiro also big dem

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:47:28 PM (564367648)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 810A24B8-1ACD-45DD-8800-73B70F22350F

Message: Oy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:47:46 PM (564367666)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E2188F20-DC9E-416B-819B-DA6BA985F1AE

Message: So it begins

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 04:48:24 PM (564367704)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AD0E5581-B45B-4463-AAF6-40BFC0A7C2CD

Message: Somehow your name has come up in this thing ; Leon's about "Russia"

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:53:36 PM (564368016)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BA7010FD-8B1A-4D05-B68F-F876FF2BC42F

Message: This thing being Russia or djt or .. play

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:57:11 PM (564368231)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FFCFA739-0D6C-400F-A790-25955A4332E8

Message: Is the somehow, my friendship with lucifer

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/19/18 04:57:15 PM (564368235)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5FA4F5F6-9702-417B-9CF3-D8BCCEC2EADB

Message: :)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 07:39:17 PM (564377957)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C756B8F3-6E34-48A7-90FA-E121038F3E34

Message: Leon about Russia ; u about trump --- but they ask every witness these 50 names--- 25+ Russian

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/20/18 06:56:28 AM (564418588)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 00DB67B7-F987-4DD4-A085-D55A69F946AA

Message: Market is china manipulation. . as I suggested.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/20/18 08:14:05 AM (564423245)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2147F4C6-1D22-487A-86D3-6064BA13E8C8

Message: Sooo obvious

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/20/18 02:29:32 PM (564445772)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 530F343E-47C5-4D0E-95F2-0A9C214C9D18

Message: You recover your strength. , hope you get some rest. . Im in New York 29 -1 st

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/20/18 02:52:41 PM (564447161)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C61F26AE-F785-40EF-A0B9-305F404F22B1

Message: Let's connect on 29

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/20/18 04:01:02 PM (564451262)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D648A73A-1DA0-458C-A29A-6634BB5EFC7B

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 03:21:35 AM (564492095)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8931F40A-2FDC-4BA6-8D3F-D2554A43E7AC

Message: can you reach out to see if. Z has a suggestion for venue and time frame to meet bj . Notice to king ok.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/21/18 03:23:32 AM (564492212)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AD4CAB02-C81D-4A7C-AAEF-075519458484

Message: They called yesterday-- they want to do the meeting , think its smart-- but they have a process with their bigger partner and are going thru that now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 03:25:06 AM (564492306)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1426D874-757B-4FDF-B982-7D6EF37D6585

Message: Understood

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 10:21:40 AM (564517300)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D091BDA0-943C-415E-87CF-CCC5B85A6C09

Message: Spent the morning with Ken Starr, really someone you should know

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/21/18 10:35:34 AM (564518134)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B74CC33E-793C-4CC7-9CC9-93E459B09093

Message: I agree

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/21/18 10:35:50 AM (564518150)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2FAE6555-8E4B-475B-AE6A-08AC9DA4A512

Message: How bad a shape does he think djt is in???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 10:37:37 AM (564518257)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CD20A38F-189F-4DFD-AB88-E9F6626826DA

Message: From a legal standpoint. He doesn't believe that obstruction applies to the use of a power even if it was solely done for self interest. He thinks it has to be for a CORRUPT (bribery etc) And sees no evidence of that.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/21/18 10:43:21 AM (564518601)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 51203C35-A5B7-46C6-B072-229FA44D06F4

Message: Epic -- trump clear on mueller if that's the case

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 10:50:32 AM (564519032)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A21107E5-FB61-487D-96C0-5C5359673D22

Message: The issues will be the related financial ones , southern eastern district

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/21/18 10:53:28 AM (564519208)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 611B3A7D-3178-4150-B994-5B374AADA6F7

Message: Yes yes yes -- and the Hill investigations

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 10:54:34 AM (564519274)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EEB90DF0-575E-41D5-93B5-258328CADE1D

Message: Do you recall any specific questions re me , and your interview?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 10:54:37 AM (564519277)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D81362DC-C618-4E11-A992-88D053090AC4

Message: at

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/21/18 01:24:06 PM (564528246)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 35A11DD8-6F5C-4814-9D43-25929AC308AA

Message: Yes ::: "what is his relationship with potus " ; "does he talk about trump"; "when was last time he saw trump"... etc etc etc

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 01:24:42 PM (564528282)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7F6A20C7-CAFA-4285-B28D-8D6C60C206E0

Message: Some reporters asking the same question ? Can figure out why?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 01:25:03 PM (564528303)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7D2E2120-BC20-4FA1-BCDB-7652DC7380BF

Message: Can't

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/21/18 01:27:22 PM (564528442)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 81CC083D-8F6C-4CE5-B66B-617DCD4BAE3A

Message: Interview ends with 50 names -- everybody gets the request -- 25 Russian names ; 25 American -- u and Leon are # 3 / #4 on american list

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 01:27:58 PM (564528478)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACA02320-CF4E-4D09-A69E-12DDDEF60D3D

Message: Understood

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 01:28:38 PM (564528518)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 62E74F97-9F2E-4A85-A538-E2B0F7FD6682

Message: funny

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/21/18 01:35:49 PM (564528949)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2D8B89B9-B530-47B9-87DA-3B6544481F28

Message: " has Leon Black ever mentioned Russia" ; " Do you know of any connections Leon Black has with Russia" etc etc

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 01:41:38 PM (564529298)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3197ED1B-CBA8-4EEF-B1C4-E565E106D882

Message: Other Americans? David geovanis? Ken lebow? Any other names you recall

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 01:42:22 PM (564529342)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DCFBB5BF-1C7A-4DAB-8418-ACBDCF9A299B

Message: Nick ribs? Tom barrack?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/21/18 01:42:47 PM (564529367)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 64F57EF1-3BF2-43B1-8EEF-C7DBEEB9437E

Message: Benton Lebow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/21/18 01:42:58 PM (564529378)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3649EEE1-4373-4367-85FA-2C9034217EEB

Message: Barrack

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/21/18 01:43:14 PM (564529394)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CE6BF7CF-47C6-4C0A-A2E1-9D122DBB9198

Message: Geovanias

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/21/18 01:43:39 PM (564529419)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2EE8DD5E-ECC5-4801-A47A-234CE14B464A

Message: Ton other I didn't know-- and only Russian was Alexander Dugin

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/21/18 01:43:47 PM (564529427)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3D97D120-C822-444F-9B51-4171A3621758

Message: Ha

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 08:58:58 AM (564598738)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 870ACCFC-10F1-477E-AB8D-244150A2EF0C

Message: MBS headed to see our friends for talks

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/22/18 09:02:29 AM (564598949)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A84765B4-57A2-4856-91EC-C25641AD3122

Message: Z ? Terje in riyahd

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 09:18:05 AM (564599885)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B35EDCF-F0CC-4501-82B7-3BEC925F9CBF

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 03:11:57 PM (564621117)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CB6E5754-EDF1-4CEF-AC0F-06E22C7C3DA0

Message: Hope you are having a great thanksgiving

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/22/18 03:13:59 PM (564621239)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DA1D9741-0249-4B1B-81E1-2CDC20C937C0

Message: thx, I had some of the largest hedge fund guys here today , and they all now agree with my contention that something is stinky in the market. I suggested. That Saudi is selling. Maybe china. , they both want cash

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 03:14:37 PM (564621277)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2698700D-841D-44EA-866D-7396DA4EC181

Message: Interesting

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/22/18 03:18:53 PM (564621533)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6CE50352-0C9C-4A2D-9EDE-637E5B7F6FCA

Message: What do you think the likelihood of additional tariffs jan 1. Any progress at g20. . ? put down that piece of pie

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 03:32:23 PM (564622343)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FFCD0EE5-3661-40C8-8E6F-5B304A5C7722

Message: Trump needs a 'win' and is getting huge pressure from mnuchin/Kudlow Wall Street faction --- but everybody else saying no deal possible--- markets keep crashing will all depend on trumps mood

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/22/18 03:57:55 PM (564623875)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 809303C4-4C70-4818-88D8-E550317D037A

Message: There may be a video of kasshohgi. If so game over

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 04:01:25 PM (564624085)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C2B8204-4560-4D8B-9ABC-285422BD582A

Message: I'm sure they do

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 03:22:35 AM (564664955)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4FBB127D-A229-4104-8B6B-B6739A0BD709

Message: Im re-focused on you having a press/news base. Even if it were called the movement. It is so structurally elegant. Privileged .? Funding? Subscriptions.? , Intl . Avoid " in kind " treatment. Your notebooks , safe. etc

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/23/18 03:27:19 AM (564665239)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C0C19359-7EF1-4BAF-969E-39EBABD6AF0B

Message: U mean have media platform not NGO/political platform?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 03:30:36 AM (564665436)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C5D6A7E0-262D-4D9C-AF47-95DBA0DD16B6

Message: We can talk it out. Maybe both, but the NGO. Gives you little. And is old thinking. It allows a tax deduction in the states. (at the cost of the govt being your partner " But otherwise , requires filings , public etc. "). press . private. protected. . access, legal niceties. (salaries . Etc) .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 03:31:54 AM (564665514)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 424B1D11-A2EC-42C0-8F61-34120E7F9DBD

Message: Think of it as a battle plan. You have made great strides. Forged ahead. at some time you stop and build a fort to protect your gains. □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 03:32:46 AM (564665566)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 42713E00-A178-42CD-9BB6-080454934692

Message: Press equiv. To walls. NGO eqivalent to moat

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/23/18 06:30:46 AM (564676246)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 833C828E-EBD1-43A7-8120-61DBC5BA73C4

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 06:33:30 AM (564676410)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EBE82396-E1FB-47C8-B8C5-F4F4411E4CA7

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 12:09:29 PM (564696569)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CCC2A538-2604-4D90-BE53-A2968804D997

Message: MBS becoming weaker by the day. shame. Not sure he makes it. Why don't you reach out to z and ask if we can set a date and venue

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/23/18 12:11:05 PM (564696665)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F173C90C-38A5-4F71-9E81-7C7503C46861

Message: MBS in UAE now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 12:11:54 PM (564696714)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 474F805E-54FF-4853-A047-ED6C4AEEC249

Message: I thought today was Tunis. He is on a road show.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/23/18 12:12:11 PM (564696731)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3E23E475-9A3F-4351-B05A-DED6904FF110

Message: I'm pretty impressed by how they are trying to power thru this

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/23/18 12:12:28 PM (564696748)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 848EF218-A171-4F7F-9765-D2B3840C79AF

Message: Yes -- just departed mbz

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 12:13:57 PM (564696837)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 05F602EE-7477-4D8E-976B-98B25A1B8DFE

Message: My best guess is that it becomes impossible for him to sit at a table of leaders. And have any gravitas left. Especially if a video of them making Saudi sausage surfaces in the press

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/23/18 12:15:09 PM (564696909)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BD018C77-0C03-48A7-8A72-68233738AED7

Message: Oh yeah that's done but was that ever a reality for any Saudi head???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 12:16:54 PM (564697014)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 81454D59-8EFF-47C2-86C3-87E2D899CD47

Message: Idi amin was ok , until they had a video of him eating the liver of his opponent. The past did not have the internet. Where the leaders are seen in real time shaking the hand of the butcher. Tricky. But it's not what I do.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 12:19:27 PM (564697167)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E2588533-49B0-4A76-955F-3CEC3E03464F

Message: Unlikely that lambchop moves to replace shari, but aljazera won't let up. So he should make peace with Q

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/23/18 12:19:57 PM (564697197)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5217879F-3AD6-401B-AF96-001A07129B68

Message: Agree ; and I think mbz does also

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 01:06:54 PM (564700014)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F88BF9E9-79D8-41DC-8BAC-DCF6EA20E2EF

Message: https://www.cnbc.com/2018/11/23/overstock-to-sell-retail-business-and-reportedly-go-all-in-on-crypto-by-february.html

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/23/18 01:20:08 PM (564700808)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2C23643D-0FD4-4F2D-BE09-BE8AB9B87CD0

Message: How does this happen when crypto is imploding

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 01:21:49 PM (564700909)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 215083F7-DCC2-44B1-9B40-FA7AF6654789

Message: Good question. 1. The stock was down from 80 to 17 . So a move up to 22 not interesting. Crypto is the currency , block chain is the equiv of internet 2.0. this was the guy you wanted me to meet?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/23/18 01:30:02 PM (564701402)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E3A245B6-FF24-49B5-A670-196D830BF737

Message: No need to-- I spent time with -- kind of a flake

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 01:43:29 PM (564702209)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 96F93021-B000-4824-99A9-3820F3BEBDA6

Message: You are being generous

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/23/18 01:47:47 PM (564702467)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CFCC2B7D-9EEB-43A5-8FE8-2B4769C30800

Message: Tried to convince me he was with CIA ... 'fantasist'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 01:48:21 PM (564702501)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D5DE8604-59EA-4B8F-A29D-BA0112E4872C

Message: Maybe he was using his seduction routine

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/23/18 01:48:51 PM (564702531)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A3D774B2-E395-404A-83D3-4A73A3A41856

Message: That was the pitch -- with the Russian girl

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/23/18 01:48:51 PM (564702531)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0FCC60B8-7BCF-4911-A5C2-68E2C90F785E

Message: Give me a call. [redacted]

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/23/18 01:48:57 PM (564702537)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E71745D3-1B56-465C-96CE-8F0FF54CF1A1

Message: Cray cray

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/24/18 07:40:27 AM (564766827)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BDFED6DD-D5DB-4EA9-97F7-A36E4A3904BF

Message: Roger stone - telling many that I am your funder

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/24/18 07:40:43 AM (564766843)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7704103C-E276-445F-9407-765112EF96FF

Message: ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/26/18 03:19:23 AM (564923963)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F1615E31-D94D-4485-BDFB-5F5F64AED265

Message: Just received a video of stone attacking you and -// jeffret clintons pimpetc etc

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/26/18 04:39:02 AM (564928742)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ED5DAE0D-91DD-48A7-B424-E56F9E316BD4

Message: roger stone???... who cares , he says stuff like this all the time

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/26/18 04:47:31 AM (564929251)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9AA8F9E9-EDA1-43EA-AD5C-8D68560C9EC1

Message: Face to face

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/26/18 04:48:24 AM (564929304)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6CB8C6E0-30FD-4185-B0D2-9E388F45D954

Message: of course not -- on alex Jones

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/26/18 04:49:27 AM (564929367)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DE47B335-521A-4398-A5D4-44144066A7E7

Message: No worry- im in wed night till Sunday. Lots to discuss:)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/26/18 04:49:44 AM (564929384)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 360D6AD9-481B-4AB9-A063-3D22897116E6

Message: Thursday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/26/18 04:54:14 AM (564929654)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B8DB831C-1AD2-4FAF-88F5-FB5269E61738

Message: Breakfast?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/26/18 05:02:39 AM (564930159)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 055B1067-AC23-49A1-AD08-7C1B933F78C4

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/26/18 05:04:26 AM (564930266)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ED4C0EA0-A3C5-428C-B3BB-14CFC4A3F0B1

Message: Done

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/27/18 05:37:39 AM (565018659)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E91F28D6-BB1D-4F93-B6C7-15304074CA4C

Message: What time do prefer breakfast

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/27/18 10:24:44 AM (565035884)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8051B7F9-719D-433E-9650-3DD8B24ECFEE

Message: 7am???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/27/18 10:25:43 AM (565035943)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4F3EBE79-5BC5-4C01-A763-310E78290388

Message: Perfect

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/28/18 02:34:09 PM (565137249)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0F29FFDB-1E84-4723-9FD4-7F65CD33C250

Message: Has the media staked out your place yet???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/28/18 02:45:22 PM (565137922)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 95468C4A-264B-41E5-AC1E-C9E7684DC26E

Message: No, all easy, lots of people here tonight

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/28/18 02:47:04 PM (565138024)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DFFD1A7F-5500-4AA3-ABB1-366A4A806A97

Message: In fact. Jabor on his way over

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/28/18 03:15:37 PM (565139737)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 61724534-A1F4-4E96-A835-35A3274A13B7

Message: Very cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/28/18 05:20:15 PM (565147215)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FA2FC88B-AE7F-4F06-8ED3-21D5845F90B3

Message: Any further feedback from mbz ?

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-11-29\[redacted] on 2018-11-26 at 13.08.48.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 11/12/18 03:45:44 AM (563715944)

End Time: 11/29/18 04:24:47 PM (565230287)

Last Message ID: 24045

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/12/18 03:45:44 AM (563715944)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 20E7124E-8D14-4379-B85D-2F19AF381CE8

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/12/18 03:45:51 AM (563715951)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 71D93897-5C0D-4032-9E02-102C2F19A251

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/12/18 03:46:13 AM (563715973)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D32396E1-1CA4-4725-9598-2F1AA8290287

Message: GREAT!! ask him about a sandwich

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/12/18 03:47:12 AM (563716032)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4D492C37-58D9-4003-9E65-95FB6D64CB2B

Message: Too late:(But there were some sandwiches in his office:)

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/12/18 03:48:36 AM (563716116)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E2953573-4C02-46C8-88D0-C4F890A53E2E

Message: im glad.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/12/18 03:49:06 AM (563716146)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6F10FAE4-CB37-42EE-A44D-43335B7F313B

Message: But nobody offered

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/13/18 02:55:20 AM (563799320)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 54BDC21A-7B98-41F5-B0A9-7FBB1BFD98E5

Message: On wed. You can tell mike. Re your sound like a f.... Moron. Coversation with Steve. They are very close . And I think it will break the ice\

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/13/18 11:26:18 AM (563829978)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B5F58C2C-482A-40B6-BD9E-CB8D43A415E2

Message: OK, I will:)

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 05:47:25 AM (563896045)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 01E184B5-A944-4F43-82C8-C781C740FEF6

Message: Do you leave tonight

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 05:50:32 AM (563896232)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F680E178-DED6-4CE6-B5D3-6DB002D95734

Message: Yes, from DC

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 05:50:51 AM (563896251)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E049424A-26A7-4554-BE9B-60E994C84810

Message: Lieberman resignation in Israel . Could be a game changer

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 05:51:27 AM (563896287)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 986A3AD8-7C96-422D-BCB5-279827E84E15

Message: Yes, he is a heavyweight

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 05:52:17 AM (563896337)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D4F2059E-C0A0-4ED6-9F08-3B2580B8AD3D

Message: Pompeo , one of the few that can get across and has the respect still of trump

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 05:52:55 AM (563896375)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2226980D-5390-4564-9D80-D3E30841D7FA

Message: I'm seeing him at 2pm

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 05:53:24 AM (563896404)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 91640502-5941-4861-9292-4FCE92360666

Message: Steve brought him from obscurity , a tea party member into the limelight

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 05:53:53 AM (563896433)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 38A99829-B635-4676-ADC2-EF200D40A2A4

Message: Really? I didn't know that

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 05:54:10 AM (563896450)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EEB59D71-6C7D-4FFC-88D0-8F2F22F53907

Message: Yup

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 05:54:36 AM (563896476)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 575909D0-DF98-4B30-8B26-969EC4FFCDC6

Message: It will be our first real meeting

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 05:55:56 AM (563896556)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B30879CA-4128-48A6-94D2-21613BB9060A

Message: A kansas congressman.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 05:56:26 AM (563896586)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 88310701-0B52-4FF2-BE69-5338CEDCCCDD

Message: And West Point graduate

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 05:56:38 AM (563896598)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0092631F-2D0F-4AEE-AF8B-5FF140E556C3

Message: You are back?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 05:58:11 AM (563896691)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B88DE773-0C2E-4886-A9BE-EF76CA771FAB

Message: In Florida in the sun

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 06:00:18 AM (563896818)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 48987532-7D44-4216-920A-682DB51D31FE

Message: That's not fair!:)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 06:00:22 AM (563896822)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6A19FA7B-B01F-49A3-8F22-710270F798DA

Message: I envy you

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 06:00:40 AM (563896840)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E498AE1D-CBC2-4C3B-B18F-771320FE1D81

Message: Get in line

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 06:01:14 AM (563896874)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D31251FF-4372-4AC4-8E6B-393DA7362863

Message: :-)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 11:32:34 AM (563916754)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DA1D5866-7883-48D2-9F0D-293D1E24DAD1

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 01:06:40 PM (563922400)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CDD061F0-0D2C-421B-B496-E5F044FDE4A9

Message: Great. Are you out yet?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 01:09:26 PM (563922566)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9090E78A-6D70-44BC-80E2-7E75788A435F

Message: Done with my meetings, on the way to the airport

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 01:09:40 PM (563922580)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E4FF4F89-6F7A-44E8-A3D2-0775F00B734C

Message: How was it ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/14/18 01:09:59 PM (563922599)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 56FBD4B1-D39E-42A7-B17B-CC9C8E625A4D

Message: Can you speak. ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/14/18 01:10:07 PM (563922607)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 76218BE5-7705-4B87-8B47-19AEA1138ECD

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 03:45:02 PM (564018302)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DA56E7AE-2F9A-4812-9067-80043A4E037D

Message: I think Steve. Will come to ab

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/15/18 03:45:12 PM (564018312)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 700FB115-3ABD-4670-AF02-A6B7A6490638

Message: Ad

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 12:21:59 AM (564049319)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 02881245-63E1-4B22-98EE-E092716A89C2

Message: I'll let you know if I see him

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 03:03:04 AM (564058984)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F1943C71-191E-45AE-8758-43CA087FEECF

Message: Now unlikey as uk heating up wow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 03:04:47 AM (564059087)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0EF90362-FD28-483E-A4CF-03893B85E05A

Message: I think so too

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:03:36 AM (564084216)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8E7DA469-093B-41EC-9692-BB8240B3054E

Message: He will be in

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:03:44 AM (564084224)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3F199D65-D03E-4A78-971E-C0C54E4A2038

Message: AD. Tomorrow afternoon

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:03:51 AM (564084231)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8919803A-40B1-4565-B0C1-58CA1FD7B6C4

Message: You?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 10:08:32 AM (564084512)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B09D982A-50F0-42FA-83B0-03652F0E982C

Message: He texted me. He will be in Abu Dhabi tomorrow. But I'm in the middle of a desert, two hours helicopter flight from there

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:09:19 AM (564084559)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BACACDB0-2C51-4C77-8B49-2BB7AB1105BA

Message: Yes, I've been . When do you return to AD

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 10:53:25 AM (564087205)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 451155F0-1E67-4647-9D2F-4DE31EA4F298

Message: I come back to Dubai on Sunday and continue to Brussels

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/16/18 10:54:33 AM (564087273)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FEAB2E2C-7F50-4743-A8FC-31F9D7FDB785

Message: Early Dubai?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/16/18 10:59:20 AM (564087560)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 832E37B9-3B6B-4F09-A435-44CD3803B231

Message: Arrive around noon, departure 14.30

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/17/18 11:47:51 PM (564220071)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 55DE751F-397B-491D-A697-EEA8F152381D

Message: Was it fun?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/17/18 11:48:33 PM (564220113)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 575D7FD9-CD1D-4CBC-A7B9-0D0010AC1035

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/17/18 11:48:45 PM (564220125)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C3C213A9-B3E3-4610-8C3A-3A8C57D2AFE5

Message: At moments

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/17/18 11:49:03 PM (564220143)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8F384AF5-DDA7-42F3-BD75-BB84B38CB3F3

Message: Right now on the way to the airport

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/17/18 11:49:22 PM (564220162)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4B6A9836-25B9-49F0-9C07-A040F7144297

Message: Ha

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 03:14:33 AM (564232473)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4DFA8EA1-8566-466E-8896-6FD7E4E13896

Message: best part of trip?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 09:36:00 AM (564255360)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 893C975E-429A-4214-A5E0-76F7B703EFC1

Message: Massage

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 09:36:43 AM (564255403)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1197C459-0DF8-4D1B-B386-EF9192D8F505

Message: And my wife was happy to see me more than usually

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/18/18 09:37:15 AM (564255435)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7E612164-6F95-4E06-AD1C-4EF760045FBD

Message: Just landed in Brussels, we have EU Foreign ministers meeting here tomorrow

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/18/18 10:00:53 AM (564256853)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BA6F2229-ACFE-4649-819E-344731BD6D76

Message: Understood

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 02:13:19 AM (564315199)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 573C9866-22E8-47A1-BE38-29902BC8CC36

Message: As of today...

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 02:38:30 AM (564316710)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E1F76C72-B10A-42B9-93C9-BDCDB8522F9E

Message: Oy, indeed

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 11:12:03 AM (564347523)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FB2F7EA4-D00D-453D-8F06-9B39D161029F

Message: Mid January

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/19/18 11:12:45 AM (564347565)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F45401ED-614C-4C74-9563-B22DEC7D2082

Message: Yes. Something will happen by then.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/20/18 04:42:43 AM (564410563)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F885B3D9-0620-4DC0-A9FC-DDAADF0EF845

Message: I said today that if Slovakia withdraws from Migration compact I will consider resignation. It's a breaking news all over the media. And it might actually happen. I might have to do it to protect my professional and personal integrity.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/20/18 04:49:57 AM (564410997)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A1C0F438-D905-4863-BA73-32FB3A1CFD24

Message: The prime minister is still on your side?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/20/18 04:50:16 AM (564411016)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F88E2B8A-B7CA-42A1-A899-E916496BA7A5

Message: do I understand correctly that it is you vs parliament?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/20/18 04:51:10 AM (564411070)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DC83679D-182F-4355-AB95-5FDAE0CD3103

Message: Yes, the PM is with me. But the former PM and party chairman is pushing for withdrawal

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/20/18 04:51:47 AM (564411107)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D0139C55-8582-42F5-B37C-042CAA66B9E9

Message: Parliament can only recommend to the government.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/20/18 04:52:23 AM (564411143)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 40836B8F-0DEF-49C8-A63F-162A88A5F9C2

Message: But I will totally lose credibility if Slovakia withdraws and I stay silent

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/20/18 04:57:59 AM (564411479)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AA23CE2B-62F2-4DB0-837D-54120490221F

Message: Agreed

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/20/18 04:58:59 AM (564411539)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1D2CE7DA-2B41-4672-830F-5931731E9C00

Message: More divisiveness. I guess better opportunity to be seen to unify?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/20/18 05:00:18 AM (564411618)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5292BB12-55F4-49A9-8F1B-92D541D91DCD

Message: Maybe. And maybe another signal that internal politics is for me, at least not at this stage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/20/18 05:01:00 AM (564411660)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 548D58B0-0452-448B-95D1-8484488A52BF

Message: It seems people are trying to make the argument that strength is in opposition to humanity.. ? I assume you meant that internal is NOT for you. . (that's how wars start)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/20/18 05:01:50 AM (564411710)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1F0C0EF1-1429-4EE9-B144-41C1D60DBC45

Message: Yes, you are right:) Not for me

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/20/18 05:24:07 AM (564413047)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 84BE9EBA-221B-4181-B34F-1C10E29DA8C4

Message: I called back, you have voicemail

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/20/18 05:24:14 AM (564413054)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4953E64D-0E3D-47BD-BEA1-1D134D376EAC

Message: Feel free to call

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/20/18 05:51:22 AM (564414682)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 87620F99-81DA-43BC-B355-A63AFD87A308

Message: tried

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/22/18 04:14:53 AM (564581693)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C679EC7B-C3BD-457D-9101-D9E9939C2829

Message: Appears like a fun committee meeting. Breathe.! Think judicial demeanor. Don't let them get you to be emotional.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/22/18 04:16:45 AM (564581805)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F7E038BA-A398-4DE8-9783-1342308FD643

Message: If you decide to resign. Lets make the resignation powerful.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 04:18:11 AM (564581891)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A2C5038C-5906-40DD-BB44-FD4A54683AE1

Message: You are right. I stay cool, only in reaction to MPs stupid statements I I got a bit emotional. But not too much.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 04:18:33 AM (564581913)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB63A250-3DF0-46DA-88FE-613475FF815B

Message: Thanks, if going then going in style:)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 04:19:40 AM (564581980)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 97882D24-1625-41A5-9E17-8B3766AAFD22

Message: But in general I'm surprisingly relaxed. I feel I'm doing the right thing. And there is a powerful positive reaction from people.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/22/18 04:26:26 AM (564582386)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 03DEE5F5-2F7E-472A-BBD9-5B2046BEA97C

Message: Im not surprised. , I think your position is just. It is the explanation of it that needs tailoring. Ie Not on the table youre on the menu, is too flippant . You know your country. It wants to appear strong. Hiding from attending engenders the opposite I think you can make a great case that attending strengthens the country s hand. Hiding , running away from the issue , shows weakness and brings more trouble. . □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 04:28:04 AM (564582484)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 86F57A62-5CD3-43AB-AE61-66226A93F9D0

Message: Yes, you are right. I will stress that more.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/22/18 04:32:51 AM (564582771)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 48315F16-0022-4765-A539-D23788F1D8AC

Message: " Slovaks don't run and hide . We stand tall and say ....." We don't agree . Or nyet. Or Slovakia must decide what is good for Slovakia . Fun

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 04:34:50 AM (564582890)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C0A013CE-4526-46AA-9C70-61ECF17E8E30

Message: Fun:)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 04:35:22 AM (564582922)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 11BADEDB-63D7-470E-AA8D-8ABB3A1571A1

Message: I said many of these things yesterday in the Committee

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/22/18 04:35:36 AM (564582936)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F8EDE1EE-9F60-40B7-8198-47B4E8305AAB

Message: I think this issue helps frame your own decision making. Its not do you want to be president and what that means. , more and more it means. Can I stand to be around these small minded people

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 04:36:44 AM (564583004)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 08A038BE-1663-4DA9-A892-AB72E68653F8

Message: Yes, exactly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/22/18 01:29:40 PM (564614980)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 41854609-ED77-4098-98B9-E71FD7DE991D

Message: "I think Europe needs to get a handle on migration because that is what lit the flame," Clinton said regarding the rise of rightwing populists like Hungary's Viktor Orbán. Clinton added: "I admire the very generous and compassionate approaches that were taken particularly by leaders like Angela Merkel, but I think it is fair to say Europe has done its part, and must send a very clear message - 'we are not going to be able to continue provide refuge and support' - because if we don't deal with the migration issue it will continue to roil the body politic."

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 01:33:01 PM (564615181)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5933DC2E-992A-48A5-B936-A33836F111F8

Message: He's absolutely right

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/22/18 01:33:13 PM (564615193)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D331E3A4-EB30-4780-84FC-EF703D23E928

Message: She

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/22/18 01:34:01 PM (564615241)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 154F9D96-4995-4028-886B-749DEFC36199

Message: Oh, OK. But she's still right:)))

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/26/18 03:08:51 AM (564923331)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4708B9F8-9EDB-47B8-8A07-4DD65D12EEF8

Message: Progress?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/26/18 03:38:31 AM (564925111)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1553F0DF-A9FB-4FE9-B6AD-95171FE7EAD2

Message: Both President and the Prime Minister are working on a deal. They don't want to lose me. Parliament is still stubborn. I said my read line is to go to Marrakech and not to reject the Migration compact in its entirety. The vote on the parliamentary resolution was postponed until next week. I'm in Turkey today, was just received by Erdogan for a very long, private and friendly meeting. Flying to Berlin from here.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/26/18 10:05:59 AM (564948359)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B04F2837-A23B-46E9-AEC6-F66D41E3EC08

Message: Did he give you an Apple Watch to record your future conversations

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/26/18 10:06:35 AM (564948395)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BD5AEE90-BB66-44BB-B58A-954EAD22E17C

Message: No, he didn't:)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/26/18 10:07:07 AM (564948427)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CF6FABE2-A1B1-46E4-8059-897146E37511

Message: But he spoke at length about it.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/26/18 10:07:27 AM (564948447)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 02D11822-6B6F-4CB6-937F-C3CD4098ECD2

Message: About the case, not the watch:)

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/26/18 10:07:57 AM (564948477)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BD224B55-5180-4C1F-B221-C8D2E33EA4F8

Message: He talks a lot doesn't he?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/26/18 10:08:08 AM (564948488)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 44A4282D-85E3-4388-ADEB-89F810329229

Message: He will continue raising it in various international fora

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/26/18 10:08:12 AM (564948492)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6CB085B1-C2C9-4815-A4DC-9E82D2BC88EA

Message: He does

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 11/26/18 10:08:48 AM (564948528)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 52DC8124-656E-4B32-85DD-9519579222F7

Message: And he likes me. The Foreign minister was our interpreter

Sender:[redacted]

Time: 11/29/18 02:24:53 PM (565223093)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 368DA8CC-73F8-459E-A3B9-56FE8D190AE4

Message: Are you OK?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/29/18 03:45:52 PM (565227952)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FCA46C4E-8DE8-43D5-8323-45D3B8DD9E2C

Message: great. bad press. silly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/29/18 03:45:56 PM (565227956)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5CB5DF07-54DA-43F4-A0E5-8485DDD87061

Message: thx

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/29/18 04:24:45 PM (565230285)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D51EDB38-961F-44E6-A238-A63F84CC1B4D

Message: My turn again in the barrel

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 11/29/18 04:24:47 PM (565230287)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CEDE6379-E575-48F0-873B-5BFD4DEF7461

Message: □

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-12-04\[redacted] on 2018-12-04 at 13.29.25.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 12/01/18 05:04:14 AM (565362254)

End Time: 12/04/18 02:26:55 PM (565655215)

Last Message ID: 24274

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/01/18 05:04:14 AM (565362254)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9048BBB1-6925-487F-A73D-634629B76184

Message: today i have nobel prize winner friend richard axel and misha grosov , smartest living mathematician . at 5. . you are welcome. any updates on boston?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/01/18 05:05:56 AM (565362356)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 103DB674-1F01-44B2-83AF-069FD7DD8D59

Message: Can't make harvard

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/01/18 05:06:49 AM (565362409)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6ACAD9F5-2E53-40AA-9966-F6C93531C112

Message: k

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/01/18 05:07:37 AM (565362457)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89931F78-10D2-40BC-BD43-A81B43CC5953

Message: understand

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/01/18 03:09:05 PM (565398545)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 11D91CF4-EB04-4039-969E-FAF6EDC83EE5

Message: No go for now on our project -- our guy all-in but shutdown by home office

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/01/18 03:55:36 PM (565401336)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F04C920E-371B-4556-AE34-4354D53F6D52

Message: Your girlfriend having dinner with weisman

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/01/18 03:56:05 PM (565401365)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 67BBF420-5DD0-4B8F-8CD2-6AFE31BA45AF

Message: No good will come out of that

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/01/18 04:00:01 PM (565401601)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 68E55738-F9A1-4E11-82F7-2BCCC68F68C1

Message: I had three China guys today . I told them they should brief you. Therr is s forty year anniversary in Beijing of the beginning of economic growth initiative

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/01/18 04:00:27 PM (565401627)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2E8169F7-CABC-45B1-A3B1-01065186306A

Message: Love to sit down

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/01/18 04:01:22 PM (565401682)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8BE60D61-D7B3-49A6-98B3-A7C8F88FE16F

Message: Bottom line. Forcing china to turn ineard is counterproductive to containment

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/01/18 04:03:23 PM (565401803)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 02210EC1-C3E0-490C-B8F6-3CCABA00D90A

Message: Not forcing inward-- trying to takedown senior CCP leadership

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/01/18 04:17:02 PM (565402622)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0B112EC0-8BF0-485F-8596-B75D5FF452AB

Message: Im aware , -it was decribed as both stronger but much more brittle

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/01/18 05:26:27 PM (565406787)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D3472450-E031-4C69-A97A-BF40E405A1E3

Message: the reformist are thrilled. the last bastions of the state owned , (communist

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/01/18 05:27:28 PM (565406848)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6C2F26F6-A09C-4774-9E25-68475007EFFA

Message:) less so. . as their last hope for control. . fy , i go to harvard at 10 and return at 7 pm and tom pritzker lunch on monday in ny if you are still here

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/01/18 06:00:01 PM (565408801)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5953E0EC-0BC0-479C-B7BF-F220EFB41961

Message: 'Reform' all happy talk

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 03:14:05 AM (565442045)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 226A0FC6-BBFC-44A7-A027-AEAFA45992F4

Message: brittle. key

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/02/18 04:51:44 AM (565447904)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E83D255A-2A7A-4071-A074-C50AF7156306

Message: yes brittle key

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 05:14:58 AM (565449298)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3ED8B123-E015-420E-8FCC-7AEF57EC17BD

Message: winning the long game from our side. requires short losses. hui, said to my friend , they have moved from econmic growth model to endurance model.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 05:16:08 AM (565449368)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A8E71A6E-0D78-4E70-8BD6-0AB80CBF32B7

Message: xi describes djt as an typical american bully

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 05:16:30 AM (565449390)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 523DD9F6-0F5C-4563-B2BB-1C73BDC4660C

Message: for you only please

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 05:19:53 AM (565449593)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 39C3BDB0-C979-436C-9325-E8AD1B076C24

Message: russians behaving more like africans and funny enough respect for the iranians.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/02/18 05:28:48 AM (565450128)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E6C7C453-1615-4109-880C-0812455E5DE3

Message: Trump worst negotiator in human history

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 06:11:46 AM (565452706)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9586ED38-2D2B-46EF-9EAC-3F5065BCAEAA

Message: They're playing- go- and he can't master tick tack tow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/02/18 06:26:28 AM (565453588)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 898E240D-98E7-440C-9DB8-4DF6B2E89627

Message: Navarro called me last night --Chinese panic ; American cave

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 06:40:27 AM (565454427)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C73A5757-5E01-49EF-AF08-0DE962E19CD6

Message: Art of war - 1st chapter

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/02/18 06:43:58 AM (565454638)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 23091186-4615-44EC-8496-D12D06349C06

Message: Art of the deal --introduction

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 06:44:30 AM (565454670)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E80E1511-9DF6-4EAF-9FD8-89AF16155E24

Message: Cliff notes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 06:45:52 AM (565454752)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1D867111-ED5D-4022-B1B6-EB4771A6E098

Message: Li hu . - he almost smiled . That's how bad

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/02/18 06:53:23 AM (565455203)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 49AE2AB6-C20C-4F8F-B53E-C5D08AB2B68B

Message: Yep

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 07:02:12 AM (565455732)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 39D7DD50-15F5-44E8-B8B4-02CC921EC5FA

Message: Im at the kennedy school. You should've come

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/02/18 07:05:12 AM (565455912)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9089455A-9A39-4211-8AE7-5FC8F7AA1C8E

Message: Yep

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 07:07:25 AM (565456045)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 92C204ED-ED29-4A0A-BC4C-1B4731594546

Message: Or did the honeybear get cold paws

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 07:10:59 AM (565456259)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 22C170B2-F821-44EB-9F5C-6A9C79119475

Message: Breakfast tomorrow?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/02/18 07:21:34 AM (565456894)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AF2E3758-8A56-4408-9136-26E5D35B22FD

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 07:21:48 AM (565456908)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6E9FC838-6F2F-4CD0-9D59-1C5AC3DCC021

Message: 730?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/02/18 07:21:54 AM (565456914)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9159D9DC-2C25-4D0D-9D44-70F8D3A0789F

Message: Sure

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 08:18:21 AM (565633101)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2313[redacted]73C-6B9E-439A-9C20-82C2E00C25A2

Message: https://www.thedailybeast.com/jeffrey-epstein-settles-for-malicious-prosecution

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/04/18 08:22:12 AM (565633332)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0BDEB144-2ACD-4BA0-BE18-2DB641D8E371

Message: Terrible terrible terrible statement

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/04/18 08:22:23 AM (565633343)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A8934269-86EC-4966-BD60-41342CE30D9C

Message: Who the fuck advises u!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 08:22:56 AM (565633376)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5D588712-350D-4E04-BB2D-9AFACB0C9B6F

Message: now you understand my frustration

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 08:23:46 AM (565633426)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D70C2BCB-E428-47B1-BBFB-07967BA7FF64

Message: hiring matt hiltzig

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 08:27:48 AM (565633668)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9C5A9BBE-990E-4F31-9B28-5E4B2815FA0B

Message: the fact that the lawyer got all the money and none to the girls , may be a point of leverage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 08:31:28 AM (565633888)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E07D38C-6369-4E6E-8EF4-59337A32DE55

Message: lots of people made nervous, very , but not me

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 08:31:33 AM (565633893)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E8FF3F03-DBB0-4500-8A86-7B346F9C7DEB

Message: ;

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/04/18 10:28:38 AM (565640918)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B1BC77F5-A711-4930-82B7-D309D70C517C

Message: But your deal allows the girls to 'go tell their stories'!!!-- he bragged about that and pushed that @ the press conference

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 10:29:15 AM (565640955)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BFBFED75-C67E-46B4-8459-D3E31633F628

Message: can't gag.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 10:29:25 AM (565640965)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 32BF83E6-C5CE-4F18-9688-DDE03D7E10A6

Message: all silly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 10:47:32 AM (565642052)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8D324242-F48F-4EE9-B9DE-07298830B0EA

Message: Id like to do a documentary on the real story]

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/04/18 10:49:35 AM (565642175)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D8AB1FE5-9AD4-43C1-9ED5-CA9AD9FE4403

Message: Would u let me interview the girls also?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 11:04:44 AM (565643084)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CFA02DF7-7CB7-4D7A-9394-C5139BAC1C75

Message: Yes, great idea. Look at the market. And think about what I told you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/04/18 11:06:26 AM (565643186)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7A1CAC08-FE2E-4A6A-B095-4CC9DA21EE2B

Message: U r kidding correct ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 11:06:32 AM (565643192)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 49C2B111-297C-4026-AAB5-B821117EBCB4

Message: Nope

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/04/18 11:07:01 AM (565643221)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2D67867D-9B41-49D7-B5EB-CBC4208E6E88

Message: We would tell the magnificent and the less than magnificent

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 11:07:10 AM (565643230)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E9AFF45B-4DC0-4C0A-A36C-A33122837A41

Message: Stock market manipulation . Chinse. Fucnkng him

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/04/18 11:08:32 AM (565643312)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C9949FF1-2547-45ED-840C-162F789C0139

Message: Let me know when can talk

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 11:16:55 AM (565643815)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3AC160A4-4B0E-4A66-8628-4416462A8A2D

Message: 212 772 9416 now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 12:32:53 PM (565648373)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EA317217-5BD3-4304-A063-3EED2FA3DF7F

Message: The girls. Read my address book. No kidding one girl said she had sex with my friend Steven hawking

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/04/18 12:33:42 PM (565648422)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 398D0556-3372-42A6-9D4E-FFAD17B4BD80

Message: Doesn't make her a bad person

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 12:35:56 PM (565648556)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 23A88942-3A9D-46D1-A6C4-AE8E2874F1C0

Message: When she saw his photo. Ugh

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/04/18 12:40:36 PM (565648836)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D9B71071-A47C-4B64-B156-5FBB89D35F3E

Message: She is called a prostitute --he looks like a federal reserve note

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 12:41:53 PM (565648913)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 806362CC-6A0D-4E77-A0C1-252A91505405

Message: He is paralyzed. She forgot that part

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/04/18 12:43:33 PM (565649013)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8950EC9E-5F64-4E1C-ABCC-DF573796B820

Message: Unlike trump she is into a strong dollar

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/04/18 02:26:55 PM (565655215)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7DEFD172-9268-457C-97B4-BA93570780FF

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2018-12-10\[redacted] on 2018-12-10 at 07.17.26.ichat

Service: SMS

Start Time: 12/05/18 07:35:08 AM (565716908)

End Time: 12/10/18 04:17:26 AM (566137046)

Last Message ID: 24469

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/05/18 07:35:08 AM (565716908)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 307AFBE9-8209-4898-9347-B38437401C66

Message: What do you think about me hiring former judges fbi to do a thorough investigation so as to separate truth from fiction

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/05/18 07:54:31 AM (565718071)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D91381B1-F7CA-498A-A5FA-7B196AD78E0C

Message: Let's go thru -- not sure folks care that they were strippers / prostitutes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/05/18 07:59:27 AM (565718367)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 636DC79C-A0BA-4BA0-9185-094F2BFF41A0

Message: Older

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/05/18 07:59:58 AM (565718398)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 99B59E0E-8A63-4E6E-BDDF-7822A264CC49

Message: Not 15 not 16

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/05/18 08:00:00 AM (565718400)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4B3D5996-80A4-44DC-9722-B35DCCF2FA7C

Message: Anyway it's smart idea

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 05:03:26 AM (565794206)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89489A38-29B5-4384-B3CD-51EF771C9209

Message: Where r we today on all this ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:04:10 AM (565794250)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 07AF110B-5860-471E-B131-607F49F2692C

Message: https://www.miamiherald.com/opinion/op-ed/article222705765.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:07:24 AM (565794444)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 54382108-2BE9-4E3F-8DAF-C7B528179C2D

Message: Considering op ed , by ken Starr and or Dershowitz. Considering a law review article. . an independent inquiry into the fact that this penalty was for prostituion and harshest ever meted out. I've been asked , what can I give them on djt. Thoughts are little to do while the incoming is so heavy. But will hire pr and have to think with group on way forward.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 05:08:24 AM (565794504)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 46454BB5-E7A7-4851-BBC2-41FA41F9423A

Message: Who is comms team?; has wolf vetted???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:08:43 AM (565794523)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DCAA7037-64A2-4130-A4DE-B17E46623F61

Message: Karyna said that even you find a cure for breast cancer they might publish it on the medical page under new catheters . Yes . Michaels friend Matt hiltzig

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:10:58 AM (565794658)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0B02A56C-100B-47DF-9E98-5E9663B9A8FF

Message: The local prosecutor. Called Said your punishment was miles above anyone similarly situated. As their sex prosecutor that actually interviewed the girls said there were no real victims. Only prostitutes. UGH

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:11:49 AM (565794709)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 86B5D163-3789-4761-9CC1-5D3E8FAB1D3D

Message: Thoughts? Documentary ? Interview? As you said this is part of a political wave so few have relevant experience

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:12:36 AM (565794756)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7E6A82A3-E174-4C57-821D-982A82FDE3E5

Message: It is not moonves getting bjs on a transactional (NYT) basis.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 05:13:08 AM (565794788)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 76BE10D7-B2AA-471B-A7EB-C37EAFDA9EBE

Message: How many of the girls would agree to be filmed ?-- would the institutes youve founded, the work you've done-- would they be on film ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:14:59 AM (565794899)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 416B17C9-575C-40E5-8E67-E811CD4842A9

Message: The insitiutes. Scientists definitely . The girls can be forced to testify on video , i'll explain face to face . If they need encouragement

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:29:17 AM (565795757)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 34B2C271-292E-4D2B-9913-C2329CD549D5

Message: I also laughed as there is a fake news on. You tube that was sent to be of my island on fire. Caribbean dharma . Kid you not

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:29:37 AM (565795777)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9EA02D54-EA48-4672-9A5B-A9D8119FF245

Message: *me

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:31:38 AM (565795898)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB01299C-7AAD-43C3-8E45-92EDA202F30A

Message: So interesting. Some dems think I'm their silver bullet , some republicans with the same view prefer I not be a credible witness. Can't win □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 05:33:33 AM (565796013)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E14893BA-2B99-4D57-8DCC-615910EB56B1

Message: Besides curing breast cancer what about establishingTHE major center for human trafficking; teenage prostitution; etc etc etc -- global problem , needs to be solved

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:35:57 AM (565796157)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 37B802D4-85F1-4D01-B546-D6AD3CCFA422

Message: The pr guys think may be seen to be an attempt to buy my way out. That is what the party of Davos would do.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:38:31 AM (565796311)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2F7DCD9B-9276-48C8-B1AF-FFD2E9D0A67F

Message: Like shroedingers cat , I am both male deplorable and an elite at the same time until someone opens the box.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 05:40:50 AM (565796450)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACD2DE53-6B4C-4440-ADBE-DAAB4C30D338

Message: Just concepts now -- not turning this around this cycle-- mid and long game -- look @ federalist society

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 05:47:18 AM (565796838)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E8F49B1C-5B9B-4136-8166-547DB96D78BA

Message: You can't buy your way out--unbuyable-- can work your way out

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:47:40 AM (565796860)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CDF74874-9465-4F40-B812-3CDAB058E950

Message: agreed

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:49:58 AM (565796998)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DA97F502-C230-4C5B-B8C9-EE233879F2A1

Message: You saw mbs brother back in dc to show strength . Oy.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 05:53:20 AM (565797200)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 77632463-DEA5-4F9F-98A8-FCDFFD4766DD

Message: Making calls !

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:54:04 AM (565797244)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8C7B51A5-FD55-4BD2-9AF9-0896912320F5

Message: Hopefully to no place else except dominos pizza

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:54:46 AM (565797286)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 01BF388D-1FDC-434C-9083-2B03C2CED120

Message: As I said the brother is the only player that has his trust

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 05:55:14 AM (565797314)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ED990389-C6F4-486C-AAD0-E2B98C9DEFF9

Message: No-- Kentucky Fried Chicken--"parts is parts"

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 05:58:43 AM (565797523)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 577282A5-08EC-4F96-A150-87FB43AC9F1C

Message: With sasse calling for a senate hearing , I guess I can mimic kavanaugh. Yes senator I like pussy , pussy, yes. Don't you senator.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 06:00:15 AM (565797615)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7E29587C-B533-4FE0-96B2-D05B97E1EEED

Message: 80% answer :"wat's pussy"

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 08:38:33 AM (565807113)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 24749CC2-0A36-4A60-9226-B047CE34C67C

Message: https://www.cnbc.com/2018/12/06/the-stock-selloff-started-with-a-mysterious-fall-in-the-futures.html

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 02:42:32 PM (565828952)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 713ED76D-58C4-4929-A530-8DB7DCDDDAC4

Message: Where r u???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 02:42:55 PM (565828975)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BE1CBC72-0354-4296-9005-45567A9F553E

Message: 561 655 7626

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:24:17 PM (565831457)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F4062F79-6C77-4426-85BD-2F49792C56B3

Message: Spoke to Chomsky, he's all in

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 03:29:06 PM (565831746)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 03CA67A0-5BC9-492E-B7C3-C97B964A480B

Message: What about Maxwell?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:30:06 PM (565831806)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 52EF6C4B-B73F-4BBA-971E-BF3BC5BD8F52

Message: Not sure, she has a boyfriend

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 03:30:20 PM (565831820)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A2B8AA8A-80C7-4E6D-A4E2-6D62E4E3A8F1

Message: So what

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:30:36 PM (565831836)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FA9AA328-5EFA-458F-808E-6651C3A7A811

Message: Hes a tad jealous

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:30:42 PM (565831842)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6791722B-2266-4D34-9E7C-F31CC67CF52F

Message: Just a tad

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:31:19 PM (565831879)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D754A3F0-8106-4880-A208-36F21961F1A1

Message: Does woody get a cameo

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 03:31:36 PM (565831896)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB641F89-A3DB-43BC-B56F-1DA1410E7F5E

Message: Not a cameo-- main battery

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 03:37:16 PM (565832236)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 798B231D-1074-44BD-B09E-D5FBCE3A8A08

Message: The film is three interwoven stories -- the events of global Capitol markets / geopolitics from the 1980s til today ; the drive of science to work thru a basic understanding of the workings of man's immortality; the depravity of elite society and the decline of the west

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 03:37:30 PM (565832250)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7388AA46-3A20-49D4-A4C7-80AC491AF04A

Message: As told thru the story of --- u

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:41:02 PM (565832462)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1E739B84-9127-4571-BAEA-1FA483FEAF17

Message: Does it have a happy ending ")

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:41:14 PM (565832474)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E6CF6910-098F-4FA5-8A45-DEF10694B3ED

Message: So to speak

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:41:52 PM (565832512)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BEAF2347-66FF-407C-9AAF-B600B9DCF884

Message: James Watson. All in , he said to hurt before he dies

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:41:57 PM (565832517)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6DAD1403-006F-4234-ADA7-7A8E1356B923

Message: Hurry

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 03:50:19 PM (565833019)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FBFC9146-1521-4593-8B17-45067C68C6D5

Message: How old is he ???--- I can film in 10 days

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:50:26 PM (565833026)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 22FF4124-3830-4DF8-B8F4-FAC90CC93874

Message: 90

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 03:51:36 PM (565833096)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0142CDE1-EA3B-4503-AC9F-3531FFFC2FA5

Message: He has a long association with u???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:51:38 PM (565833098)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6CECCE60-6FF6-4F30-A365-351A8F1EB01C

Message: Woody 83

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:52:52 PM (565833172)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5F9C5127-6D9A-4407-9276-B1B9750D18AF

Message: You can interview. Gloria minsky. . Marvins widow. . great. Marvin and I 20 years. He died last year. .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:53:06 PM (565833186)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 113BE4C1-091B-48BA-8EF9-2D54E1910023

Message: Father of artificial intelligence

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 03:53:13 PM (565833193)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6BD2C13E-C487-4A7D-B93F-6E4A5C5A5953

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 03:53:20 PM (565833200)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C4DDC429-A641-4442-896D-DB1C1D177A59

Message: Legend

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 03:55:07 PM (565833307)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 663F34C9-7D58-4F94-B453-F15C85B1D1F5

Message: Terje larsen . ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 03:58:41 PM (565833521)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 11311E1D-66DA-47EC-86EF-28564E9D4B87

Message: Of course

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 04:06:12 PM (565833972)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9422CE6D-550D-403D-BE83-58DA9DD5CD7D

Message: Hes in London when you are

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/07/18 06:48:59 AM (565886939)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 57BC2F7F-8E65-431E-BDCC-9C88DD276550

Message: Cnn reporting Bill Barr .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/07/18 07:04:06 AM (565887846)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FF184D46-79E4-41F2-9A38-B3E7B59B10E3

Message: He did

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 01:39:09 PM (565911549)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8F76E1AB-F4EA-47EF-A5CD-45FC4E3C31B1

Message: Where do we stand on our film ???

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 01:40:51 PM (565911651)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 14CD704B-0066-4309-93FA-C66164278FF2

Message: Gloria is a smart woman

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 01:46:25 PM (565911985)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E7561479-B147-4CE6-84AC-FB44889B4159

Message: Tucson correct ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 01:46:50 PM (565912010)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F6B17E23-DE26-450C-897D-C3EA7FE0C708

Message: Can we film u @ the ranch in new mexico?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 01:51:46 PM (565912306)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 69C12757-6E4B-42BD-9ADE-A5732069CD46

Message: Seriously???

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 01:52:43 PM (565912363)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2DE10499-A7AF-46A9-AE49-0CA67F956962

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 01:53:54 PM (565912434)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2779ADF3-FAAC-496E-8E00-34E0135B861E

Message: Tell him I agree::: French throwdown tomorrow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 01:54:16 PM (565912456)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CFD01081-3C0E-4AC7-8AF5-EFD37596C222

Message: Barr a disaster for the agenda

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 01:54:39 PM (565912479)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5B4A39E4-B5C8-42DF-893F-CFC54F574908

Message: Classy move on tillerson

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 02:05:22 PM (565913122)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C498C95-1D7B-4D7A-B9FC-1AC844E7E4F6

Message: I heard Jacques Lang good guy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 02:05:37 PM (565913137)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 132CFC61-B331-4F08-A003-F45234675E63

Message: U see Feds on Cohen???

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 02:06:32 PM (565913192)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 224EC85F-2550-408A-85A4-AEE310843BC0

Message: In Paris on Sunday

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 02:08:14 PM (565913294)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D328AAD0-79DA-4ACA-93C3-2BEEE14CB758

Message: Don't know yet

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 02:36:25 PM (565914985)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 32A7911F-F61B-4ECE-BBDB-E61D0E7E52A7

Message: I'm confused about Cohen-- what are the docs telling us

Sender: +[redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 02:53:18 PM (565915998)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE96D8FD-61E0-4AB3-802A-CF12B6E6805D

Message: But the moron HAD to negotiate all this away by serving up trump

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 02:59:55 PM (565916395)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 329FFCAB-A4A2-4345-8042-0C368F34AE84

Message: But he didn't refuse-- he rollled

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 03:07:15 PM (565916835)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8F848841-0B15-4374-BB45-AB3A02DFDF81

Message: After all this he stiffed them???

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 03:08:15 PM (565916895)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2B5C0947-ECC9-4127-9449-7209DB8B68D7

Message: He has never been accused of having a big beautiful brain

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 03:34:46 PM (565918486)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 47CA8585-B848-4395-8B03-FF125DB52BEF

Message: What does that mean

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/07/18 03:35:05 PM (565918505)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 291CB58D-9180-4A87-8BBF-B9AAC8C8EF79

Message: Aren't they going to 'unseal' tonight

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/09/18 04:19:22 AM (566050762)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DDE23083-065F-4132-A05A-E43269B370DB

Message: Yaweh is a honor badger

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/09/18 02:01:47 PM (566085707)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B3D92E4E-5F07-4B6A-8619-9B74A6560A71

Message: Total chaos now

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/09/18 02:02:24 PM (566085744)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 84EBD2BC-E1BD-4A9C-9F09-132164AF699B

Message: Nick has massive disclosure issue-- also told me after last week thinks zero chance trump makes it thru '19

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/09/18 02:02:31 PM (566085751)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F4288DD2-AC09-4450-A886-D2AB8CFB2D3B

Message: Doesn't want the part

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/09/18 02:21:51 PM (566086911)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E36DF6F7-2A96-4DB4-A709-17A9789BFFB3

Message: Meadows , bossie , lighthizer my guys--mick good

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/09/18 02:23:33 PM (566087013)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9B6D1A1B-5911-44CE-A951-E1F316EF4270

Message: Total

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/09/18 02:27:40 PM (566087260)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B6106C68-EABB-49F0-86C6-AC56F96758BB

Message: SDNY

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/10/18 03:46:23 AM (566135183)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D8F90101-09E0-41DF-B95E-11D140E3C707

Message: The Belgium govt fell 5 hours after my speech-- spent all day with the Flemish nationalist-- and had the Walloon populists/ nationalist meet them for first time in my hotel suite

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/10/18 03:56:12 AM (566135772)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0DE1DD93-E031-4F72-985C-E5A0E1BB232A

Message: Brexit ;macron grovel tonight on national tv re 'gilets jaunes'; Marrakech starts

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/10/18 03:56:57 AM (566135817)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 85C78953-D361-49A4-A756-687AA6DA3A0F

Message: Cannot believe miro pushed this thing-- awful awful awful @ every level

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/10/18 03:57:04 AM (566135824)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7D75C976-E550-48CC-B8E7-B401B58D2448

Message: Brilliant

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/10/18 04:00:33 AM (566136033)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1568E758-68B8-4838-ADA5-2B695205E01E

Message: The right now has the working class behind them on immigration-- macron collapsed tonight , merkle dead -- we win 60% of euro parliament next spring -- salvini calls election the following week -- done done and done

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/10/18 04:17:26 AM (566137046)

Flags: 1052673

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1E9880C6-480A-4024-B5B0-37CC7D644286

Message: We can run the tables here

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-02-02\+[redacted] on 2019-02-02 at 18.25.27.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 02/01/19 09:36:19 PM (570778579)

End Time: 02/02/19 03:25:27 PM (570842727)

Last Message ID: 24619

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/01/19 09:36:19 PM (570778579)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB647A3B-010D-491C-BC45-FC513A04118E

Message: Can't make breakfast

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/01/19 09:46:23 PM (570779183)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2FAE295A-5F1D-4B2A-8317-2D3F256ACD67

Message: No worry

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 02:58:05 AM (570797885)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1C10EED5-B535-4375-9990-C3527292B13D

Message: lays out the argument well

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 02:58:05 AM (570797885)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AE92CD5E-4B81-412D-988E-D86BA891DF5D

Message: https://constitutioncenter.org/podcast-can-the-president-declare-a-national-emergency-to-build-the-wall

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 03:13:30 AM (570798810)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 36D74433-0BA3-4EB1-9477-84FB7999132E

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/07/22/us/document-Savage-NYT-FOIA-Starr-memo-presidential.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 03:36:29 AM (570800189)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6B420487-8417-4343-B82C-D405F7B42220

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 03:36:48 AM (570800208)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1CED1ABC-52F1-441C-BA1F-9104A5CB8F3A

Message: since yesterday we talked textualists

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 04:48:02 AM (570804482)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 34C5CE95-42D8-4C76-A20A-C3329DA80388

Message: the trump comment about you , no surprise , only a matter of time

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/02/19 08:15:42 AM (570816942)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 203596EF-9ECA-4800-9BCE-F373C3315CDA

Message: You mean in the haberman piece???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 08:46:54 AM (570818814)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8F833F98-F77A-4143-B64B-B9818A849B98

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 08:47:36 AM (570818856)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 94E564E5-17F3-458E-A5A1-4B559EF0ADBD

Message: You are his only hope

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/02/19 09:50:50 AM (570822650)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0DE16F0C-B67F-4CCF-AB98-7E8356D271AD

Message: I think u might be right

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 09:51:53 AM (570822713)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 47631670-8950-4462-BCDF-CA2D4DFEE81B

Message: Im pushing, jared needs squashed

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/02/19 09:53:13 AM (570822793)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AE30758C-4C66-45C5-9E5F-322FA920BAFF

Message: He is killing trump

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 10:00:01 AM (570823201)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2216ECFB-827E-4C2D-8ED7-76CE574FB805

Message: I think Whittaker gave him a heads up on troubles

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 10:03:16 AM (570823396)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4D92137B-0650-4FF8-BC08-29384A522C9E

Message: Kathy said his humanitarian crisis. Crushes his national emergency argument . Your textualist argument kills any defense of indictment. As it is not in the constitution .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/02/19 10:03:23 AM (570823403)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 14001862-EEF6-40DE-AE11-2275AE190F13

Message: Including southern district?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 10:03:52 AM (570823432)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 821A0DAC-684F-4CA7-AA67-BCBB84508A56

Message: Dk

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/02/19 10:04:19 AM (570823459)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D66BA2D3-06CD-42CC-B79D-E85CB2A5BE80

Message: r u flying out tonight?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 10:05:18 AM (570823518)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F30D9537-38FA-478A-A449-208E74294C08

Message: No goofball - im having my commie dinner tomorrow with miro! Who I believe will be next sec gen un

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 10:06:45 AM (570823605)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C67AE68E-3841-4D6A-8359-545A82BDE19E

Message: There is s push at the un to form an investigation tribunal for mbs- oy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/02/19 10:07:33 AM (570823653)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E53C377E-2627-4740-98DF-8C43B2FB43F4

Message: KSA finances half of these klowns-- how can this be

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 10:09:06 AM (570823746)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A35DB1E2-5676-4168-8DCD-732E1D8FD0E4

Message: Qatar

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 10:09:11 AM (570823751)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2148C975-8C97-418A-AF12-7FE4C3179F63

Message: Turkey

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/02/19 10:09:19 AM (570823759)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C2A4DA1F-6686-4D5E-9D2A-BF2BC329BBCE

Message: Bingo

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 10:11:22 AM (570823882)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F9187D62-32E9-4C5E-834C-F86A6E0BA48B

Message: Im here today and tomorrow. Watched Lincoln. He was respected and ratified after extraordinary steps . Unlikely here. Though at least sn intellectual fight as opposed to don rickles

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/02/19 10:11:41 AM (570823901)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E5E89851-1098-45F7-9B71-C851E1000AA0

Message: Yep

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/02/19 10:12:30 AM (570823950)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B078F3ED-94BA-4FCA-BB4A-D529CBA0178E

Message: But you saw where Lincoln had enough of the bullshit , slammed the table and let them know the office of the president has unlimited power

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 10:20:21 AM (570824421)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4F1ABF73-EBDC-4688-8399-D179319B55E4

Message: Yes but then read the follow up . It's very nuanced. Unlimited power to fight the enemy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 10:20:36 AM (570824436)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6372DDEB-FCA9-4FC9-933D-FEB9C3735B11

Message: Etc . Not sure if honduran maids qualify

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 11:36:58 AM (570829018)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EC2549BF-32B6-4586-BC22-A61EEA09D306

Message: You want to visit?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/02/19 11:37:27 AM (570829047)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 31052C08-8333-4B18-BFEA-CA72AB6922F3

Message: Breakfast @7???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 11:37:45 AM (570829065)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 27FF1782-D788-45DC-AA60-EE85BD20F467

Message: Great

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/02/19 03:20:17 PM (570842417)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AE73AD47-9F6C-4CAC-B146-D3EC65EAD63F

Message: Wolf joins us @ 730???

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/02/19 03:20:31 PM (570842431)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 10B282F4-E166-4486-8D33-0E014ACA2AB5

Message: I can get there @ 645

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/02/19 03:25:27 PM (570842727)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 988399B9-E2A1-412F-BC29-F588B0AAF861

Message: k

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-02-13\[redacted] on 2019-02-04 at 08.06.46.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 02/04/19 05:06:46 AM (570978406)

End Time: 02/13/19 01:16:24 PM (571785384)

Last Message ID: 25040

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/04/19 05:06:46 AM (570978406)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89033242-B430-4747-8776-6518F5776C17

Message: The last thing you want , is for him to take an interest in you. . right now it is only [redacted]

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/04/19 09:18:12 AM (570993492)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7CD2387F-4C49-4CBE-AD49-2D8C13F8438E

Message: Hey got a cool Paper published today

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/04/19 09:19:07 AM (570993547)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 571322F3-4AA3-4D5D-AC85-A732ECB543AE

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/04/19 09:25:42 AM (570993942)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4CD5D194-82C6-47D8-8AB9-8681E2CD3B14

Message: I started a small clot bank here at the UW to store all clots we removed from

brains (and included others from the body side too for peripheral clots) This is a paper about clot analysis I'm a cute thrombectomy The journal is a big One the American Heart Assn Stroke journal so that's cool

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/04/19 09:25:55 AM (570993955)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8AC10D3F-994E-4D3C-AA4A-ADF3A2647C72

Message: In acute thrombectomy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/04/19 09:26:11 AM (570993971)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F87EC431-25FD-4F75-9DB0-A4F8B035E08F

Message: (Not im a cute thrombectomy) □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/04/19 09:27:00 AM (570994020)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5D015925-72E6-4D3D-8281-B2EBF235D2CF

Message: Just a happy thing And trying to finish up my slides for bg

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/04/19 09:30:30 AM (570994230)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A8CA234-5B5C-4656-8391-0DD151BB7C72

Message: and 5 more cases today

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/04/19 09:40:54 AM (570994854)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FDBFECB7-9CEF-47BB-A19A-7E19E5750AB4

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/04/19 04:56:50 PM (571021010)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2F7A391A-A5D8-4A46-AFE9-72849E862798

Message: Tell bg he owes me s call

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/04/19 05:47:38 PM (571024058)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 933B163F-7A2F-4147-BB5A-6E40F5D1065B

Message: Will do

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/04/19 05:50:51 PM (571024251)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 40E8510E-A7C6-49F8-A176-79B5FD80FDAA

Message: Don't see till tmr

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/05/19 04:18:37 AM (571061917)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 83968800-BA59-4964-830A-17406B3A5BCF

Message: Plant biology , much more fun and easier to experiment

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/05/19 02:02:38 PM (571096958)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DAFDE501-CAB2-40A9-8F32-ED66FEADF674

Message: Tons more Fun and over the long term, more benefit to Humanity for sure but he wasn't too interested last time. I even got him a copy of Darwin's book. Will try again tonight.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/05/19 02:03:07 PM (571096987)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0FF01E7E-68C2-4110-8D2D-AB24A6D6D1D8

Message: Trump just nominated Malpass For WB President so Hopefully attention will shift soon

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/06/19 02:51:33 AM (571143093)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C329BA81-7CB7-483D-8D87-3AF696CF5F9B

Message: How was bg

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/06/19 06:52:40 AM (571157560)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BC099F5D-B6B5-48CF-BA07-92083E579844

Message: Was great to see him He seems happier than I've seen him in a while discussed the slides talked about science ate cheeseburgers I told him he owed you a call and he didn't say anything he asked how you were and i said you were doing great and lots of science

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/06/19 06:07:12 PM (571198032)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E31332F0-B872-431E-A191-3B0D7E9443F4

Message: How are you?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/06/19 06:07:33 PM (571198053)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4FFDADB1-144C-41D3-8FCD-41ACBA6F3B3A

Message: Nothing from reporter

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/07/19 03:46:12 AM (571232772)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 39FA9C9B-5194-47D0-A02E-F6CA77B420BC

Message: Lets see , he's either waiting for more. Or he has lost the edge. Doesn't seem timely. Now that Kim is gone. Silly

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/07/19 09:38:20 PM (571297100)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 097E6CCE-622B-4CB0-AC95-F8AA05C8BF16

Message: Thinking about you Are you ok?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/08/19 05:50:39 AM (571326639)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F6F4C84B-7056-4597-BC78-34BD0DD16F56

Message: great

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/10/19 11:40:48 PM (571563648)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7F75A629-390C-4C75-882E-F2C97E8AC38A

Message: Steve is so hilarious.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/12/19 02:21:20 PM (571702880)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AA9AC6BE-34AE-4030-A973-347204A2B57E

Message: https://www.forbes.com/profile/philippa-sigl-glockner/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/12/19 02:21:20 PM (571702880)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 893AC823-E3E0-47FF-B4F2-FE2FA8C94F9A

Message: Remember Philippe

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/12/19 02:22:15 PM (571702935)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CCE889BF-ED8A-4552-BE15-A049E250CFA4

Message: ANICE

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/12/19 02:22:19 PM (571702939)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B91C8855-5304-4BDB-A9F7-C4945C2A9A48

Message: NICE

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/12/19 02:23:43 PM (571703023)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F6BE4367-E05F-4B1C-9F99-73FB8972C51F

Message: Some great ppl have worked for me! Lucky me

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/13/19 01:16:23 PM (571785383)

Flags: 1118209

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9341E7DA-B4C3-4326-9359-8DDA9B15458F

Message: https://jobs.clevelandclinic.org/job-detail.html?529956-institute-chair-neurological-institute

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/13/19 01:16:24 PM (571785384)

Flags: 1052673

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 13B5113B-1CFE-40E6-AB8D-8E20D1545EC1

Message: This opportunity was sent to me - here's the actual job description

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-02-27\+1 [redacted] on 2019-02-27 at 05.55.29.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 02/27/19 02:55:29 AM (572957729)

End Time: 02/27/19 05:42:22 PM (573010942)

Last Message ID: 25659

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/27/19 02:55:29 AM (572957729)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8FA90C5B-C6DA-4539-8C80-BC9C8CF84F4B

Message: better?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/27/19 11:41:23 AM (572989283)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B1661950-B95E-43F8-A32F-6E976F6784B8

Message: what do you think so far of cohen . are you back in fighting form?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/27/19 04:00:11 PM (573004811)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E0E591A-B2B1-4F85-868E-3F51DB117BE8

Message: Who would write a pro Acosta story

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/27/19 04:01:04 PM (573004864)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C96AF77C-276F-4039-ABD8-E941DD0928B4

Message: Now???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/27/19 04:02:09 PM (573004929)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ED7BC678-7591-404D-B03A-3AD83D69D607

Message: The idea is to get into the public realm the story that the girls used the agreement to get money fro them and their attorney s and only after receiving It they move to overturn it. Plus

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/27/19 04:02:20 PM (573004940)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EBA020B9-8C0A-405C-8372-8A5F6A586C18

Message: Trump had a bad day, did you watch?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/27/19 04:03:30 PM (573005010)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4AC579CA-E931-4E15-AF01-5AB3E233946A

Message: Not a second--- war on china all day

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 02/27/19 04:03:50 PM (573005030)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 644ABF01-9900-4496-BC5C-1B8C7C1D4615

Message: How bad was it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 02/27/19 05:42:22 PM (573010942)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8BB91607-0202-465A-B56E-226FA8854D1F

Message: Bad. but republicans stood strong, Cohen pretty detailed

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-03-07\[redacted] on 2019-03-05 at 07.24.58.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 03/05/19 04:24:58 AM (573481498)

End Time: 03/07/19 04:42:39 AM (573655359)

Last Message ID: 25878

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/05/19 04:24:58 AM (573481498)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 089B50E6-73A3-4211-B69D-FDCE1B862F00

Message: Miro here. Ws suprised that the European parliament seemed to fall off your radar

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/05/19 12:27:34 PM (573510454)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 387B6311-2A1F-493D-A495-E838B53220D9

Message: Day breakfast with miro if you like

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/05/19 12:27:43 PM (573510463)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D10AC903-3B73-4A24-9995-FBA486518F9C

Message: Saturday

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/05/19 12:28:51 PM (573510531)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 612BAF66-CCB7-4AE9-902C-700BB87CE48D

Message: Japan

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/05/19 12:31:17 PM (573510677)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B8006135-BE6A-4BF7-A4AE-581F162407A8

Message: Tom pritzker. Owns andaz. Have fun

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/05/19 12:31:58 PM (573510718)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CCB45E5A-6EF4-41C4-8AFF-47D8B66C96E4

Message: Andaz?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/05/19 12:32:08 PM (573510728)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 29CB8963-15F8-43EF-BECE-FDE8E915261E

Message: Hotel tokyp

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/05/19 12:32:26 PM (573510746)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 99E2D150-1FE5-4101-9EF4-C5CFAFFD3A97

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/05/19 12:32:55 PM (573510775)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE56916B-AD80-4BFB-94EA-F5B54ABDF6AB

Message: Did u hire the crisis comms guy so we can drive the narrative off that great times piece

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/05/19 12:34:05 PM (573510845)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9FA13472-21FA-4B48-AAE7-E8BE7016729E

Message: Hes here with me now. He thinks stick to legal legal legal . A deal is a deal etc. and then a few months from now. Decide how to deal with the pervert hermit image and fill the box with another narrative .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/05/19 01:03:52 PM (573512632)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE841483-230B-4809-A390-D5979182DF7D

Message: Agree:: how are we 'sticking to the legal legal legal

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/05/19 01:16:22 PM (573513382)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 527E227C-5194-4166-A41A-B63D858594A2

Message: Articles by legal people . Professors. Lawyers etc. now I'm focused

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/05/19 01:22:23 PM (573513743)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5CFAC43A-7EBC-461B-A499-02DC9B9FEF39

Message: U had me worried ---focus good

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/05/19 01:33:31 PM (573514411)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9A4EC1BC-8699-469C-AA4E-CBF531E537C0

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/05/sports/robert-kraft-massage-defense.html

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/05/19 01:47:09 PM (573515229)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FBFA6D33-8245-43A9-AA53-A9B8147F4C97

Message: My boys

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/05/19 01:51:49 PM (573515509)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7D4FAE8D-97A6-46B8-9DB6-19BD535CDEF4

Message: You should bring spiro and burck on your team-- rock stars

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/05/19 03:11:02 PM (573520262)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 94DA5FE4-C4DC-4EF5-B9D9-9D84B5E23239

Message: Maybe one of them should write a piece- a deal is a deal.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/05/19 03:20:21 PM (573520821)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7C1CEC02-075E-4C97-A934-4A2B7A1FA3D0

Message: Let me check

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/06/19 08:52:51 AM (573583971)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 155852E7-E657-41D8-80E2-56E600748BB2

Message: I notice the absence of Kelly Ann on the dem list

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/06/19 11:34:02 AM (573593642)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C8CFFFA2-40B9-42AB-936D-AF9B8A6EF763

Message: Never been interviewed by house , senate or mueller--- just campaign spokesmodel

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/07/19 12:04:50 AM (573638690)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8D4A28D9-929B-4242-883B-5BEA88D5FA88

Message: https://www.thedailybeast.com/jeffrey-epstein-alan-dershowitz-and-pals-accused-of-sex-trafficking-ring?ref=home

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 03:26:09 AM (573650769)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 24D2782B-E313-45C4-8FFE-1E590343B102

Message: More incoming. ! I guess hunker down wait until the waves stop. . thoughts? Ann Coulter also went after me. .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/07/19 04:06:21 AM (573653181)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7D02FEE4-0560-48BD-8FD5-4D61A93FB537

Message: She is obsessed with u

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:07:20 AM (573653240)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E8655253-446D-47AB-8D46-9878B4C2FE36

Message: She should get in line

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:07:59 AM (573653279)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 533B99EC-5BA8-410F-A4C8-02052EDC58B6

Message: But im not a democrat

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/07/19 04:09:38 AM (573653378)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACE8008D-957E-449B-B61B-B7F35D0B1A36

Message: How did she come after u

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/07/19 04:10:01 AM (573653401)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 683D81C6-502E-4807-A589-285FF740D4EF

Message: She can make u a household name --- and not in a positive way

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:10:26 AM (573653426)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0FF61274-4BDC-4E2C-8168-DEFF5E3503B3

Message: Ann Coulter Subject: Media Magic: How a Democrat Pedophile Became a 'Trump Scandal'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:11:24 AM (573653484)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3DDA11E2-E123-45B2-BC68-EF01E972D6C3

Message: Im on her team

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:11:39 AM (573653499)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 057E98D0-235F-4092-BF1F-D97FC1B6A3E4

Message: That s why this is nuttier

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:13:00 AM (573653580)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 709D925E-D1DD-4B4F-B55C-A75A286E3870

Message: Don't you have stroke with her

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/07/19 04:15:26 AM (573653726)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AA683707-F7A7-4EE5-A51C-0009BC35C139

Message: Not on this topic -- zero

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:16:20 AM (573653780)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7963A0D7-4CE9-41B0-A5C1-98BFE52AE73B

Message: understood.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:16:41 AM (573653801)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7A4CC3B5-54E8-4961-B9F5-3CBF5837F6E5

Message: Is there anything I can do except for perfecting the art of being a punching bag

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/07/19 04:36:36 AM (573654996)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C2CC23DD-9C90-4594-8D17-AF22F16E82DC

Message: It's bad -- never seen anything like it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:38:06 AM (573655086)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1A400917-FA77-4704-A291-28DC5BF3F00B

Message: Billy bush

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:38:16 AM (573655096)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E2A9FF83-AB6B-43B6-9E2E-49451CC6E59D

Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:38:37 AM (573655117)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E710FFD8-EE98-4726-A0EB-481641A3FF29

Message: At least trump had some supporters fighting back

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:39:22 AM (573655162)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 291E26E8-D95D-4811-B856-2D2AF916BD8B

Message: ruemmler proposal

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:39:23 AM (573655163)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 84C2FCE2-AC21-4C15-8E6E-99BEF34BB50E

Message: "The criticism is wrong and reflects a fundamental misunderstanding of both the facts underlying Mr. Epstein's case and how it was prosecuted by both local and federal authorities. Far from a receiving a sweetheart deal, Mr. Epstein was subjected to a lengthy, aggressive, and highly unusual federal investigation for what were, in essence, local offenses of sexual solicitation. He accepted responsibility, served time and prison, and paid significant monetary settlements to the victims involved.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/07/19 04:42:14 AM (573655334)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3046A6D5-8834-4E69-9E0E-1E3A65E74D5D

Message: This is awesome-- what is it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:42:31 AM (573655351)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F26DBEC1-1A8B-4EAD-83DC-E2A38BC35D3F

Message: This is what Kathy suggests we tell Waco

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/07/19 04:42:39 AM (573655359)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1313A663-0E2B-49C2-8B39-C74E27BA2776

Message: Wapo

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-03-31\[redacted] on 2019-03-31 at 16.09.51.ichat

Service: SMS

Start Time: 03/09/19 04:16:31 PM (573869791)

End Time: 03/31/19 01:09:51 PM (575755791)

Last Message ID: 26848

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/09/19 04:16:31 PM (573869791)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ED8EF9AF-F9AC-454C-A230-8B2DC99179BD

Message: Trying to lift Abe on world stage as key to Bolsanoro, Orban , salvini--- this is what his guys want that's why I included it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/10/19 04:30:18 AM (573910218)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E217108-E3D1-4F8D-88C6-B9735E6AF8A4

Message: i sent you an emal

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/10/19 06:48:29 AM (573918509)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8C0AAFB6-3B7D-44F5-95B0-70C5160B7205

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/12/19 05:28:54 AM (574086534)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DC5A095B-5D54-4913-8C7A-1FE118DCA067

Message: Do you have a copy of brink?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/12/19 05:31:02 AM (574086662)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DCBF4B6F-7AF1-4739-97F9-21AEF0AE94FF

Message: No-- haven't seen entire deal

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/12/19 06:34:34 AM (574090474)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 60BDDEB4-A9BE-434D-A318-E20CB9236E88

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/11/nyregion/deutsche-bank-trump.html?emc=edit_NN_p_20190312&nl=morning-briefing&nlid=85691347ion%3DwhatElse§ion=whatElse&te=1

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/12/19 06:34:38 AM (574090478)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 88F1A2B6-D88D-4D27-956C-2FE927DCB4F9

Message: Martin act

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/12/19 06:37:07 AM (574090627)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2D120F35-3202-4101-8AC4-EF6EDB4F1C47

Message: The martin act???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/12/19 06:37:40 AM (574090660)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B17760D-ABB4-49D0-83CA-30B96778284C

Message: Eliott Spitzer is said to have revived the law during his tenure as Attorney General.[6] In 2001, his office launched a Martin Act investigation against Merrill Lynch for suspected fraud.[6] When the investigation was made public, Merrill's market

value dropped $5 billion in one week.[6] Ultimately, Merill settled, agreeing to pay a $100 million fine and change the way its analysts are paid to head off possible criminal charges that it misled investors with tainted stock research.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/12/19 06:39:43 AM (574090783)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5DCE1D10-8D40-4A60-8DE2-7CE325AB44EF

Message: Criminally, the attorney general may assume a prosecutorial rule to punish both misdemeanors and felonies. Misdemeanors are punishable by a fine of up to $500 or imprisonment of up to one year, or both.[2] Felonies carry a penalty of up to four years of imprisonment.[2] Judicial Interpretation

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/12/19 02:46:08 PM (574119968)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9F9B5E4F-45FB-4D49-8EC5-1EFF91865C4B

Message: Djt. Now really down on pence

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/12/19 02:46:31 PM (574119991)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DF997BF3-7BBC-462E-8FDE-9AC59BA56EA5

Message: How did u hear and why is he

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/12/19 02:46:55 PM (574120015)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 35CFEDB0-FBCB-46B1-B76B-54178F2A34B6

Message: thinks Pompeo would be better vp

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/12/19 02:47:12 PM (574120032)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AC144985-84CC-4A9F-9E7E-B67C5DD6A472

Message: Says pence not really loyal

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/12/19 02:47:38 PM (574120058)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FE4B9F05-CBC1-439E-A0E1-4B2B13565A5F

Message: And yes he did ask Kelly to get rid of jared , and then jared to get rid of Kelly. Par for the course

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/12/19 02:50:06 PM (574120206)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 072B9848-FEBD-4E7F-B8AC-63DCF5C936BD

Message: This is why things fucked up

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/12/19 02:50:17 PM (574120217)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E5D9098C-0ACD-48C4-8B9A-D5AC47AFCA38

Message: Pompeo much better VP

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/12/19 02:56:21 PM (574120581)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9426E688-AC7F-49AB-90C4-5113F2204BE2

Message: remarkable that the British pound is solid in the face of the Brexit vote. I assume the market believes an extension of time

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/12/19 03:00:23 PM (574120823)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 566CBBBB-8E20-4B7B-A79D-2EA4BD16CFBB

Message: Hard out no deal best outcome

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/12/19 03:01:20 PM (574120880)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0DF411F8-7155-47C8-836F-D286379E8020

Message: Yes , agreed but if that were likely currency should anticipate. ? lets see. It hasn't moved

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/12/19 03:01:27 PM (574120887)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 05FE3BB2-A07F-4809-BC49-378B9170B584

Message: One way or the other

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/13/19 11:22:18 AM (574194138)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 74E81221-C354-4C81-BA46-EE3B62661924

Message: Manafort new. York charges. Emblematic of things to come

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/13/19 11:26:12 AM (574194372)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 51135ED7-53A3-490E-8B72-5FD5A26C588B

Message: Saw that-- shit just got real

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/13/19 11:27:14 AM (574194434)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F148B273-6A6B-4C82-B62D-2BFF930296E9

Message: His choice now is to risk. Attica

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/13/19 11:27:52 AM (574194472)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 61622121-1B93-4B1E-A8E3-F6CC98A4FFE4

Message: Will they let his wheelchair up there

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/14/19 12:55:38 PM (574286138)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 14C4954F-0AFC-4722-B31D-D1ED412326CF

Message: https://www.npr.org/2019/03/14/703108073/top-mueller-prosecutor-stepping-down-in-latest-clue-russia-inquiry-may-be-ending?ft=nprml&f=1001

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/14/19 12:57:28 PM (574286248)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D116949F-47E6-4B5F-9A3C-841A9563182F

Message: Band is breaking up

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/15/19 04:48:57 PM (574386537)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 63A9F429-9767-4A7D-ACC7-CEDDD0526139

Message: And he's the lead singer

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/15/19 04:54:50 PM (574386890)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 836F8964-3B9B-41FD-9D1A-593B2DD890B3

Message: And guitarist

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/16/19 09:13:15 AM (574445595)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1D47940F-6CCE-4C8C-A65E-5FD9C0BC4FA4

Message: Our girl is going to reach out to

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/16/19 09:13:17 AM (574445597)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 670C2226-4CA9-4310-B994-D38A231A35BB

Message: you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/16/19 09:52:26 AM (574447946)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6988EDEA-01DB-4689-B632-41283F0A2DF7

Message: ???

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/16/19 03:25:18 PM (574467918)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AF79E1C1-896D-40E1-BCD5-615FA1DDA658

Message: Oh 'the next future ex-mrs. bannon'???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/17/19 06:57:56 AM (574523876)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9C822BAF-D873-428E-9E68-25FD2DD9CCF0

Message: Bolsonaro a good segue

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/17/19 07:59:13 AM (574527553)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4B9F0616-62AD-438D-8353-47339CF4D50A

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/17/19 07:59:56 AM (574527596)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1EBB3DC3-16D4-4A4B-8113-2DE76B0AF922

Message: Im in ny tonight and tomorrow then off to see micro

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/17/19 08:00:01 AM (574527601)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3821030A-560C-4146-8AA8-83CB2F0632C9

Message: Miro

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/17/19 01:22:43 PM (574546963)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DB607F20-8666-43ED-A1A6-6A92D0980380

Message: Reminder. I fully understand my toxicity for the moment . and I want you to win. !! . so no awkwardness .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/17/19 01:23:18 PM (574546998)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 51A6E960-2738-45D4-B1C1-A6BA8D55C4C8

Message: Almost finished with my cure for cancer □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/17/19 02:01:58 PM (574549318)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D96670F3-6EB8-46C2-BA4F-A45C4378E4B6

Message: ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/18/19 03:10:38 AM (574596638)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C4682E6-EEF7-43DE-8697-C312705B9A49

Message: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/mar/18/saudi-crown-prince-allegedly-stripped-of-some-authority

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/19/19 04:45:35 AM (574688735)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F51C875B-0D69-418D-A4AF-2FC4C37E28BF

Message: in slovakia, the left woman NGO no experience , leading to be president

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/19/19 04:45:44 AM (574688744)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 29810749-3FAE-489F-87E8-C979E62F9E29

Message: miro amazed

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/19/19 05:02:39 AM (574689759)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5D01F5AB-6DEC-4600-9F48-D4CDFD59827D

Message: Miro should be in hunt

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/19/19 05:03:23 AM (574689803)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 83EF3193-AD40-47D9-8412-DF461067E474

Message: hes not a honey badger

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/19 09:34:01 AM (574792441)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2E1CD709-4DA3-4DED-8CB4-2C0B513EEC2B

Message: Im in Paris if you would like to see reid and me

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/20/19 09:34:29 AM (574792469)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F3ADB104-0177-4B3B-B8C7-13CED60C4023

Message: Just got to Rome -- do big speech tomorrow

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/19 09:34:34 AM (574792474)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 62172EBB-BF02-4268-87F0-73A7B7E94E06

Message: I know

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/19 09:34:49 AM (574792489)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C51AA97F-880E-4E20-ACA7-442F601EDB62

Message: We re here for next 6 days

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/19 09:38:44 AM (574792724)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 08FE1036-3704-4B9E-8CB4-8014CC65FDB6

Message: My girl will wait on your call

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/20/19 09:40:52 AM (574792852)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D4639AE5-ABF6-4902-BDC9-84F563B6FD1B

Message: Cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/19 10:55:58 AM (574797358)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3FDF36EF-F026-41DB-9F7C-86B6843BC465

Message: Would you like to meet me and micro in Vienna fri or sat

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/19 11:27:20 AM (574799240)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F731412C-E3FC-4298-B98A-7B49DB318B9E

Message: I'm all for it! I just have to see the Prime Minister at 4pm, so I can be in Vienna for early dinner, like 6pm. And I can offer my Ambassador's residence as a nice, quiet venue. But of course, ready to go anyplace.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/20/19 03:55:31 PM (574815331)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B292317-E2A2-48C5-B50E-720FF636AEFE

Message: I wil land Vienna at 5 . Do I need to organize transport. I will travel with three assistant s. □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/20/19 03:56:19 PM (574815379)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 56AA324C-43EE-439C-B55E-E1B82DEC45FC

Message: I've already got a full sked I'm trying to rework

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/21/19 12:58:39 PM (574891119)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C16ED234-7923-4537-986C-76C748C7FC0D

Message: Come to Vienna . Europe is waiting for you. Brazil and Latin America brilliant move

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/21/19 01:34:34 PM (574893274)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9856F5FD-3C44-4F16-BE3C-FD4CEE7A3DAA

Message: Can we do it Sunday or is that too late

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/21/19 01:36:25 PM (574893385)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DA0C4B75-615F-4B42-B1F7-B850B77905D8

Message: Too late. . no worry. , if you like come to Paris and have lunch with Jacques lang. . former minister of culture , macrons new advisor. And great friend. it was Jacques idea to build the pyramid in front of the Louvre and refresh all of Paris in the 90s

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/21/19 01:37:20 PM (574893440)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DAFC3623-720D-4462-A603-1BAD5EEDE4EB

Message: His budget was a multiple of the defense budget in charge of education culture and institutions Louvre opera etc

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/21/19 01:45:34 PM (574893934)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8377B966-DDBF-40FD-83FC-71793BF2E12D

Message: I asked and you would be invited to his home . No press

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/21/19 01:56:09 PM (574894569)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 673C79C8-45C5-4B02-AE83-FADD50DD35FE

Message: Yes he is a legend ::

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/21/19 01:56:20 PM (574894580)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2318EEFB-F08D-4079-AA6E-DCF6F2195FE3

Message: Let me work the sked

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/21/19 01:57:06 PM (574894626)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A3924C1B-1655-4AF1-B3FE-DB217F55DDF7

Message: Cool . He super smart , passionate but less like Chomsky he knows his facts

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/22/19 04:38:01 AM (574947481)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9AA0B66F-47AD-45F2-874D-EE94E9BC7D6B

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/22/19 05:19:13 AM (574949953)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C2DA2A1-84FE-4678-9BB9-AF05F63E8404

Message: Wearing the emblem of the movement

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/22/19 06:33:51 AM (574954431)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B60D5918-1DB8-4AD0-970B-94875630EE70

Message: LMAO

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/22/19 10:02:52 AM (574966972)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6C762983-C0F3-43FE-B2D0-B037BB5E2493

Message: Do you think you might make Paris

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/22/19 11:55:10 AM (574973710)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 639914CB-214E-4E4B-A675-4DEB4AC65E23

Message: Can't

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/22/19 11:59:22 AM (574973962)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A7C30A3B-0145-461D-BBD6-3EC5C08F8E85

Message: Ok

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/22/19 03:29:45 PM (574986585)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A334858-BDC7-4CB3-A826-B91B46649D41

Message: Mueller report in , It begnis

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/22/19 03:29:48 PM (574986588)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 88E13E2D-AA77-40B8-BF78-E642A6551E26

Message: begins

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/24/19 04:03:18 PM (575161398)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B5245767-3A04-4F18-B396-D1340C9D0BC1

Message: the only relevant sentence , is referred to other offices

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/25/19 10:48:31 AM (575228911)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 99CF99D0-9FB6-4A17-AF49-E6C9D9F5B504

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/25/sports/michael-avenatti-nike-extortion.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/25/19 10:48:34 AM (575228914)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 52E9AF82-0B06-4285-904C-7C5E4C3C3524

Message: □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/25/19 10:01:07 PM (575269267)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 375742B7-F5CA-4AF5-92B0-3ED2AB673837

Message: Where r u??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 02:03:36 AM (575283816)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DFAC6789-B550-45AE-943A-D2B72E3013A0

Message: Paris

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/26/19 02:04:07 AM (575283847)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A4BACA94-D6A1-4861-9083-B83A3084D8EF

Message: How long ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 02:04:52 AM (575283892)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7A7912F6-02A3-4CED-B906-6958A6E9F674

Message: Flexible

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 02:05:36 AM (575283936)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 378629AF-A8D0-4A44-9975-A6D4AEBE0E5B

Message: Soo many interesting people here

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/26/19 02:06:25 AM (575283985)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B3BD7A5-E86E-4F48-9729-A041735B1136

Message: Gillet jeunes have not burned you out yet?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 02:06:44 AM (575284004)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1A6BDA57-1C0F-4B0A-B30D-8ADC0D487D44

Message: They are my peeps

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 02:06:58 AM (575284018)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A66484C-4FE6-4C99-AB42-A02896B6C5DC

Message: Coney Island redux

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/26/19 02:07:51 AM (575284071)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 50473D27-2DB1-456C-951E-DB17586397F3

Message: You need to suit up

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 02:08:19 AM (575284099)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8ADCA9EE-931B-403D-9710-77DAEC083746

Message: Im trying to wear yellow sweat pants

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 02:08:53 AM (575284133)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8D2974D7-AA83-421B-8333-B1CD7B439187

Message: Your girl flying over

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 02:09:23 AM (575284163)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 55202DEF-4950-4B6A-82AC-87B7FCBADAE0

Message: Are u around

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 02:09:27 AM (575284167)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1C892CE1-3F93-46DC-BFFA-845068EBC96A

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/26/19 02:12:07 AM (575284327)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 70225A05-619F-4DAA-9913-E1D8A8497A26

Message: In Rome :: when does she arrive ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 02:20:44 AM (575284844)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BCF3F84A-5C42-4B7C-8054-9FA58733BF9E

Message: Thursday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 02:22:19 AM (575284939)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FEADF0FA-944F-4E7E-A129-E418776D0899

Message: I will probably go to monaco tomorrow. I can send the plane to pick you up

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/26/19 02:29:31 AM (575285371)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FD760642-60C0-4A6F-B410-C6BAC3659319

Message: R u back in Paris then to meet with her ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 03:05:04 AM (575287504)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8D3B9D52-949A-43B1-B0CF-799DFFBCB32F

Message: Yup

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/26/19 03:07:51 AM (575287671)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F6121412-3988-413A-815D-9AAE17153E7A

Message: K-- how long is she in Paris for???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 03:11:32 AM (575287892)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 86FF2CCB-4264-43C7-87DE-D2B34C9D387B

Message: Sounds like a grand jury

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 03:11:37 AM (575287897)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 40F1ACF0-EA5A-433C-9840-B5578464B5B1

Message: :)

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/26/19 09:29:55 AM (575310595)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F303F50A-13EB-46EA-A8A1-F06AA7B54D30

Message: Thoughts?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/26/19 11:43:07 PM (575361787)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 72767212-BC03-48C1-BC8B-F3B057DC17EE

Message: She is in Paris from when to when???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/27/19 01:06:40 AM (575366800)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C1ADAD48-ADB6-44A4-9A4C-5C469790B5FA

Message: Now Geneva tomorrow,

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/27/19 01:07:00 AM (575366820)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7355A056-F66E-42B5-BBAF-F598AD0ABCE8

Message: She is not going to Paris ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/27/19 01:35:42 AM (575368542)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CC416917-BD0E-4342-811C-40F13DF004EB

Message: Didn't hear from you so / changed - now maybe Sunday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/27/19 02:03:03 AM (575370183)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6492A1FB-3ED7-41EA-9C8E-D0BF3F36D1CA

Message: Btw- Miro is the best informed on Europe

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/27/19 02:05:24 AM (575370324)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 34F0DB1A-2C45-4D77-BA88-366D7D1C0C06

Message: You are going to Geneva not her-- she comes to Paris maybe Sunday correct

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/27/19 02:05:53 AM (575370353)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EA4FE113-5EE2-4A4E-ACAC-61DC096C129C

Message: She is going to Geneva

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/27/19 02:06:14 AM (575370374)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 55F32E72-727A-47C1-AC5A-86A1C6BB2706

Message: Im staying Paris where she will come

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/27/19 02:11:06 AM (575370666)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4A7CFD9B-4023-4751-A83A-CEFD4C054514

Message: Dude - [redacted] I don't like texting

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/27/19 02:15:31 AM (575370931)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C4DFF7A9-D0BE-4174-B648-E90502484E47

Message: Got it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/27/19 02:17:07 AM (575371027)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BD1AA440-CBF5-4BB1-98BB-2F62FA68D81C

Message: Or my cell

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/27/19 03:51:08 AM (575376668)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9A2A7D3D-DD3F-4329-8C7D-EB17F8E12D26

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/27/19 04:04:09 PM (575420649)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3C9B98F2-32A8-44B3-807B-C063040A6832

Message: How long will you stay in Europe?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/27/19 04:04:29 PM (575420669)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 12568CD0-6D75-44BA-8848-717B396483A5

Message: Doing Anderson Cooper now -- will reach out after

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 02:40:05 AM (575458805)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 28EF16E0-080B-49F5-820C-2C220F69A90C

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 02:40:58 AM (575458858)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8743CD69-8653-4759-9320-0BAFD5A210AF

Message: I did CNN. Live last night from Vatican City -- 30 minutes on Anderson Cooper

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 02:41:14 AM (575458874)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D87BEAA7-460A-4432-AF06-2C7ADA0ED6E3

Message: Great

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 02:41:46 AM (575458906)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DF2692AA-A43E-4ACA-9A56-BA630B505772

Message: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6858701/Steve-Bannon-says-NO-Democrat-capable-beating-Trump-2020.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 02:42:26 AM (575458946)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5BB5B0E4-8593-4D9B-AF7D-F907B848729A

Message: SDNY. Is the punch. , the mueller report the head fake

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 02:52:56 AM (575459576)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 035B67D0-8921-4892-85ED-B7B2C32B051A

Message: I think folks may actually see that as 'witch hunt' now since this so clean

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 02:53:44 AM (575459624)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C07CF376-3ECC-4FBC-B0BD-AC654359BC0E

Message: Understood ,- I thought you . Were great on Anderson

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 02:54:01 AM (575459641)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A7D0B74B-14B3-4E8D-8388-9E31778EDD41

Message: He was de balled. And done well

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 02:54:24 AM (575459664)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DE08EADB-7336-40BF-AE1D-684B845428F0

Message: It was tough on top of that roof in the dark and cold -- but felt good

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 02:55:10 AM (575459710)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 618F9644-ADE1-45B0-996B-D23247BBBEC8

Message: The wizards hands were lower than the Chiron. But the spell seemed to work.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 02:55:39 AM (575459739)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3089329C-D2B2-4D82-A96F-DB6FF9BC147D

Message: Anderson was respectful. ,

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 02:56:00 AM (575459760)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 99265312-D3E4-4D78-8F84-219811CE6793

Message: You saw that I was trying to work them-- and it's why they gave it a tight shot

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 02:56:21 AM (575459781)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1C67C77A-1096-40EC-9648-D68C1B527B68

Message: Turning him to your china side could be easier than one thinks

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 02:56:38 AM (575459798)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CB6242F7-EA12-4FBC-B807-E6D0531E41B6

Message: They need an enemy , china fits the bill

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 02:56:57 AM (575459817)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 17736568-7F4D-474B-914D-911D62AD08BE

Message: Yes they can to me about china after seeing the Rome speeches

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 02:58:21 AM (575459901)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 46F6B8AA-C21B-4FCF-AF47-DD1324238A31

Message: They need the new eyeballs. Big targets. , Russia not useful, trump dead for a while. Health care over . China perfect piñata

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 02:59:41 AM (575459981)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3AB5A2AE-4E07-47A7-B010-987A7EE98A19

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 03:04:07 AM (575460247)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B3EE425-7080-4AD0-B05E-0758D9B49A05

Message: Indias little reported satellite killer . Changes cyber game. - one belt one road, needs secure communication . Fun

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 03:05:51 AM (575460351)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A4BB4ED6-756C-4AA7-9DC8-06CBFB23BD8F

Message: I think you might want to start a new group, of hackers. Currently there are the white hats and the black hats. I like the idea of your creating the red white and blue hats

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 03:09:28 AM (575460568)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8013479E-6AB2-4F7D-93C5-0191C053E6E3

Message: Genius

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 03:09:35 AM (575460575)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 56C66072-0A4F-452A-AA0A-C35FB76A5973

Message: If you really think china a threat, turn the American teen hackers loose.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 03:09:56 AM (575460596)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F7AA9A86-B0EC-4B8C-BF7B-6FC908DD448F

Message: Explain that this country is fucking with your future.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 03:10:01 AM (575460601)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 46300733-8F41-40CE-A270-ADBA51001143

Message: Ie china

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 03:10:48 AM (575460648)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5242A071-42F6-4645-A3C2-14524360CCDA

Message: In a few years they would have trouble making pair of sneakers with the right amount of holes for laces

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 03:11:20 AM (575460680)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E2450AAD-B607-48D5-9551-F5E6F91F694B

Message: LMAO

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 03:11:31 AM (575460691)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9B171705-ABAF-4756-9FE2-2FE71FDC605B

Message: Unrestriced warfare. American style

Sender:[redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 03:11:53 AM (575460713)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 608BE12D-A216-4AE9-828A-DCA8899DB2BE

Message: Yes--- unrestrict this

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 03:14:33 AM (575460873)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A1D8AB53-75D2-4B49-A973-EE744A2C7BB4

Message: LOL !!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 03:15:09 AM (575460909)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 37E3A616-379D-4455-BFB5-74AFEF68D6B2

Message: Arab league meeting in Tunis on weekend. Then group coming to download to me on tues. , I will then fly to states. You are welcome for all as always

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 03:15:17 AM (575460917)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C3DBF28A-B6EA-4BBE-A584-AB3636C3C8AD

Message: No press here

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 03:16:01 AM (575460961)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 48ED0598-890D-4F43-9DA0-8731E4CB2460

Message: Girl going to see George on sat in germany

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 03:17:36 AM (575461056)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CD290D88-F975-4E09-A3B3-BA974C8B3231

Message: She is in Paris when???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 03:18:46 AM (575461126)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1EED539A-37F3-42AE-8206-8441996FE326

Message: Sun

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 04:08:48 AM (575464128)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 94BB10D4-AFB7-47F1-9565-70F8D6174681

Message: If I get to Paris Saturday can u and I spend some time together?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 04:13:30 AM (575464410)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9C34B69D-A465-4D96-BFC6-CCF439D57114

Message: Yes , great

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 04:14:14 AM (575464454)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0983913C-B893-4A63-A7F6-74BDC4C97F9B

Message: And if you and your boys need a place. You are welcome to stay

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 04:26:35 AM (575465195)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 04A7D9AC-8AB3-4040-A3EE-6F7DFDE93D15

Message: Cool let me work this

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 04:26:43 AM (575465203)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F3CB80C2-38AE-486B-AA70-D5F847D31D48

Message: She is in on Sunday

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 04:27:02 AM (575465222)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 404D477F-0868-42F1-8FBE-B721769F1AAA

Message: You fly to states on Tuesday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 04:29:05 AM (575465345)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0142B7CA-6B06-44E3-9954-BA70DE3E58CF

Message: Have not spoken to her yet today. Yes tues night or wed morning if you prefer

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 04:29:50 AM (575465390)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1C2CCE26-2B24-43C6-8A5A-29EA22A4623A

Message: Tuesday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 04:30:40 AM (575465440)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FE1FA45D-D2B1-4DEC-9B38-0CD334B321F4

Message: Should be ok, around 4 30 pm

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 04:31:12 AM (575465472)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C067056F-E30F-470F-9EAA-01C740345590

Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 04:32:10 AM (575465530)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 26F1649E-5C92-4233-BBEE-8DDB2464F752

Message: How many people with you

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 04:33:32 AM (575465612)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 607C96D8-8E7B-4529-8C1B-231EBC0C3BEA

Message: Tuesday terje Larson coming for lunch. And you are welcome we leave after

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 04:33:49 AM (575465629)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 02FC0527-05DD-480B-BB9C-32263F3FFAFC

Message: We not terje

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 04:59:58 AM (575467198)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4CBF8742-D0E0-4709-AC34-A412139E7FBD

Message: 2 to fly back

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 05:00:21 AM (575467221)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7503E069-92F7-42FD-A5EE-2BED9D543156

Message: So 2 plus you send passports

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 05:07:36 AM (575467656)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5360093F-F4F0-4116-ADA4-893438EFFFBC

Message: No just dan

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 05:08:25 AM (575467705)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5F0D9EFB-0CE5-4A1C-BD7F-DD394D8F33EF

Message: Send his passport and yours

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 05:08:39 AM (575467719)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 91A413B9-EF7C-409A-95E2-780D0EC4A9AF

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 06:23:13 AM (575472193)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 62816EF7-A61A-43C9-9F26-2816FFB5EA5E

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 07:31:45 AM (575476305)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F2C9AF7A-3288-46E9-B623-93D9FAD27252

Message: Steven potter

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 07:32:00 AM (575476320)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B91679A7-D1E5-4B84-B865-7814B6CAEEE1

Message: LOL

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 07:32:07 AM (575476327)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AC31DA8C-3A83-43DE-A23E-E0F66B6BCBDD

Message: Vordemort

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 07:35:50 AM (575476550)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 72C65D60-52DA-4888-9A22-AAF53DA0E43E

Message: Would be great to give you wand ! Kathy just called- she got sick canceled entire trip. I will stay till Tuesday Paris but might have to travel Middle East. Will know later . I now have even more free time in Europe.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 07:36:26 AM (575476586)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 766C6E98-B60C-4BF8-8193-F201DE2EA756

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 07:36:33 AM (575476593)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 37058D25-66BA-48F9-B73A-3A24EBF06979

Message: She is in NYC ??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 07:37:11 AM (575476631)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2CA0DBCA-875A-4777-833A-F060CD44D552

Message: Your "boy George " won't be happy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 07:37:27 AM (575476647)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0CDAEE3E-0B2F-4F95-8C7E-3E0B81B9F209

Message: Yes today

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/28/19 07:37:34 AM (575476654)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1CCF0287-70DB-4C23-87C2-831607C9E986

Message: Yeah: he was hoping to run into her

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 08:03:59 AM (575478239)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AA92A60B-730E-4C48-BFC5-D6AAE73AB636

Message: I can organize Jacques lang at my house if you have an interest in an icon.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 10:05:39 AM (575485539)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 49FBB721-F973-4BFE-B7AB-FAE7AFDE2F92

Message: Do you think you are coming to Paris?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 01:53:07 PM (575499187)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A8A1D397-8A7F-4C56-BD53-C00F7B68BECC

Message: https://www.washingtonpost.com/classic-apps/how-donald-trump-used-unusual-financial-documents-to-exaggerate-his-wealth-and-hide-some-of-his-debts/2019/03/28/dc9fdb6e-49aa-11e9-9663-00ac73f49662_story.html?utm_term=.8f35beb8c3a8

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/28/19 05:00:38 PM (575510438)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 962F8E30-BF79-49FD-9E47-2DA65ED942FC

Message: U coming to Paris Saturday?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 01:11:32 AM (575539892)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 261F58FA-151D-4056-A513-7957AE19F324

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 01:57:08 AM (575542628)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 038B2E85-F2E1-4001-8370-927009A5D59B

Message: Is it possible to get your plane here to collect me

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 01:57:48 AM (575542668)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 31DA764B-3AFE-468D-BD2A-83C055E2E42A

Message: Where are you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 01:58:23 AM (575542703)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 87C174BE-AD0B-416A-B68F-CFFEF3E42516

Message: Rome

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 01:58:36 AM (575542716)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 95798BE5-9F00-4A3F-8D18-038DF5598B04

Message: Waived off Spain

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 01:58:57 AM (575542737)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 49E3C859-1764-4435-9294-04217383CF08

Message: When?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 01:59:44 AM (575542784)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 06909113-47DF-424B-8EDB-2EA187AFF25E

Message: Anytime tomorow after 1 pm -- I'm in meetings with The League here until then

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 01:59:49 AM (575542789)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 08095104-36B8-49BB-994E-E3522B6926E6

Message: Until noon

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 02:00:03 AM (575542803)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A47F7775-D08C-4ECB-B5B7-473DD5E64C06

Message: Can launch any time after noon

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 02:00:22 AM (575542822)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 87BB1ACF-B675-47A9-AEED-6B00AC9761A3

Message: Btw doing CNBC from here @ 630 am EST

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 02:00:37 AM (575542837)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ECFF34BE-AF31-4DC6-BFFE-5416F0DCA93D

Message: How many people

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 02:00:38 AM (575542838)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 11ADAA70-D47E-451C-BF0D-4D15C09E78BC

Message: Squawk Box

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 02:00:43 AM (575542843)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F83968D5-8DF6-49F7-8932-93C06BE2E89E

Message: 2

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 02:01:08 AM (575542868)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACB76CE4-750E-4D85-9320-2D5734718BA0

Message: Excuse me 3

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 02:01:26 AM (575542886)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B7B2484-9BBB-4314-A9A8-AC2D8D377246

Message: My security guy will leave me after Paris

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 02:03:13 AM (575542993)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0613639C-01EB-4893-8C24-64ACB490E010

Message: Will get back to you by noon , today

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 02:03:37 AM (575543017)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0816AD17-45F4-479D-A822-03247C994FBE

Message: Cool-- my CNBC hit is @ 1130

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 03:29:44 AM (575548184)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BEFF1C87-406C-49BD-A53C-4B6F26C05E01

Message: What time wheels up ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 03:56:54 AM (575549814)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 82821E45-45A2-4206-BF3A-0E934D348D88

Message: 1 pm

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 03:57:23 AM (575549843)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 38CB4A46-2D65-4FFB-B721-E8404F465F0F

Message: I'm done @ noon

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 04:05:31 AM (575550331)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 45DFF9CB-03F9-405A-94D8-C52F89272B66

Message: Did u see CNBC

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 04:43:57 AM (575552637)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7906B91F-2441-4C76-8DE9-AF2086F962DE

Message: Yes. Saw. I still like the wand idea. , for Valmort . I thought of buying you a black wizard hat. With stars. , would be great. The pilots are hustling to finish a data base. Upgrade. , still in the plane

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 04:44:20 AM (575552660)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CAC44AD5-3494-43B4-BD38-3666B9755D59

Message: LOL!!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 05:00:55 AM (575553655)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 405AC0E6-3089-49E5-919F-DACF7266A0FA

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 05:17:05 AM (575554625)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FCFC6006-3E80-41AB-AB00-29820389D157

Message: LMAO

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 06:35:51 AM (575559351)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6B7EAAC6-16E2-430A-8E00-0D44B851D364

Message: You should orgzine commercial backup , as pilots are still loading data

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 06:36:37 AM (575559397)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 024C3C98-C431-4157-ABF8-95E383FBC941

Message: Should know more later. . they are doing their best

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 07:08:11 AM (575561291)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DB401AE3-625D-43CB-98D8-382BDB15AD63

Message: Cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 08:03:16 AM (575564596)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7EF2A4DA-7718-440B-A4B5-BB1815A11F67

Message: Sorry , plane not ready until tues ,

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 08:07:05 AM (575564825)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 56452B9E-D35F-4179-993C-BEE2993CD8EE

Message: If you find a charter. I am happy to pay

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 08:08:46 AM (575564926)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9149E1D0-9EB6-4643-8E7C-7C3FD4D6E55B

Message: No problem-- standby

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 08:09:13 AM (575564953)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9DB959E0-6790-4003-ABB8-BEE779ACA520

Message: My guys can pick you up. , come for dinner

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 08:09:23 AM (575564963)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BAC18641-2C97-478C-995D-AAE5910A0AE1

Message: Hang on

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 08:09:27 AM (575564967)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5F58DC84-3BBC-4541-9E90-DD536A1A5A00

Message: no worry

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 08:09:29 AM (575564969)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 99944ADF-64A9-4FD1-82AA-13A2ECDDADC0

Message: Let me check

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 08:09:52 AM (575564992)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B2767EA-5D12-43BC-8D6B-FA040E7B7FD1

Message: Im in the elysee . On line again in 45 mon

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 08:09:54 AM (575564994)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4030501C-28BA-43FD-B1B5-929A102AA908

Message: min

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 08:10:11 AM (575565011)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0B40C944-630B-4761-817D-88C672D91EAE

Message: Cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 09:34:15 AM (575570055)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B28005DC-8BAB-48DD-B611-0DA0705CABE9

Message: Now at the pyramid. With the entire govt. what are your plans

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 09:39:12 AM (575570352)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8D98D2E1-FFED-4100-9582-313B98DB577D

Message: Macron govt??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 09:51:25 AM (575571085)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A41414D3-5C7A-4BF0-83B5-1CC78EDD5D63

Message: Yup

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 01:18:09 PM (575583489)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E59656F2-81B0-44AB-8352-F47A408FF930

Message: The ministers of the elite. .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 01:25:41 PM (575583941)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E2BFBF69-AA40-49E2-93F3-3F4DB7330EB2

Message: Amazing photo

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 01:26:22 PM (575583982)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 67B46921-EC11-46E3-B68C-BC849A7F22A7

Message: just us two entire place. French power

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 01:26:49 PM (575584009)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3F41F0D8-BF25-46E3-8BD4-9A3F20541293

Message: Powermove

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/29/19 03:39:11 PM (575591951)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 25A919C1-FF4A-453F-BF3A-236D75D74A2E

Message: Dinner tomorrow?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/29/19 11:51:26 PM (575621486)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6EC3C1F6-08BB-4E4A-B4AA-0A2216278C58

Message: Meetings with the Germans here running over --- will revert shortly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 02:45:23 AM (575631923)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 38B095A9-97C4-4B8F-8E40-78369444C617

Message: Israel election April 9 brexit 12 arab league today - im free after 7pm

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 04:28:35 AM (575638115)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B29EA5F1-374B-43EA-865C-33E1C1F6A817

Message: Arab league today doing what???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 04:31:53 AM (575638313)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F2633F4A-81B6-4FDD-9187-935FB683574F

Message: Its the big meeting in Tunis. Discussion china Russia . Israel

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 04:32:36 AM (575638356)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8A02828D-D59B-4527-BE16-413AB96E4563

Message: Your deplorables need an enemy china china china

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 04:33:47 AM (575638427)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 905861CA-E318-433F-91CC-8F8AE9632A7F

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 04:34:16 AM (575638456)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C247B731-8B6A-4697-8A01-05E05D233302

Message: I'm the evangelicalist on this one

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 04:35:13 AM (575638513)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7187ABDE-F7BA-4E92-AF6C-9B3B0F1FF0D7

Message: saudi very tricky, Russia a potential friend. . Mongolian here yesterday, caught between china and Russia , great insight. Trillion dollars of resources in the ground. . two big neighbors.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 04:35:49 AM (575638549)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A66227B7-FF24-44AC-9870-617E1144BD8B

Message: You would like the president. batuga. He is willing to see you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 04:36:13 AM (575638573)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 82F2B724-BE45-4CD6-9CEF-33C445F20141

Message: Love the Mongolian guys-- the ambassador came to breitbart embassy-- they and kazichstan key

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 04:36:52 AM (575638612)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5ADE77CF-7B6D-4BB5-A8DF-E5575F03159F

Message: Kazak more difficult. Super corrupt, Mongolian in desperate need of help.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 04:38:49 AM (575638729)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4DC5621B-B6F7-479A-A024-4216C5C5452D

Message: 3 million people. , 12 million horses

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 04:44:13 AM (575639053)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3F282EA5-5E26-4DC8-ACC9-12C0C3E80081

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/19/opinion/jordan-middle-east.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 04:44:16 AM (575639056)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4B37AD95-A440-4B91-B8AB-9D5651A2065D

Message: Good summary

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 05:00:20 AM (575640020)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4AD50337-7F39-4ADF-B3BE-D677516B49B2

Message: Agree 100%

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 05:00:45 AM (575640045)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 62223213-0618-4EB9-8B33-673E4260069C

Message: A Chinese Yangtze River Airlines plane arrived Friday in Caracas to deliver medicine and medical supplies to Maduro's government.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 05:01:34 AM (575640094)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 18796E52-C7E9-45DB-8BBB-D78CDAD0DBEC

Message: Oil oil oil

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 05:06:16 AM (575640376)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CCB55534-ADC7-4714-8352-ACD47C2EDF3E

Message: China 'lebensraum': Australia; Venezuela; Brazil

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 06:40:36 AM (575646036)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB84E646-4A15-4930-9B9C-06F5E5B546FE

Message: is Paris in your future. ? tomorrow?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 06:41:36 AM (575646096)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 39BD0CC7-7BCC-44D7-9493-0568B1CFF25E

Message: I was told today that they now refer to themselves as the sovereign district of New York

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 06:41:39 AM (575646099)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A65E96A1-FFD7-4C7A-B543-EDBF4BAF8A69

Message: Tomorrow:: working it out now ; will revert with details

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 06:41:44 AM (575646104)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B9064D3-0D38-4574-BB08-AC2174BA24EB

Message: cool

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 08:44:38 AM (575653478)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D763775E-71D2-4091-817A-3CA21AC08CA0

Message: R u headed back to NYC , palm beach or Middle East on Tuesday ??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 09:03:15 AM (575654595)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C557DFAA-D7A0-44A0-B189-01CC7C14C017

Message: They also are against the rich

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 09:11:58 AM (575655118)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4BC6793A-3A66-4244-8B66-69DE76479621

Message: Being pulled in many directions all super interesting. Not sure yet. Sorry will let you know as soon as firm . You and your people are welcome to stay with me in Paris if it helps. Three finance ministers today. All confused. - not jewish

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 09:25:10 AM (575655910)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7E42DEFA-7DCD-45D4-BBE0-09399A8B12C8

Message: LMAO

Sender:[redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 09:25:45 AM (575655945)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B4E61F38-2DE7-422B-9240-2593E3662559

Message: When are you back to states or is that open ended

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 09:36:56 AM (575656616)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 618AB64E-728A-45C9-9F73-4CD4E399BDDF

Message: Im happy to pay a charter to Paris for you. My Schedule in flux until tomorrow night .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 09:38:22 AM (575656702)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5B2181DD-470C-4F3E-8D42-51BC510FDEE3

Message: Only certain is my science conference in New York Friday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 09:38:44 AM (575656724)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF4B0FD1-EF8A-42F7-BE44-A2670BC10908

Message: Im hoping to go back Tuesday

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 09:40:43 AM (575656843)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4988D110-F157-41D7-BDCE-6D354C6B6CC8

Message: What science conference???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 11:32:43 AM (575663563)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BC1EF316-E264-4908-B2A7-013C00DD5F65

Message: Smartest plants , string theory , quantum computing, life regeneration. - my " movement "

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 11:33:13 AM (575663593)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6C11B90C-079D-4FD8-AE8E-3022FACAA8CE

Message: The Singularity

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 11:37:20 AM (575663840)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D5BA88EF-4419-4800-AC31-F90320413827

Message: https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.nytimes.com/2019/03/29/sunday-review/biosphere-2-climate-change.amp.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 12:14:54 PM (575666094)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E0C01C6E-4B33-4A5D-9EB4-5B6EA9CD0B48

Message: Great! I live in my biosphere

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 12:15:10 PM (575666110)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 36726E36-F161-4BE9-ACF6-8EF488302ABB

Message: Are you coming tomorrow?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 12:32:40 PM (575667160)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 01E8B5AE-0765-4FA6-9206-784B8AA8697E

Message: LOL-- yes who should my guy talk with ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 12:47:31 PM (575668051)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1D9A6314-DEB1-4E04-B099-A6419B73A223

Message: Do you want my driver to pick you up at airport ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 12:47:36 PM (575668056)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6F547FF9-D08A-48CE-9DD3-EA9321E2F559

Message: Or...

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/30/19 01:01:42 PM (575668902)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6F3C3E46-6D8D-415F-AC9F-D27E38360294

Message: Your guy can coordinate with. A.S. on [redacted]

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 01:08:45 PM (575669325)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B8E32BB6-16A8-4ED0-A04E-0130C1BE4E3A

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 01:19:42 PM (575669982)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 315B301B-DABD-4CF1-86D7-80B5D850F622

Message: Will have my guy dan call now

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/30/19 09:38:28 PM (575699908)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C564E45F-EC23-4945-BC42-37896F1CE443

Message: Miro would be president today if he had listened to me

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 12:58:37 AM (575711917)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 317AD67C-6199-4902-A5B9-A0D45481B25F

Message: agreed. Soros candidate . Only NGO experience. No real competition .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/31/19 01:07:55 AM (575712475)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1B931D6A-B64B-4BE1-A835-4AEFC4BAA949

Message: Exactly-- need to turn miro into a nationalist sovereignty leader

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 01:08:43 AM (575712523)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 870D8921-1C87-43E9-97D5-638282BCED5C

Message: he has the look

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/31/19 01:41:14 AM (575714474)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 73CD2208-C8BA-4DBB-B278-B70FE9CAC02E

Message: Exactly-- it's a joke this woman won

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 01:45:09 AM (575714709)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0D78026F-2E44-46B6-B9AB-1B5AD5093E61

Message: Times up ! Still in infancy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/31/19 02:04:13 AM (575715853)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B0AAC30-4A20-43BB-8613-9B7EA9C0C25B

Message: Yes yes yes -- and here to stay-- the end of the patriarchy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 06:28:47 AM (575731727)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1543BB93-8C25-47AD-BBC1-C2DEB33CECB0

Message: Ahhh. Just told me you are not coming till tomorrow. sjame

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 06:28:49 AM (575731729)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FA2ACD97-D48B-47E7-953D-D95390346EA8

Message: shame

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/31/19 06:36:33 AM (575732193)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DCA927D7-BF94-43BD-B89C-E528A2AFEED2

Message: I'm coming tonight @ 7

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/31/19 06:37:29 AM (575732249)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B16B1CB6-9CA8-4320-80FB-4D1837711C98

Message: Meetings here now end @ 630 ; wheels up roughly 7 to 730

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 06:39:48 AM (575732388)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F6C59005-973F-4C3B-9A82-8AB40CA78F68

Message: So do you want to come tonite/? Up to you as always . I m on ny time so no worry

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/31/19 06:40:49 AM (575732449)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2283D351-67BE-4CE3-BA82-CBD7C7FA4826

Message: Unless dan changed something we launch for Paris @ around 7--- is it a 90 minute to 2 hour flight?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 06:41:10 AM (575732470)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F9A17DC8-D910-4747-9210-656727FDFCFF

Message: 90

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 06:41:58 AM (575732518)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3DED5E0C-FB0F-4A82-80DC-080FB010476A

Message: Im easy , the meeting is now biled as the child rapist meets the nitwits intellectual. . not sue which is funnier

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 06:42:07 AM (575732527)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 64963C29-508A-49A6-8C2B-51EFEFCD2732

Message: Sure

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 06:43:34 AM (575732614)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 113B7546-4259-4705-A0B6-F030A5CEF73E

Message: Ok. Just let me know when you land and your preference. .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/31/19 06:52:43 AM (575733163)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6CDF9543-C36E-4D0B-A828-CE9DE533933E

Message: Is that your science conference or tonight

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 06:53:22 AM (575733202)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1B03402D-F8EE-4E03-856F-40417FF370AA

Message: lol

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/31/19 10:19:35 AM (575745575)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BDF61521-9058-443D-8C52-C93C4DB7417E

Message: I'm staying with you tonight??-- u have room ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/31/19 10:46:21 AM (575747181)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FB35171E-C3D8-41B8-8F84-5B00E8EAF1C9

Message: I've got a hotel so no big deal

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 10:52:39 AM (575747559)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E3F6A920-ED35-4C83-A3C6-1C956D9A7148

Message: Yes stay . Just you?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/31/19 10:53:11 AM (575747591)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B344A6B0-8F52-4E5B-8E2A-D43089C08774

Message: The lads can stay @ a hotel

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 10:53:18 AM (575747598)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 77C3B1D2-9460-48D4-A30C-1ED42AE183AE

Message: Done

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 03/31/19 01:08:58 PM (575755738)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4B262623-39C7-4830-8920-3021A224E703

Message: Enroute

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 03/31/19 01:09:51 PM (575755791)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E51E1CBC-76A3-467F-B477-C80579597020

Message: Ok

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-05-06\Joi Ito on 2019-05-06 at 09.20.15.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 12/02/18 11:15:13 AM (565470913)

End Time: 05/06/19 07:11:01 AM (578844661)

Last Message ID: 28742

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, Joi Ito

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/02/18 11:15:13 AM (565470913)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 959D17B5-8685-4ED3-AB60-E8CE11C025FF

Message: My train is late and I have to take care of some sick doggie stuff and home stuff so I don't think I can make it today. Please give me best to everyone.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 11:33:22 AM (565472002)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 416FD746-7DE9-4462-9F75-558510DA41A7

Message: Ok

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/02/18 02:56:41 PM (565484201)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8D6E6C76-408A-4712-8544-70EB53CCCB10

Message: Im sorry you missed s Great!!! Day

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/02/18 03:28:11 PM (565486091)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8FA586AD-A435-445C-8712-7EBE0BBDC2E6

Message: Sorry to miss it!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/05/18 04:54:17 AM (565707257)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 920DDE18-2E91-482E-90A5-9904AB98D2E8

Message: i would like to find a way to fund john la porta asap

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/05/18 09:33:57 AM (565724037)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 508F12ED-448F-4612-A6E0-BEE33B6F7ACF

Message: Cool. Let me figure out whether we can still do it through mit considering all of the recent press stuff.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/05/18 10:03:39 AM (565725819)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FC420C55-90AE-4542-8384-0D42A4B98466

Message: Understood, otherwise ill do it directly

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/05/18 10:04:41 AM (565725881)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ED908A1D-6090-4367-BF64-ECB6B57760C5

Message: OK. Let me figure it out.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 06:05:00 AM (565797900)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DCC1A398-86EC-445B-A122-B8A89CA72356

Message: Pr ess brutality . Wow. Will need to cure cancer . To move this down the page

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 12/06/18 06:06:13 AM (565797973)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4958D3C3-F77A-4B83-BEBB-47B84E22723B

Message: Yes... brutal

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 06:07:59 AM (565798079)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A1E0DFDA-9910-4972-9478-13C0B7BBE0C1

Message: Dems want a silver bullet for trump; some of the conversations are beyond belief

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 12/06/18 06:08:42 AM (565798122)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5E8A357E-612B-4866-B66F-831D2C28130D

Message: Im relegated to a mid and long strategy , neither assured. UGH

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/06/19 04:15:37 AM (578834137)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BF2D0D73-9F6C-4911-B1DF-C96B7421B1B7

Message: Do you have someone good working on your cyber security? I always worry about your email.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/06/19 04:16:08 AM (578834168)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CC370549-4B54-4745-896E-722B28095CF9

Message: yes but not state quality

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/06/19 04:18:05 AM (578834285)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2AB8BB42-3B37-4756-84D5-EF32AF0F1868

Message: Ok. I have other plant stuff these days. We should Skype sometime. Maybe early morning sometime?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/06/19 04:18:20 AM (578834300)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 92623BF8-ED8C-4932-B3CB-BA0604960AE0

Message: ok

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/06/19 04:23:04 AM (578834584)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 49378C2F-3C2A-4565-9175-65D007D12180

Message: Are east coast?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/06/19 04:23:49 AM (578834629)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 45958A92-9498-4B10-9B68-5E2FA565994F

Message: yes until thurs

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/06/19 06:20:15 AM (578841615)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5C5E4C5B-6275-494E-AFB3-917279E659E1

Message: How about Wed AM? What time do you typically get up these days?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/06/19 07:10:16 AM (578844616)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 09EA2FE3-9DF3-4EB2-A67B-1196EB4D1F96

Message: I will be in Santa Fe. But yes. Early ok

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/06/19 07:11:01 AM (578844661)

Flags: 1118209

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A89302F1-0A79-40DE-BB2F-6C7B301BB08A

Message: 7:30-8 ET ok?

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-05-06\[redacted] on 2019-05-06 at 07.57.09.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 04/30/19 03:29:13 AM (578312953)

End Time: 05/06/19 07:29:05 AM (578845745)

Last Message ID: 28743

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 03:29:13 AM (578312953)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 33933031-6F71-4E25-AB10-C065247D1F36

Message: Turns out this was about Thursday not yesterday -- he is here then for dinner

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 03:40:23 AM (578313623)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1408464A-EB93-4EA1-886A-60289DDDEC95

Message: as i thought. trump trying to stop deutsch bank only a matter of time. eric and all employees. wow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 03:41:48 AM (578313708)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A300F943-148F-4BC3-991D-767F95BBFC29

Message: They won't be able to withhold the docs

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 03:42:31 AM (578313751)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2977EB20-FD68-480E-A0D1-CA190DEBC985

Message: of course not. but the dive is soooo deep. I read the filing

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 03:42:47 AM (578313767)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0F6145BC-81D9-4DAD-BF4A-0E9431F5A763

Message: How so

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 03:43:18 AM (578313798)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AFC21328-6E84-446D-A718-89C07FE779E6

Message: all employees. partners. members, for 10 years.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 03:45:58 AM (578313958)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 056D1406-3565-4DF3-9E13-D9E6C52F6AE1

Message: His strategy is drag this out for 15 months then it won't matter

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 03:47:03 AM (578314023)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B1989893-30E5-43D7-A21F-3316E48ED44D

Message: yes -- of course

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 03:48:41 AM (578314121)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F4683E59-CE10-40CC-99B3-91E33122CCE2

Message: yes, it is a race, they have also asked for too much. so to fully understand it will take forever. unless weissleburg leads them through it and that would require fed immunity , unlikely to be authorized by barr. nystate, is the key ,

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 03:49:19 AM (578314159)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A199BAF5-DF1F-4E0D-B6E4-285314303A12

Message: again unless barr makes weiseblburg a material witness and keeps him away from ny . fun play

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 04:00:19 AM (578314819)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D219E7B1-F27F-4894-9F67-BF8A1FBB1DE4

Message: meeting in vienna went as i thought . their view was similar to mine. . very . - you can meet when you go to germany.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 04:35:13 AM (578316913)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1129639D-44F0-403C-9767-FE562012682D

Message: Similar as in 'nobody knows nothing'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 04:36:02 AM (578316962)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB7ED54A-0602-44D3-BE93-387AFB961929

Message: case weak not well done can keep them for years

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 04:36:22 AM (578316982)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DC436E18-27D5-4C86-B715-AAC9D1B0A382

Message: Oh on that yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 04:37:44 AM (578317064)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 99FADA82-A80C-41D4-87CE-C496480FA1DE

Message: on another note if you like you can go to yemen and meet with heads . you have an invitation.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 04:38:06 AM (578317086)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 54A6A904-3310-4086-BF85-01301E6CDC1F

Message: Would love it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 04:38:12 AM (578317092)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F0172529-968C-43ED-BF2D-2348B32135CC

Message: have fun

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 04:38:28 AM (578317108)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FC092DB1-5AA1-49C5-8625-1FAC2FA3D3E3

Message: you should if you decide of course coordinate with pompeo

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 04:38:51 AM (578317131)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7C037598-5311-4400-9F11-1327CA7017CC

Message: but you will have access unlike others

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 04:38:53 AM (578317133)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 289470FF-90AD-4A7F-929A-F8063847F4FC

Message: Of course -- I'm sure it will be a resounding NO

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 04:39:19 AM (578317159)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1D059485-BFB9-44E4-879C-3F75281EDC6C

Message: I'm only F and B

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 04:39:46 AM (578317186)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 778832F3-6754-45AC-997D-34531EDF3879

Message: KSA wants everybody to stay away-- closer inspection only leads to more doubts / head scratching

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 04:59:14 AM (578318354)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4840BA85-965E-447E-BA8D-ABB0918E7692

Message: Have you followed nick bostrom?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 04:59:25 AM (578318365)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0F058788-C1A7-49AA-88CB-7F8CAE55DA79

Message: Oxford prof-- bill gates guy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 05:00:45 AM (578318445)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 57025418-5EB2-479E-A5E8-1931318559E1

Message: chicken little

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 05:01:47 AM (578318507)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8EF40627-64D6-418F-9245-33B7CE06F183

Message: I'm watching our second hour now-- guys were blown away and I didn't think it was as strong at the time but I was wrong

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 05:02:22 AM (578318542)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AEEC68F3-B6CD-4717-8616-2F7092086E62

Message: Need huge part on threat of AI versus reality / threat of climate change

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 05:02:27 AM (578318547)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ECADAAA0-3C83-4CD8-8E54-EDD775B17193

Message: i was a little all over the place

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 05:02:47 AM (578318567)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1A04CC28-D1D5-43DD-93F0-C93ECD29F2B3

Message: go back to the industrial revolution same argument.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 05:03:14 AM (578318594)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2A0EF7A2-4610-431A-AB55-065C43BCE8CB

Message: the computer doesn't have soul so no worry

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 05:03:27 AM (578318607)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D66276FE-8D39-4EB0-99F9-3DBDD76D8C28

Message: I thought so but most of my team just saw it on film , were not there and loved it , wanted more

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 05:03:46 AM (578318626)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AD75F935-A414-411A-A5C0-5C16189D1E38

Message: the christians i met with feel , the media portraying me as beyond redemption is deeply troubling and offensive

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 05:06:05 AM (578318765)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C88D76AD-3A4D-4C71-B474-0365A71196B7

Message: Yes yes yes of course -- but we must counter 'rapist who traffics in female children to be raped by worlds most powerful , richest men'--- that can't be redeemed -- that why we let them blow up the argument while showing the 12 you redeemed

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 05:07:06 AM (578318826)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 928B2431-1802-4442-8F26-3860A831BC36

Message: Can't redeem unredeemable -- you are a lot of things-which we will show-- but you are NOT that

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 12:42:43 PM (578346163)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 267D52D2-D390-4EE5-B5B5-3B10A27FF607

Message: Did u get the film we shot ??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 01:35:10 PM (578349310)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 759526F0-4B46-4863-ABB2-015A81D6F990

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 01:35:18 PM (578349318)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9DB65C73-0B5C-4D50-A08B-4EA5D9EDCD3B

Message: Just landed

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 01:37:56 PM (578349476)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 73F15372-F007-430F-B537-A165660304AB

Message: Money

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 01:48:08 PM (578350088)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D430FA20-73CB-468A-B991-2F3486ED9494

Message: Unfortunately probably not going to be allowed to be in the film

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 02:06:07 PM (578351167)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B53B3688-A8B6-4248-AC08-E426CF70B4BD

Message: Ill show you the private photos

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 02:06:54 PM (578351214)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE34BA92-9263-4573-8603-6CB52EC61C1B

Message: Bad

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 02:07:40 PM (578351260)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CA80D3F6-90BD-4C99-9EBE-AB19A584DD96

Message: I watched the interview. Well done again , thx. . here is what I think will work legally,

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 02:08:13 PM (578351293)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2193A4D8-BE8A-4071-BA73-89647EDDF39D

Message: I pay direct costs of filming.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 02:10:23 PM (578351423)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B28301E9-696C-44D0-BFD7-A2C2764D5E38

Message: As Darren is the contractor for legal service prep . It gets paid by Darren. He has final control as it is his work product. I have no interest whatsoever in making money here. Zero . You deserve whatever it brings . As it is our cost , no return on it. .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 02:11:39 PM (578351499)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3978720A-EB9D-44DA-8B45-D6CFD2EC06F5

Message: Are you far enough along on your assignment -- could we film this weekend ??

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 02:12:10 PM (578351530)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 65975B78-ADC9-4E6B-B827-32CF61A42494

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 02:13:29 PM (578351609)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7A0E6255-3545-4236-8D3A-92EF5C1677D0

Message: Ive listed out the scientists. Sending to darren. But there are no scientists on the island. ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 02:13:40 PM (578351620)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8A59D3EF-1E2B-4F38-99D0-C54567D28E7D

Message: Lets talk later. , tonight.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 02:17:25 PM (578351845)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5A20DC13-6489-42C5-9822-6A3631E10D19

Message: The team actually thought second was even more compelling than first and the LOVED the first

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 02:17:49 PM (578351869)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4178834E-4DA6-433C-8D7F-C682DD184D0D

Message: Standby

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 02:38:10 PM (578353090)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CFC4292D-6E34-4844-AA1F-4DFC3D8680D4

Message: Don't need scientist now need you walking thru the entire vertical -- get them in weeks / months to come

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 03:07:29 PM (578354849)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B793A1E3-FE21-4757-8C95-2C4B415151E4

Message: Easy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 03:07:50 PM (578354870)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 00C219E5-01A0-472A-B94D-031419B59976

Message: How many people would you bring,

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 03:08:12 PM (578354892)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A3B125A7-D2A4-452F-A204-FACD3E635E9B

Message: Limited crew -- 5 max prob 3

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 03:08:28 PM (578354908)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8A19F592-959C-42CF-AB47-EDFF57F95987

Message: I will have schedule tomorrow, would you like to bring ms miller

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 03:11:45 PM (578355105)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AD8DB4F9-258C-4680-968F-9D49DB8B874A

Message: ms miller and I have been on hiatus for month or so

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 03:12:32 PM (578355152)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5A3B84DB-D922-4D1A-A85C-D648CD260CDB

Message: Whoops

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 03:21:23 PM (578355683)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1312A3FA-B055-48AE-BC5F-0C0438626BFD

Message: Not personal just business -- I'm obsessed with winning

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 03:22:46 PM (578355766)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 176234AB-6268-4616-955F-82B45606541F

Message: Watch what we got u

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 03:27:19 PM (578356039)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F2EA0E4B-ECF2-465E-AC34-6C99C6792A75

Message: What days work for you Saturday-Monday? Sunday-Tuesday?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 03:40:30 PM (578356830)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7CCA487F-074A-46EE-8B9D-C3EA71923B50

Message: If we can pull it off Saturday thru Monday

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 04:01:29 PM (578358089)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6AE1A909-A90A-4EB9-B932-0F8C15EAA849

Message: Can u talk later tonight

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 04:03:32 PM (578358212)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B5A9F29-A13B-40B6-8862-49460E0B56C5

Message: Please send lesley. All names and passport info asap

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 04:04:00 PM (578358240)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 427946FC-64E0-47C8-94E2-0FA5DC38F235

Message: Yes, in about two hours. I will make reservations for all sat thru tues. and confirm thurs morning

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 04:04:55 PM (578358295)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5D833730-9327-4FFB-9746-29B21869D94D

Message: Will call

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 04/30/19 05:49:29 PM (578364569)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 38B03C96-6768-4737-8F0A-81091AF97F18

Message: now?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 06:26:51 PM (578366811)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 05F0DF73-3690-4039-ACAD-47AB30D6BB1D

Message: Hang on , finishing up something

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 07:10:24 PM (578369424)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B193AF0-B67E-4DA7-9B7D-F6E5F3C10D01

Message: R u still free ???

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 04/30/19 07:10:33 PM (578369433)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2D3EA0D7-3820-42EA-96D4-900B584E3DF2

Message: What #

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/01/19 03:13:21 AM (578398401)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B2DAC892-0F6A-42AF-93E4-A59ED8038CC2

Message: 340 775 8111

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/01/19 05:53:07 AM (578407987)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E951C41F-4AC2-4965-997D-37D282285F48

Message: If we film just need access to u -- one vertical -- science / math/technology

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/01/19 05:53:22 AM (578408002)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6F97916E-7B72-45FC-BA93-64F77F193A36

Message: Did u view second hour???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/01/19 06:15:34 AM (578409334)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AFE3A4EC-C58B-4F00-ADAB-BBAC65A5226D

Message: Yes fun

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/01/19 06:20:30 AM (578409630)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0FD328CB-B301-4BFB-9E76-97094D42D05C

Message: Different style but worked , amazing how much my crew is learning / fascinated and they are not dopes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/01/19 06:52:03 AM (578411523)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A15F2C2F-161F-42F8-8641-F143F0599FAD

Message: Please give lesley. Names and passports of all flying.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/01/19 07:13:55 AM (578412835)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 096B0002-07BA-4710-A41C-61559F1384AC

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/01/19 07:22:20 AM (578413340)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D5D61F00-6FF8-46B1-A4D4-1D1338C3F13F

Message: What's her contact info

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/01/19 07:22:48 AM (578413368)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C92C08DC-4A0D-4419-AFC0-39DBF5AB3A0A

Message: Can dan connect with Darren today ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/01/19 07:42:04 AM (578414524)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5C97B9F5-8DB2-4DB6-9DEF-D4520A542345

Message: Yes. I emailed you Lesley s

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/01/19 07:50:29 AM (578415029)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 98453DCA-BB24-48DF-9F45-DAE57B6337F6

Message: Got it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/01/19 12:56:52 PM (578433412)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 775FF2F0-E239-4FF3-A951-D153696E027F

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/01/opinion/william-barr-testimony.html?action=click&module=Opinion&pgtype=Homepage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/01/19 01:18:23 PM (578434703)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7333B550-A9C2-4841-AC8E-6638B17006BA

Message: Did your guys prefer beard or no beard

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/01/19 01:19:18 PM (578434758)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 358D02BC-6790-462B-9529-4BAD6A34E07F

Message: Slight growth

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/01/19 05:42:20 PM (578450540)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 14D27AC4-8ABF-489E-83BA-60BB9382FBEC

Message: Another meeting tomorrow afterno

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/01/19 05:53:56 PM (578451236)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 11B6D734-5072-4248-ABF9-008F80323606

Message: That's best news I've heard

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 04:05:31 AM (578487931)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D43DF8D3-D191-44FA-A5A3-04B01E2857AC

Message: The better news would be to see that signed dollar. . AHHHHH. The smell of victory

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 04:06:26 AM (578487986)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9B05AFEA-A646-463B-BED0-DCF1E9ED12AC

Message: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-china-economy-forex-reserve/chinas-march-forex-reserves-rise-to-seven-month-high-idUSKCN1RJ05Q

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 04:10:28 AM (578488228)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 91F5A419-A277-41C5-846B-9885FCB11F91

Message: signature requested in A Chinese red ink. Would be appropriate

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/02/19 04:14:36 AM (578488476)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2064A152-93DC-4D52-BE09-6687AF744D48

Message: On it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 04:16:54 AM (578488614)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E82F2FFB-0159-4470-B71A-795428A0934C

Message: I hope that means you are trying to find the right pen

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 04:18:53 AM (578488733)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2B64F788-027C-4431-B6F4-C49D63C7A30E

Message: To join the ranks of the formerly vanquished. The writing should be. " I was wrong " and then like Hirohito on the aircraft carrier. . a withered signature

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/02/19 04:30:31 AM (578489431)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E63D5CF6-B4C3-4A72-884D-92D98C7B8EA7

Message: Dude u r brutal- but hang on

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 05:19:31 AM (578492371)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 95C5E905-0D20-45CF-A977-946BF6413E02

Message: Tik tok tik tok

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 06:02:41 AM (578494961)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A1231208-68AA-4CFF-8471-03060F5EA773

Message: Now you want mercy. . -- wrong guy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 07:30:12 AM (578500212)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7BC7620A-6140-4C53-9E00-D00574460858

Message: I will fly you back to New York on Monday. .all set

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 08:15:48 AM (578502948)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9300DFA6-6DD3-4B06-8147-A1AC3C15CB73

Message: https://www.cnet.com/news/millipede-trapped-in-amber-for-99-million-years-gets-its-moment-to-shine/

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 08:15:48 AM (578502948)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C9E850C0-E1D9-44B1-9B37-0E2B5F8E2E1C

Message: . Miracle

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 09:58:09 AM (578509089)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A18ACD7C-D179-4051-BD76-79F8E15B1E95

Message: We can return late Sunday if better for you. Im organized heli etc . Watched your interview- kyle can slso sign

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/02/19 10:21:31 AM (578510491)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CA54B49F-40F8-429D-AE2A-BCAED091A72F

Message: What did u think of interview ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 10:29:22 AM (578510962)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0971395E-C0DD-4212-8853-72354843BBA0

Message: Great

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 10:38:15 AM (578511495)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C9A03BDB-D700-4C7C-A3B9-AD1D91280725

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/02/us/politics/fbi-government-investigator-trump.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/02/19 11:12:31 AM (578513551)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BC6FE63E-805D-41A5-86EA-A14031834888

Message: It's over bro-- even I thought she was MI-6 or MI-5

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 11:18:44 AM (578513924)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 95C6B8F6-0116-4285-A736-C2132C5F1769

Message: Obama knew

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 11:19:10 AM (578513950)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 476C8EB2-854D-42DF-A2CC-6DB84AAF22FC

Message: Are you coming Saturday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 12:42:50 PM (578518970)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8FD4CF45-A233-4395-A167-957011C98FF2

Message: Lesley needs to confirm tickets

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 02:17:13 PM (578524633)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1E4A1044-C5BD-4857-9C56-B62E1105F7AD

Message: And you can film From heli

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 04:05:28 PM (578531128)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2557FA15-FB98-4F7C-9168-67B4EF4C1422

Message: Was miso fun

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 04:05:37 PM (578531137)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 667754C1-89C3-4F4B-804F-1906AD0FE34E

Message: miro

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/02/19 04:17:13 PM (578531833)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B253181-2423-4FF7-A7C1-1A6F619253AB

Message: He may my head blow up-- with your comment

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 04:21:06 PM (578532066)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5C01CBD7-56F5-4F73-9E15-2BA66B669D3B

Message: □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 04:22:06 PM (578532126)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5529DB26-F4E2-4135-B2BD-117B4C2147BF

Message: Sorry , is sat a go or no go?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/02/19 06:59:58 PM (578541598)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D5721AC6-B4DA-480E-AB8E-77FC4C690F78

Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 03:34:26 AM (578572466)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 899D405F-3B89-4794-A42C-5F43AB689CC5

Message: Can you speak?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 03:41:24 AM (578572884)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3BD14028-8AC2-4572-9609-75586E9B1745

Message: All is organized but I need to let pilots know. . or is it you have not found the right color ink. AH

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 03:44:41 AM (578573081)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6299C4C1-384E-44A5-8312-B4B6DCD1EB68

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/03/sunday-review/tax-rich-irs.html?action=click&module=Opinion&pgtype=Homepage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 03:44:41 AM (578573081)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DF44E49E-E15C-4985-82AD-D95A99F1EA5C

Message: . They forgot computers do most of the work now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 03:48:53 AM (578573333)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3F07B2FD-6896-4A6D-A934-0A0A26FC1B94

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/02/business/economy/wage-growth-economy.html?action=click&module=Top%20Stories&pgtype=Homepage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 03:48:53 AM (578573333)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3239F0D0-8705-4DD6-9D3C-B8C5E0483A8F

Message: . Bak up for your message

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 03:49:33 AM (578573373)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C62FB0FC-EAB8-47F8-8695-F73D9D50BF49

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 06:03:38 AM (578581418)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 034F41E3-816D-459A-9277-602751AE60DC

Message: Just found that dan and Lesley are in contact. I was not copied

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 06:44:43 AM (578583883)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB5E34E2-2B79-480D-B0CC-49631C84EB79

Message: Is darren going to ever get back to dan on this ??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 06:55:05 AM (578584505)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 54A75BDD-A115-40F0-813C-E65E75EE71E3

Message: Sorry, hes with his mom. You and i are perfect. All under privlege . I will review with you and dan operational details. I hit your bid , you are filled

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 06:55:24 AM (578584524)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 94DCBE29-AF7B-47D5-BD3D-3E2FE4705A64

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 06:57:36 AM (578584656)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2E6E19E3-A822-4C63-8C76-5C0B7E09AD75

Message: On the michael Wolfe front - very positive more in ny on Tuesday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 06:57:39 AM (578584659)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E8E5C0E3-87F0-4836-A8C9-06413DEDCCCF

Message: Very

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 06:58:13 AM (578584693)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2F614803-8EFB-49B7-8D06-F0AE714549A0

Message: MICHAEL wolfe as in confidential :)

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 06:59:51 AM (578584791)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1F5FD91C-62AE-4990-9A69-CE943C939FF8

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 07:35:08 AM (578586908)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8F879965-A74C-4943-A62A-7F2148B25EEC

Message: With my sked now and the travel what we think is best/ most efficient is to set up early Monday @71st street and start with you @ 9 am or 10 and go to 6 pm with breaks -- that would give us @ least another 3+ hours to go with our current 2.5

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 07:41:20 AM (578587280)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 94E37A21-1C96-4DEA-AE33-5A728CCE0681

Message: No island?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 08:12:51 AM (578589171)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 604E76A0-A355-46DE-8FB8-D6A0A60EF5C6

Message: No worry , are you going to Germany, do you want to sit with KSA. I am going to arizzona on the 12 th to see Chomsky. . any interest

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 08:47:58 AM (578591278)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 41249249-8EA6-43C4-BD6B-75E067F75E52

Message: I'm going to Germany on 11 May thru 15 may-- speaking @ the Bundestag

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 08:48:50 AM (578591330)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FB95CBA9-7E93-4E49-8F35-ED3A3E08107B

Message: My team will fly out to film you and Noam -- want to get something -- I can be connected by skype

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 08:49:49 AM (578591389)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8CAFA25A-BFBB-4F75-8E73-F61BC3D8DC6B

Message: would it be best if i delayed so you can be there . do you want me to set the KSA meeting in germany

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 08:50:10 AM (578591410)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1287D301-AC8C-4434-91A3-BB81174FBD1F

Message: if i do you can't blow it off

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 08:50:31 AM (578591431)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB2D9118-CAEA-4125-85DC-1CC424E20805

Message: Yes but I need to get my sked

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 08:57:31 AM (578591851)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D4E5C115-F5C9-4C69-9334-F6B4FBA26286

Message: alternate we can fly to arizona on the 8 or 9 th and you can fly to europe from there easy. . dallas or denver. or la

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 09:00:37 AM (578592037)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 64EEB06B-66A8-4B27-BEC0-CF335AA46F3B

Message: I need to leave on red eye after we film on Monday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:00:55 AM (578592055)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AEB7A530-796A-4B18-BA94-1DB77E1DC0A8

Message: for?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:01:02 AM (578592062)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8C761281-318D-4946-88BC-2E3A5B475B9C

Message: europe?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 09:01:24 AM (578592084)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F8129B17-B09B-4FF8-9CAA-D6F4976FC240

Message: Yes : EP Parliamentary Elections

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:01:28 AM (578592088)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E658F760-62E3-45A8-AEBD-A4D407746E76

Message: whoops

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:01:36 AM (578592096)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 22DBDCBC-9806-4DB2-B2AD-1374F4A745B0

Message: ok cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:02:35 AM (578592155)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9F6E2A31-37BC-4D1F-B402-DD3EE6FE2691

Message: if you change your mind I'm on the island. do you want your guys to get some shots of island/ ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 09:03:02 AM (578592182)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BFA1B10B-96AB-4656-B3E6-AD0DDEDB1E9A

Message: Monday good for you though???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:03:22 AM (578592202)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E08E4C83-DBEA-4155-AABC-C304367680E8

Message: yes, i'll be there. i assume you and your dollar will be as well

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:03:50 AM (578592230)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 53D9FFDD-EE11-498C-B61E-4D24AB79F0A4

Message: have kyle give you 50 cents

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 09:04:20 AM (578592260)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AA57B716-3E5D-47AD-9C45-5B62FA6BC727

Message: Where is your home work-- need to grind down on this

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 09:04:29 AM (578592269)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A40A0CB4-44D6-4F67-98EE-8EAFC9D1B6FA

Message: How were the meetings

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:04:56 AM (578592296)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7D09A0BE-6191-4AE6-B749-740675ECCAAC

Message: groups vs individual . ie classic vs statistical mechanics.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:05:15 AM (578592315)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BBD0DED7-5335-4810-AE57-CD4EC9D63348

Message: economics as systems read the papers today. old numbers don't work it is not a machine.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:05:39 AM (578592339)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 873E909E-F305-4C2C-952E-4668B456C9DA

Message: music vs calculation. . thoughts souls. hope all the work of god

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:06:05 AM (578592365)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 971B2C85-B1BF-49D5-947C-071EB56F54A3

Message: evolution vs just change. most people confuse the two

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:06:26 AM (578592386)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2943FD9E-6E77-4DE6-9D5B-9712E67391AA

Message: a person does not evolve. only a population . lottery , no algorithms.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:06:29 AM (578592389)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 91538038-17B3-43AB-9476-B70ABA816DB2

Message: only god knows

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:07:50 AM (578592470)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 564230A6-9E2E-4E8D-85EF-8535378A0C4A

Message: money. as debt. . network effects. pop charts have listening inequality

search engines have it. . there are some at the top that has as much activity as the entire half. only math

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 09:08:23 AM (578592503)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 44A787F3-6B06-4A47-85BA-FE137560A3D2

Message: Love this

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:08:54 AM (578592534)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2493B48E-2228-4C59-95E1-601B3D33FFCD

Message: we can do unpleasant facts. . sickle cell is only african . jacob crcuthfelds only jews. . says they are different

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:09:30 AM (578592570)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3429A8A4-6A33-4F36-9FF4-62418C682AB0

Message: power. financial . intellectual physical .polictical . all the same underpinnings .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:09:48 AM (578592588)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1830A8E1-074B-4111-9098-7889D33FA99F

Message: music as a window into the brain. stem cells vs cancer. vs death

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:10:11 AM (578592611)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9D5E4F0B-8762-4669-AC54-502F0076F367

Message: mash ups of beethoven . weird jeffrey discovery

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:10:47 AM (578592647)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5332A7E0-CC09-4D71-A392-33E443CE21BE

Message: burdens o wealth. inner success vs external success. affluenza □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:11:46 AM (578592706)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CC4F8811-AA7A-4F44-A5A9-51112EB76432

Message: why if he is so rich , is he still unhappy , learned helplessness translates into wanting to make a difference . not become irrelevant . no worry i have a deep bench of verticals

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:14:40 AM (578592880)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 357AD848-C727-4F6E-93CC-3D6CFB764A73

Message: and woody coming for early dinner mon 6 pm

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:18:51 AM (578593131)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 63EAF402-C8A4-476C-BB23-42AEE18080DB

Message: economic arguments re banks as people. . ie the banks made money . at the same time complaint their pensions are down in value

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 09:51:25 AM (578595085)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BFD69B43-0EAB-4D29-983D-C6B25EF6C67E

Message: I can do dinner

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 09:54:46 AM (578595286)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6DAA18CA-FF07-4897-9341-EFD03BF52CA1

Message: great

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 01:40:53 PM (578608853)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BDF16674-CF33-4D0B-9E23-2078AAB237C5

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 01:48:23 PM (578609303)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1F78B6FD-4DD2-4FAB-89A1-9CA390B19363

Message: I told miro it would be in the cabinet room

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/03/19 02:07:29 PM (578610449)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3FD4AB48-D0A1-4930-B7A6-37378F5F0BFE

Message: he said you advice helped

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/03/19 02:11:02 PM (578610662)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2EC90CD5-1F19-45B5-867A-F12849CCDA60

Message: Of course ::: very complex -- just tell potus: 'Orange Man Great'

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/04/19 06:49:28 AM (578670568)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D2AAE69B-6025-4C04-B1A6-2029F7B36880

Message: We want a different look for Monday-- where else can we film @ 9/71???--- does any other rooms have that scale or gravitas???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/04/19 06:49:45 AM (578670585)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DEEA21F3-F170-4675-B320-88678E7E78CE

Message: yes,

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/04/19 06:50:15 AM (578670615)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 744DA9E8-D2E0-4BC1-9022-D4D0921E791C

Message: and nothing more grand then the ranch

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/04/19 06:50:27 AM (578670627)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 90A86A65-723E-4BF7-961F-9DFA24ACAFAD

Message: nowhere

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/04/19 06:50:46 AM (578670646)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 149131C7-9ACF-4A33-96E7-DD9322B05F46

Message: We will lock that in for June

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/04/19 06:51:20 AM (578670680)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1ED626E6-8871-4153-9FEE-D9C15AEE6489

Message: Are you still with Chomsky in may?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/04/19 06:52:02 AM (578670722)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2629BC29-C5B9-4AE1-AF2B-7A2A386D248C

Message: my plan was to fly to ranch on wed see chomsky on sun return to island. but as usual I can be totally flexible.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/04/19 06:52:17 AM (578670737)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FF1736C7-6D88-42C1-A919-1FC4F7A18C9E

Message: i see bolosnaro bailed

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/04/19 06:53:11 AM (578670791)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 637FBD16-CA8B-45E8-BE7E-07DB80C3E51C

Message: I'm furious about the bail-- total amateur hour -- he is listening to the generals

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/04/19 06:53:33 AM (578670813)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 50C37714-9548-42E5-A04F-A8AFFB923EF8

Message: Chomsky next Sunday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/04/19 06:53:41 AM (578670821)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FD46A129-CF45-4E7F-A99E-BC192692ECA6

Message: yes at his home

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/04/19 08:30:57 AM (578676657)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C057C37A-A74F-4358-9EB1-FD093C288138

Message: I can also put any equipment on my plane and take out west making easier for your boys to join. etc. or wait?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/04/19 08:36:37 AM (578676997)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6F92A719-528C-4D50-BFDB-92F2C65B64B4

Message: /www.nytimes.com/2019/05/03/opinion/joe-biden.html?action=click&module=Opinion&pgtype=Homepage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/04/19 08:36:42 AM (578677002)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4211E08D-483E-4594-AF3E-9ABCB5EED91B

Message: Now that funny

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/04/19 08:52:10 AM (578677930)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1DFB7F83-07E5-461A-AB2A-412D3F6A73C6

Message: Working it now

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/05/19 07:02:35 AM (578757755)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 195E84C7-BAD4-46E3-BAC6-44633C913AAC

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/05/19 10:25:42 AM (578769942)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F3CD4D0D-7316-4D3C-99E5-93F5AF53E12B

Message: You see trumps tweet- I blew up the deal

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/05/19 10:38:01 AM (578770681)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DA036949-4ADF-4B7C-AC3E-7F0301CCA97B

Message: Yup

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/05/19 10:43:25 AM (578771005)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6678A34A-5F3A-4AB7-A053-B80D532F0AEC

Message: Dead fucking on the target

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/06/19 04:44:15 AM (578835855)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F53D0887-EADA-4850-A03F-8BF7D3117E36

Message: funny , but the chinese reached out to me to see if i would visit re mathematics . odd timing

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/06/19 04:45:28 AM (578835928)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 04B3C0C8-A793-40E0-85C4-352A467DC660

Message: Seriously ?... would be huge

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/06/19 04:45:58 AM (578835958)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C3ED0FFC-FCD6-4678-A7E3-703A2BE29A42

Message: yes, I've asked for a formal invitation

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/06/19 04:46:09 AM (578835969)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D6A694EF-4F6B-4BDC-AB7A-FC4AACCBBD8D

Message: Massive

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/06/19 04:46:24 AM (578835984)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 42B1C1BE-B7B8-4BAB-9C6E-12A309EB7BA2

Message: made through professor yau at harvard, the only chinese to win a fields medal

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/06/19 04:56:27 AM (578836587)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 804EDFB9-1601-47BB-BB09-A5F14A15925B

Message: Classy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/06/19 04:57:05 AM (578836625)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CD214A58-541B-4E62-BBCF-75F40F897ABA

Message: We are going to try for a different look today --- library?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/06/19 04:57:09 AM (578836629)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 79A5A69B-481B-409A-897A-DB1BC56037E4

Message: yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/06/19 07:29:05 AM (578845745)

Flags: 1052673

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1BB1FCE9-2DD7-412A-BFAC-BB37579B7EC5

Message: Market up-- suck on that

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-05-13\[redacted] on 2019-04-07 at 05.08.46.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 05/13/19 01:07:17 PM (579470837)

End Time: 05/13/19 01:22:32 PM (579471752)

Last Message ID: 29070

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/13/19 01:07:17 PM (579470837)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 25C47BC0-E21E-4131-B980-564057A8ED7E

Message: Trump is coming to Lutnick's house Thursday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/13/19 01:10:23 PM (579471023)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 43C93A54-25AC-4884-9E2E-7514216ED7A0

Message: i won't be home otherwise i could have come out an waved.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/13/19 01:22:32 PM (579471752)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0984C9F7-49BF-4B2A-850C-5F78989402CD

Message: Ha! I love it

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-05-21\[redacted] on 2019-05-10 at 06.15.03.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 05/07/19 03:21:59 PM (578960519)

End Time: 05/21/19 10:26:08 AM (580152368)

Last Message ID: 29345

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/07/19 03:21:59 PM (578960519)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B884A61A-C37E-4140-B8ED-F02CC47E7798

Message: You were strong , I was beat

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/07/19 07:11:29 PM (578974289)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8A4EB0BA-122F-495B-A886-4402F5172168

Message: https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7003473/Prosecutors-demand-Robert-Krafts-lawyer-held-criminal-contempt-making-false-statement.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 03:17:39 AM (579003459)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BC050B99-B8F3-4409-BE03-9FFECC088FFB

Message: https://www.nbcnews.com/news/world/iran-steps-away-parts-nuclear-deal-anniversary-u-s-withdrawal-n1003156

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 03:24:49 AM (579003889)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FCF14B18-ABA6-4B0C-8621-312E909FCB49

Message: Saw that-- we jump in here trump done , American people not teed up for this

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 03:25:30 AM (579003930)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 882864D5-192E-4E72-8E4D-E882A6D2A75B

Message: Iran put it on a 60 day clock.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 03:26:54 AM (579004014)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF791194-543C-4773-B9BF-61F191C24928

Message: Yep yep yep

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 03:30:34 AM (579004234)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A94A9C05-D258-4BD9-8771-180414EC819C

Message: https://www.thedailybeast.com/trump-administration-inflated-iran-intelligence-us-officials-say?ref=home

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 04:19:26 AM (579007166)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 10AEA00B-17C1-47D8-BAB3-BE10B2CF09B6

Message: Steve did not send me anything directly, but I have now requested a meeting on the 15th in Berlin. I will see if I can be there at the same time. From terje

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 04:22:12 AM (579007332)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9E558B63-FF8F-4E3C-8288-23B43B843430

Message: lets talk structure for dan and group when you are less tired

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 04:28:37 AM (579007717)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1166DB2C-678F-4341-87CA-C2BC94F4D69D

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 06:27:32 AM (579014852)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5086F492-1D63-4632-BF7A-289CBDC72FB3

Message: Who managed the bond holder negotiation in the ny times article. ------ Wilbur ross

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 07:11:30 AM (579017490)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A0A9A550-C765-409A-8EAE-410D621842E7

Message: They just got back to me. They will be in Riyadh on 13, 14 and 15. But they can do 11 or 12 in Berlin.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 07:24:22 AM (579018262)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B10451B1-E99A-4D11-A10C-597D12C57632

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 09:00:23 AM (579024023)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B04C4913-4AD8-48C3-B968-C3E131478C89

Message: https://finance.yahoo.com/news/saudis-said-planning-meet-orders-142632339.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 09:21:05 AM (579025265)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 729575DB-36FD-4354-928B-431DA02FA9AC

Message: Have dan call me re invoices. Want to send you guys money

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 09:21:37 AM (579025297)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B4B2481-238C-4A0A-9F06-FABE63CA4D6B

Message: Chill we are working thru that and production schedule

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 09:21:47 AM (579025307)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9590AF32-122C-4E76-BB4B-E0066A5A5572

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 09:22:11 AM (579025331)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6CD094ED-E086-493D-8B30-CE655C66EDE6

Message: Unlike some refusing to provide only 1 very deserved dollar. , I m trying to take the lead □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 09:23:19 AM (579025399)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 74E53C34-767C-4270-ACE2-B4DAAA78E091

Message: Take the lead on getting me potential names and ideas -- we are begging process of pulling footage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 09:31:03 AM (579025863)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A76A95DF-DCED-4939-9CA1-152816439D11

Message: On it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 09:32:45 AM (579025965)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7690069C-F63F-4717-8654-2413B444BA79

Message: I've heard that-we need to get serious-we have a 90 minute version @ Cannes in mid may 20 and the 6 hour Labor Day weekend 20 in run up to election --- we are burning daylights

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 09:33:14 AM (579025994)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 81C3D09F-6ACF-4C5B-8F8E-958CDAA83CC3

Message: You need to have more coffe

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 09:34:12 AM (579026052)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 00A453BD-CE87-4E52-AFA5-EFF75BC9CA5B

Message: Also need you to get a cup of coffee and a pad / pen and not down short profiles of the people you've met that matter and vignettes of important things

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 10:32:12 AM (579029532)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3C95A757-DB10-474B-857D-C1FC97E8CEFC

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/08/opinion/letters/davos-world-economic-forum.html?smid=tw-nytopinion&smtyp=cur

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 02:27:06 PM (579043626)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AEF91935-BDCA-4375-B772-9D10F371C520

Message: https://www.cbsnews.com/news/ny-senate-passes-bills-on-trumps-tax-returns-and-pardon-power/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 02:32:57 PM (579043977)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7C1EF523-89BE-4AF8-891F-1B43E54081A3

Message: How bad

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 02:53:23 PM (579045203)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 880757DF-F1E2-40E7-9708-5D88E4DE9390

Message: Drip drip drip

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 02:55:01 PM (579045301)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2AC42E5D-3A47-48F4-8183-AC3E03C343AA

Message: Don jr called in on perjury to senate committee run by republicans

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 03:00:28 PM (579045628)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FCCB203E-4162-4CE8-A21F-EF671A0F0484

Message: Low hanging fruit

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 03:01:06 PM (579045666)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 562C010F-DEA7-4441-BAE8-F13E42965D0B

Message: He won't show . Contempt perjury. Pardon

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 03:02:17 PM (579045737)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2DE6E0FA-A28A-4295-846B-0FBB61E95E24

Message: Focus on Iran

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 03:03:47 PM (579045827)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6FFF1325-1B20-4D5D-AE30-FBE2C9E957FA

Message: I'm all over Iran

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 03:06:14 PM (579045974)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E053CEC7-7CB3-4402-BB46-C719D9735D0B

Message: They are very very bad guys. Patient smart spread Shia. As tithes exempt

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/08/19 03:11:38 PM (579046298)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2F721F9A-4B4C-46CE-B442-2269D4A8782B

Message: Can you dp the 11th in Berlin. . if not i'll tell them June

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/08/19 05:07:44 PM (579053264)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FD234E46-FDFF-4CAB-9D50-2006DF8CC195

Message: That's Saturday ??? Yes -- fly in that afternoon

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/09/19 04:24:05 AM (579093845)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3DC6C169-B2AF-404B-9D7F-A05B90FE85A9

Message: https://www.cnbc.com/2019/05/09/europe-responds-to-irans-nuclear-deal-threat.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/09/19 05:02:46 AM (579096166)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E476BA4F-1789-44D4-9626-C12E72EFE0F4

Message: The vice president, Edgar Zambrano, was surrounded by intelligence officers after leaving his party's headquarters in the capital, Caracas, he said on Twitter. He was towed away in his car after refusing to leave his vehicle, according to Mr. Zambrano and witnesses. DUDE

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/10/19 02:48:36 AM (579174516)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 584AC112-AE95-428F-B857-84EC71F43167

Message: Our guy wants to meet on Saturday 11 may or Sunday 12 may

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/10/19 03:00:27 AM (579175227)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AD5BB187-83D4-4B97-8520-42A9CC957591

Message: Terje

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/10/19 03:00:45 AM (579175245)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 91A61E59-D79C-4E10-B116-E4A569AD8A8D

Message: On it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/10/19 03:15:03 AM (579176103)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8CAC3484-E20C-4193-8340-A3E3298D42DD

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/09/us/politics/giuliani-ukraine-trump.html?action=click&module=Top%20Stories&pgtype=Homepage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 04:46:57 AM (580132017)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CB994702-9FAA-4F4F-870F-48A2BC5E5062

Message: china -- great opportunity , i spent most of the night talking to relevant people. oy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 04:47:05 AM (580132025)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8380845A-EC2D-491C-BBC5-8CA1ECAA084A

Message: so complex

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 04:47:20 AM (580132040)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 78ACCE4D-C851-4716-8785-2EB39A38CB59

Message: but FUN

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/21/19 05:27:42 AM (580134462)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 53D873F7-DDD2-44EF-B19A-AE695560CB85

Message: I will simplify: they are looking down the barrel of an economic shotgun

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 05:28:13 AM (580134493)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CE7D9062-553E-4DCC-BDD0-8C0D895A2358

Message: yes but their finger is on the trigger .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 05:28:40 AM (580134520)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7A3ADB07-BA06-48EB-9AF9-B16A9DD68865

Message: it is not simple at all

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/21/19 05:29:34 AM (580134574)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 945D062D-E108-4C05-9D5B-F746848C81F8

Message: Stop

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 05:29:35 AM (580134575)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F966D8DD-ABEA-495C-8598-6B86AE71B5F3

Message: their focus in internal .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/21/19 05:30:10 AM (580134610)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACC54189-3963-4A16-A871-1EB63B3E6394

Message: You saw where they begged us to give 90 day reprieve on huawai

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 05:30:49 AM (580134649)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C7EFABF-B8E5-47C3-B116-B377900C9739

Message: yes , of course. the real game is in the shadows. - as usual

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 05:45:06 AM (580135506)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 98D49FA3-D459-48C1-838D-2379C553C6B1

Message: terje sending text to you

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 05:47:12 AM (580135632)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CAE51387-BDF0-4AE7-89FD-979F21C15FCD

Message: kazakh daughter the key

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/21/19 06:23:04 AM (580137784)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2E6183ED-D644-47FF-8DE5-50F30A3BA3A0

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/21/19 10:24:42 AM (580152282)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A799F7D8-93C3-4862-88FF-96BD145E59B3

Message: https://mobile.twitter.com/alarabiya_eng/status/1130782788154732545?s=12

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 10:26:08 AM (580152368)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 910FC0CF-46F2-4AB9-9B5F-D02967A3CCF1

Message: Is there anyone left

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-05-22\[redacted] on 2019-05-21 at 17.15.13.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 05/21/19 02:15:13 PM (580166113)

End Time: 05/22/19 05:27:26 PM (580264046)

Last Message ID: 29485

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/21/19 02:15:13 PM (580166113)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DB149BC2-AC0C-4887-B608-772E3124E97C

Message: What are your contacts here saying about Macron, his campaign and his chances

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 02:15:50 PM (580166150)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6144A563-0223-4B61-87F6-3C2C54529D83

Message: Zero energy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/21/19 02:16:48 PM (580166208)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 99FAF110-A5DE-4AB3-B710-980EAA3B48B6

Message: He has stopped selling the vision and non stop attack on 'foreign influences: Putin, Trump, Bannon'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 02:20:13 PM (580166413)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 63004EC9-AA51-488F-A575-222E859D8648

Message: It projects more energy than. Lets eliminate my former school

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/21/19 02:20:53 PM (580166453)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AF4F6E14-9BF8-431F-A3DC-4D62CE806E25

Message: If he loses by a vote it's over

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/21/19 02:25:36 PM (580166736)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 148724A2-1A27-4A6F-A2D2-7D9D45E8E5F9

Message: The anti vote

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/21/19 04:16:58 PM (580173418)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 515F3756-B62D-4196-9C13-F0BCDD386B6E

Message: Salvini taking gas in italy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 04:32:16 AM (580217536)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FB28565A-6B9A-4FEB-BB38-6AF5D02EF9F0

Message: [redacted] ' i appreciate you doing me tonite " I roared with laughter

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 04:47:59 AM (580218479)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 73F4C7C7-262E-43F0-BAF7-A85F0EDBF57D

Message: She is a lot hotter than I remember - she was also so wet at the end of that interview -- btw highest ratings ever for her ; most pick up by other sources and the 'running for student council' went viral

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 04:48:52 AM (580218532)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2E903100-05B7-481F-8138-4860EEF7F2C1

Message: eleanor roosevelt is hotter than you remember.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 04:49:41 AM (580218581)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E6D84E85-43BD-4D6B-9985-13A24672A078

Message: I love her-- because she loves pussy more than me

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 04:50:16 AM (580218616)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EECBCBC8-A3CD-419E-853C-642B9F41A06A

Message: subpoena of donaldson good move , too junior to claim exec privlege

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 04:54:09 AM (580218849)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B5DC6965-9CCF-4350-AA8D-B028685C2BDB

Message: U can claim on any grundoon

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 04:54:19 AM (580218859)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1BEBD0A5-3B7C-4D84-82DB-2588364B2363

Message: Her notebooks killer

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 04:55:05 AM (580218905)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A27518A2-1FF1-467D-BDD3-211FA2E51309

Message: like paul revere if i were you id be calling attention to the remimbi. put their currency plan in sunlight

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 04:55:29 AM (580218929)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2A4F49DB-B00D-4AE6-AD3D-5696A7BDDF2A

Message: you can but it has never been done before

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 04:55:43 AM (580218943)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F0D56D57-6AE3-4FF3-981A-C7B443C847E4

Message: that's their view . not mine

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 04:59:23 AM (580219163)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 966950F8-D572-4DED-BBAC-E28576F589C6

Message: suggest the chinese will try to use this as a reason to explain their bubble in real estate collapse. . instead of realizing their slavery system is doomed they want an enemy for the people to point to as reason

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 04:59:37 AM (580219177)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D81B8259-BACF-422B-981E-1DB1B13609D0

Message: Fucking genius

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:01:40 AM (580219300)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7FDFEADB-3AD4-4F3B-90D1-4723134E69E6

Message: this was a calculated move . always intended. they knew trump would walk, 600 million people can't afford vegetables. - they needs a currency devaluation , . they can make it up by selling dollars forward. that's why i asked

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:02:01 AM (580219321)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 44CA49B6-8CC2-400E-A7DB-4168C9165E38

Message: and have 1 billion people angry at you □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:03:28 AM (580219408)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C694CAAC-D2E1-49FC-91E0-146CFCA9868A

Message: sunlight disinfectant on the shadows

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 05:04:12 AM (580219452)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7F79D2E2-0A8F-4FE5-85C4-33101C0EDE95

Message: U think they are going to currency devaluation

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:06:08 AM (580219568)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 277B23EB-6884-4809-AC85-2F3001E31532

Message: I think they will take steps to have a bubble collapse , they need bankruptcy s to clean the overheated system and frighten people into slowing speculation. . there is no alternative to keep cash but real estate. . no top echelon biz guy can either make new investments in states. and if they want to get money outside the discount as risen from 10 to 40 %/ . wow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 05:06:43 AM (580219603)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 485E1278-2333-4E63-B016-F0F3CD3E1ACB

Message: Wow wow wow

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:06:48 AM (580219608)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CFCE5B26-9BB5-49D0-9CCF-5A15662CC237

Message: also no one wants to travel to the states at to moment

Sender: [redacted]1

Time: 05/22/19 05:06:55 AM (580219615)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6F790A82-E819-4B8A-9DCB-AA2ECF344619

Message: Is dollar strong today

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:08:08 AM (580219688)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 01A97CCC-D761-4909-B68E-7B60D5A2C189

Message: wrong question.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:09:06 AM (580219746)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3450CAAE-3F36-47BC-8D5C-36E99DD9469C

Message: great opportunity for members of the part of davos

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:09:09 AM (580219749)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5E3B13CE-E6BE-41DE-AADA-92CA4F233238

Message: party

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:09:29 AM (580219769)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DB21CE2F-2EE2-4D63-B620-3805FA3D07F1

Message: sometime know as residents of the bristol hotel

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:10:28 AM (580219828)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6061CC7F-2285-4886-92E9-67869212C1D7

Message: xi talking long march , setting it up.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:11:05 AM (580219865)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ED982AA1-E1B4-45D4-B1A6-A5F2CA5FEB4E

Message: attacking their propaganda much more effective than tariffs.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:15:53 AM (580220153)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6D383465-01FB-408F-B485-E2CDD9648B5F

Message: use their three trilllon dollars as reserves as a burden not a benefit. (what can they do with that money . . sell it and buy ??? what ? gold? euro? yen. no they're fucked. they are too big to sell. . have to be careful that their bankruptcy don't disrupt the entire system but financial failures have a way of unintended consequences

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:17:52 AM (580220272)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 739EBA0F-F0FE-4268-A17D-EB157F1369EC

Message: " we know what they are up to . they need to clean up their internal financial mess and will attempt to blame it on trump . " it won't work . - even schumer can see through it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:20:45 AM (580220445)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5061B995-1C21-48B3-9180-BF2D8D572442

Message: tom friedman is focuses on intl . xi on domestic .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:46:58 AM (580222018)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 31EC55F3-9C97-41D7-87F7-3C1C12BC6FCF

Message: just published two minutes ago The comments appear intended to stir the spirit of the Chinese people as the Trump administration continues to press China on trade. But they also seem to acknowledge that the Chinese public could face difficult times ahead.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 05:55:41 AM (580222541)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 838A5AB1-BAC4-45F7-A417-FC3318345477

Message: Tom Freidman -- also acknowledgment that establishment needed trump

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 05:57:22 AM (580222642)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EC6383C2-ABB2-4768-8564-DB2E2DD27A60

Message: https://www.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3011145/steve-bannon-says-killing-huawei-more-important-trade-deal

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 05:57:22 AM (580222642)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DFA7206F-28D9-4C2C-B5E2-B7D8E722903A

Message: Hot off the press

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 06:10:59 AM (580223459)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 88EF4A11-FB0D-4A68-A866-075FF320BDE9

Message: yikes. next time point out currency

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 06:12:37 AM (580223557)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F80C7282-479D-4121-8010-26D144BD0D57

Message: fair and free markets , requires lawful compliance.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 06:14:39 AM (580223679)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6D52FE1C-D16A-4796-91C4-B312BE8EC34F

Message: id also be sensitive to using the we will , as opposed to the i suggest we ... trump needs to be seen in total control , I don't want him disavowing your statements.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 06:15:14 AM (580223714)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F53D3797-B683-4F44-A6EE-35FE667262C9

Message: and or you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 06:17:03 AM (580223823)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 38F5567D-F876-475F-9868-976C04BFC4D1

Message: Got it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 06:20:10 AM (580224010)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9530019A-7E11-4A16-932F-2137872740DD

Message: don't want you grasping defeat out of the jaws of victory

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 06:49:53 AM (580225793)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F173215E-A025-45F6-B8BC-484E8E5665F3

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 07:12:01 AM (580227121)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E1F28AD-6222-4B09-9564-D7E6B522D592

Message: I see what you are saying -- but trump can't do the capital market exclusions-- that has to be private citizens / private group

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 07:14:24 AM (580227264)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1127D21C-DC32-480F-BD50-FA45B260C27C

Message: I agree , i just don't want you to appear that you are part of govt . so the " we " has to be made clear , so trump doesn't say he doesn't speak for the country or for its biz . you are doing so well . no need not to be surgical

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 07:15:39 AM (580227339)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9BA43003-4159-4357-B19D-DBC9FC0EFF13

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 07:18:03 AM (580227483)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5487DC56-AD0B-4E4E-B5C6-6DB306821BB5

Message: hopefully next monday you can take a victory lap. , fingers crossed

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 02:24:07 PM (580253047)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C94BC564-9CFA-4D39-8D65-CAA2DCD07BC9

Message: Deutsch bank ruling trouble for him

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 04:40:49 PM (580261249)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C049338-9A8E-4A4B-B1C7-50189AB1A2DA

Message: Horrible day for trump

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 04:43:06 PM (580261386)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5665A36A-2398-4C5F-B2D3-48754E13CC08

Message: Yup

Sender: [redacted]1

Time: 05/22/19 04:59:44 PM (580262384)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EA7F943D-D298-4F3A-AD7D-AD8CE3EE0B47

Message:
https://www.google.com/amp/s/amp.scmp.com/news/china/diplomacy/article/3011188/dont-wait-friendly-white-house-steve-bannon-tells-china

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:17:22 PM (580263442)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DAAD99F4-D493-47CF-BC0A-CBB625ABFBE1

Message: Im told 2nd circuit will affirm deutch bank subpoena. Helicopter on lawn ? Late summer

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 05:18:39 PM (580263519)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E5037FF-217C-47A3-B05F-9B185355A479

Message: 15 august--- u r going to have one of these rose garden explosions everyday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:19:40 PM (580263580)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F25C1C06-3042-45D3-BCBF-16AF0C22ED51

Message: There will be explosions but not in USA

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 05:20:03 PM (580263603)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C457DD97-A515-4B3C-9935-41F8037BFA3F

Message: Wag da dog

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:20:47 PM (580263647)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8601574A-8901-4727-87E3-251FA3BF5BC1

Message: He will threaten divulging secrets if he has to

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:21:05 PM (580263665)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E55B9038-FD8E-4F08-873E-87C38B379CC3

Message: No limits

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/22/19 05:21:09 PM (580263669)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C3927652-94A2-47E4-8358-6094C7689405

Message: Stay classy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/22/19 05:27:26 PM (580264046)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D99424B4-07B8-41AE-AD34-4AD2BEB02339

Message: On the other hand inspector general report plus intel chiefs in barrs sights will make for summer fun

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-05-23\[redacted] on 2019-05-23 at 06.21.07.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 05/23/19 03:21:07 AM (580299667)

End Time: 05/23/19 06:28:49 AM (580310929)

Last Message ID: 29518

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/23/19 03:21:07 AM (580299667)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1FB1D854-A563-4238-B200-EA41FEEABCCF

Message: https://www.thedailybeast.com/nancy-pelosi-to-impatient-democrats-weve-got-trump-on-the-ropes?ref=home

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/23/19 04:15:48 AM (580302948)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E439ADEF-F43F-4BFB-8B5D-52CEE26D1420

Message: 60 days after they get the DB papers. oy I think you have positioned yourself perfectly. policy not individuals. . china not trump. . . sovereignty not sovereign

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/23/19 04:17:14 AM (580303034)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EAFA727B-5D16-4355-A8A9-C357A5646573

Message: your brand with tweaking . tom friedman like allies. all good. less of deutshland more of homeland

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/23/19 06:28:49 AM (580310929)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D671E60B-B1F0-4370-BFB4-F53FB6AA296B

Message: Yes yes yes

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-06-01\[redacted] on 2019-05-31 at 20.09.22.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 05/23/19 03:21:07 AM (580299667)

End Time: 06/01/19 09:50:02 AM (581100602)

Last Message ID: 30036

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com,[redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/23/19 03:21:07 AM (580299667)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1FB1D854-A563-4238-B200-EA41FEEABCCF

Message: https://www.thedailybeast.com/nancy-pelosi-to-impatient-democrats-weve-got-trump-on-the-ropes?ref=home

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/23/19 04:15:48 AM (580302948)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E439ADEF-F43F-4BFB-8B5D-52CEE26D1420

Message: 60 days after they get the DB papers. oy I think you have positioned yourself perfectly. policy not individuals. . china not trump. . . sovereignty not sovereign

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/23/19 04:17:14 AM (580303034)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EAFA727B-5D16-4355-A8A9-C357A5646573

Message: your brand with tweaking . tom friedman like allies. all good. less of deutshland more of homeland

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/23/19 06:28:49 AM (580310929)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D671E60B-B1F0-4370-BFB4-F53FB6AA296B

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 10:11:48 PM (580540308)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 18E18E67-C6B9-4BFA-8DE2-748F9B3095A1

Message: DDay

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 02:55:28 AM (580557328)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4A37C5B8-8A22-45CB-A4EA-3FAABD64AF67

Message: Fingers crossed for you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 03:03:49 AM (580557829)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9C2F3A08-0CD8-4EA0-83CF-315FE14D10DC

Message: Thanks : I think so far so good

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 04:51:45 AM (580564305)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5E818EA3-2B29-4284-AFCA-67558686F8A4

Message: Would have been better if the wrestler wore a gold wig

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 09:09:28 AM (580579768)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 03C2A7F5-2D1C-42D8-9F2A-43ABAD37C7C6

Message: 25 to 22

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 09:09:51 AM (580579791)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D7A3B05C-9C8C-4B40-96D5-03CA675734ED

Message: Salvini @ 28 to 31--leaked too early

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 09:20:42 AM (580580442)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6102CAC0-997E-4234-9323-69E813F447BF

Message: ///

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 09:20:57 AM (580580457)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CFC7D376-1B34-4D3E-8606-3BE15ECD638B

Message: //?// don't follow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 09:21:27 AM (580580487)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5989DD40-B8C9-49A9-8D33-E5399623B8A3

Message: Peaked too early

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 09:21:40 AM (580580500)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A06BDA1D-E28A-4D6C-AA12-000C181FA419

Message: Salvini should have been 34/35

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 09:22:03 AM (580580523)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F8D33EBA-1CB1-41F1-BC5E-E4B866D413A2

Message: LePen now controls situation

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 09:22:35 AM (580580555)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 686DB92D-5ACE-4ED7-B82E-3BFFD225C071

Message: She picked up 2% since I got here and started hammering

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 09:24:24 AM (580580664)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 04F4064E-CB4D-4CC1-88F1-9AF105046991

Message: What time complete?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 09:50:31 AM (580582231)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C29D5BB8-A8E3-4022-AB36-3FAB02EA6C30

Message: Late tonight

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 12:56:27 PM (580593387)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 59F812E8-5D4C-4C69-900D-D84DA52E918F

Message: Macron down? Boris up. Merkel down. You up GREAT

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 03:46:05 PM (580603565)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 67AC0AE2-94EC-4E71-9277-6E228BB3ACE5

Message: May gone

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 03:47:01 PM (580603621)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DAA2CC49-A7DF-48C2-AED6-2FD5E3BDC6C7

Message: I like the Iraqi coming and saying they are against sanctions on Iran. He will go nuts

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 03:47:19 PM (580603639)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B1E69059-D7EE-49C2-A52F-81A09C17A405

Message: He will viiew it as employees against mgmt

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 11:34:24 PM (580631664)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F30624A8-4D62-410A-A1F5-7A896C1C7D96

Message: What is the mood.?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 11:35:17 PM (580631717)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B106D852-D3E2-46C5-9820-7437BFA31DCC

Message: My French guys are saying it was so close , no effect

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 11:35:18 PM (580631718)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 68E6F94B-B72C-45A6-B63F-5F2626B8000F

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 11:36:28 PM (580631788)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8DF345F0-4AF4-4744-9C51-0F4D6A6F22A6

Message: So far they and media spinning it quite well

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 03:45:24 AM (580819524)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 14CF70F0-6A99-4A41-AD45-BA5411C74AB8

Message: Sat afternoon??

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/29/19 03:53:33 AM (580820013)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F2F9E8E3-BD7D-4C35-837E-26CBB25325CA

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 08:59:09 AM (580838349)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8900F02B-D252-439D-B890-6AD704EC2BFF

Message: I will land at 1. Sat. You guys can set up anytime before. .and Sunday im free

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 09:06:40 AM (580838800)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5AE9691B-5098-4A6D-AE9B-4B7499DE97EA

Message: https://www.npr.org/2019/05/29/727724850/michael-wolffs-new-trump-tell-all-siege-stars-steve-bannon-and-cast-of-no-names

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 09:42:40 AM (580840960)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CE59FFDE-2D08-4307-AC90-EBC8F4C8623C

Message: https://www.newsweek.com/bannon-trump-investigations-scumbag-wolff-book-1437900

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 12:45:03 PM (580851903)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 17E3DCCE-5BB9-4ECC-9C1E-7831F206BE94

Message: Are we on for Saturday afternoon?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/29/19 02:30:19 PM (580858219)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D898C89A-6A02-420B-9026-A030D9E93B4E

Message: Can we film

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 02:30:56 PM (580858256)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DDD52C3E-0169-4229-A5C9-E7D7C9FA99FE

Message: Yes, from 2 on im easy. Your guys can set up anytime

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/29/19 02:34:40 PM (580858480)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B10DF5BA-5C53-4AD7-ADAC-7ED8DF4F7A1C

Message: Perfect

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 03:03:08 PM (580860188)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F97AEB92-996C-444B-AEAA-6FF758370F4C

Message: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-48454514

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/29/19 03:05:35 PM (580860335)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ED7BC030-3548-482F-8D56-C5AE786829CA

Message: WTF

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 03:06:19 PM (580860379)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BB984595-7DD3-4568-A6A2-A6BA679C6663

Message: Bibi wanted immunity . Uh oh

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 03:54:14 PM (580863254)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A2C80EAD-0BBD-4939-938D-78C2926AACD0

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/29/19 04:03:25 PM (580863805)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 861A7342-383F-46AE-BEB6-B9FF1D0761A5

Message: Great shot

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/29/19 04:04:49 PM (580863889)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7083C225-5472-4DE4-A686-AFDE16954CD1

Message: Immunity

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/30/19 04:42:39 AM (580909359)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D9BBF897-0449-4EF8-AD12-97E29EFE6BDA

Message:

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/30/19 04:42:40 AM (580909360)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0C0D6EA5-D4C0-40A5-B997-68DB459D480F

Message: https://www.rawstory.com/2019/05/new-book-paints-sordid-picture-of-trump-real-estate-deal-involving-russian-oligarch-and-jeffrey-epstein/

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/30/19 05:39:51 AM (580912791)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1DDF0F24-36AA-4818-93F2-4699B467FE8B

Message: https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/a-trip-inside-trumpworld-and-inside-the-presidents-head-with-bannon-as-guide/2019/05/29/7560ec12-8236-11e9-95a9-e2c830afe24f_story.html?utm_term=.d96a6ffb5b72

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/30/19 05:50:22 AM (580913422)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B698F36-C44B-4812-8CFA-72ACFBB5E448

Message: Ugh

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/30/19 05:54:53 AM (580913693)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 985D7FF7-632E-4341-9687-C6E2BA471458

Message: I guess you will have to figure out how to make the phrase " he's a scumbag" into words of support for policy. UGH

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/30/19 05:56:02 AM (580913762)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B0AAE778-AC22-44D6-8594-23CC78663B8F

Message: I guess you could argue that scumbag in Chinese means statesman

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/30/19 05:59:10 AM (580913950)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A792DEA-F1E3-4E4C-880C-E6F6FD0BF3B0

Message: https://www.forbes.com/sites/panosmourdoukoutas/2019/05/30/a-china-bond-sell-off-could-send-bitcoin-ethereum-xrp-and-litecoin-to-new-highs/#7581fe1368f2

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/30/19 11:11:08 AM (580932668)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E7239AC5-8BC9-430F-8945-13DF80677D1F

Message: They are ALL scumbags

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/30/19 11:20:30 AM (580933230)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F727EEA8-B0C6-445E-9019-D3791515A322

Message: How true

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/31/19 03:51:43 AM (580992703)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 05B0ED42-B816-456B-AE4D-4A09B51FD20C

Message: I think , the ' we are all flawed " and trumps personal life, my opinion of it or of him does not detract from the policy which I fully support.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/31/19 04:55:42 AM (580996542)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7FF460F5-BF1F-407F-817C-3383DFDFD53C

Message: ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/31/19 04:56:05 AM (580996565)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BB821973-1EED-48DC-A364-3FE9E59C0267

Message: Your explanation for your quotes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/31/19 04:56:10 AM (580996570)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BFFB4821-FC8E-40B0-AB12-7ED2DCBA64B9

Message: Are you back,?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/31/19 04:56:33 AM (580996593)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5ADEEDF0-D481-492D-B81F-79240C0CFF35

Message: London: back tomorrow to film

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/31/19 04:56:43 AM (580996603)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E63B61D5-13C3-4A2C-8CE3-FD62D0EBF48F

Message: Why do I need explanation?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/31/19 04:56:59 AM (580996619)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 71754283-4E1C-4B6C-94E4-FC2DC046BFEE

Message: That my boy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/31/19 06:54:44 AM (581003684)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 88D36910-5E13-4A2C-8044-7BDF47333662

Message: What time do you land tome?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/31/19 06:54:48 AM (581003688)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D863C322-DF5F-4224-9B9B-4FD126F8B985

Message: Tomorrow?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/31/19 04:02:42 PM (581036562)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6950B8AE-2F53-43D0-AD10-1CE3267CCEEF

Message: 1 pm @ your place @ 2 pm to film

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/31/19 04:18:32 PM (581037512)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 194F423A-9E22-49EB-B21C-238397B01106

Message: done

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/31/19 04:25:05 PM (581037905)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 54811E48-CBD0-4A0F-AAE7-03EF737575B2

Message: Travel safe

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/31/19 05:09:22 PM (581040562)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 39BEE956-89A2-45A7-BFD3-CAEC603BA5DA

Message: And if you like woody coming at 630 for dinner

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/01/19 09:49:56 AM (581100596)

Flags: 1081349

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D01DE632-53F2-43E9-888E-E4BF95A35435

Message: Eta

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/01/19 09:50:02 AM (581100602)

Flags: 1081349

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB6EAD17-6991-48B8-805F-11DBE52F1715

Message: ?

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-06-01\[redacted] on 2019-05-29 at 17.13.23.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 05/23/19 07:06:17 PM (580356377)

End Time: 06/01/19 11:33:21 AM (581106801)

Last Message ID: 30040

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/23/19 07:06:17 PM (580356377)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4F65B863-287C-4498-A5F0-E75DB0769195

Message: I'm doing a one hour show for India on Modi while here-- bringing American Hindu guys with us

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/23/19 09:21:13 PM (580364473)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 98A7E553-73D5-49D0-A0A8-8D6A173CF517

Message: his focus wants to be stopping china. .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/23/19 09:21:23 PM (580364483)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7AB1781A-32E7-41D9-90BD-D60D32882AD8

Message: I can set

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/23/19 09:34:53 PM (580365293)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D6DFB6E8-3EFA-42A0-976C-265639047D2E

Message: you should meet with modi.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/23/19 10:53:15 PM (580369995)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 470797FC-CB89-4423-A4E9-0A23CFCF614E

Message: Please

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/23/19 10:53:35 PM (580370015)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 746D4AB1-4E67-4DF5-9C53-03768875F157

Message: when can you do it?

Sender:[redacted]

Time: 05/23/19 10:54:32 PM (580370072)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A9F11887-A697-4B8C-A98F-BA571385E0F1

Message: Standby : just got stage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/23/19 11:05:27 PM (580370727)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6A7BFBA1-2F7A-4D46-B5BF-7164E80B7933

Message: ill be back on line in 5 hours

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/23/19 11:14:46 PM (580371286)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6E3CE324-8D11-4028-BF2A-9912DDBC64B1

Message: Cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 02:53:47 AM (580384427)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9824BDA7-DDDC-4657-868A-8A12E9C8B3C2

Message: my guy said to tell you that you are missing a great opportunity, look at your underwear. it either says made in china or made in india. . how is it possible that you guys don't understand shared goals

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 03:11:59 AM (580385519)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 08D5CA84-CA4C-4EDD-9DD1-08F3B960EB8D

Message: modi inauguration on sunday .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 03:22:45 AM (580386165)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CFC8319F-CBA2-4FD8-93B7-30994BAA3053

Message: thera may resigns . good work

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 03:22:50 AM (580386170)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7BFCA609-00D9-4F5D-82FA-73A68B48D8DF

Message: theresa

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/24/19 03:43:44 AM (580387424)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B2EF640-02C7-4795-B887-F8C7A7F2FAD9

Message: May down; merkel and Macron on Monday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 09:14:36 AM (580407276)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C7153061-BF27-4853-B780-48A66E5D508A

Message: yup

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 09:14:50 AM (580407290)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A471DC8A-040A-4343-BF7F-9460928D914E

Message: modi on board

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/24/19 09:15:13 AM (580407313)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 95DFBF09-3F28-4DCE-B6F5-B93EF6735D6B

Message: Just got the internals in France 25.5 to 23

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/24/19 09:15:38 AM (580407338)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6E4451A2-38E3-4DF7-A805-AFBA8391F39F

Message: Crushing defeat if we get everybody out

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/24/19 09:16:08 AM (580407368)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 974B76E5-EF95-4560-BAD3-3C4CC45AD865

Message: 1.5% increase since my French media blitz

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 09:16:53 AM (580407413)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FE931FEA-C592-4F0B-90EC-16DB947A7A1D

Message: well played

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 09:17:32 AM (580407452)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A74AF57F-BD95-41D0-A0F0-0231A5B083E3

Message: what does germany look like? are you having fun where you are

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/24/19 09:18:11 AM (580407491)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E3A91A6E-1B88-4EA2-A57F-948B403F8264

Message: Merkel thrown out Monday ; AfD 12 to 13

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/24/19 12:06:30 PM (580417590)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 445BC016-30C4-4D9B-9F4E-C48EF558D037

Message: https://www.mediaite.com/tv/fox-business-host-trish-regans-feud-with-state-tv-anchor-goes-viral-in-china/

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 01:26:01 PM (580422361)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 97330179-CD7A-446E-B760-F58F6384F93C

Message: https://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2019/05/25/renowned-physicist-murray-gell-mann-passes-away/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/24/19 01:30:40 PM (580422640)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A2A1B2CF-857D-408A-A530-4799926900C1

Message: Giant

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 01:32:03 PM (580422723)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 85F383FB-1F7B-4E9B-A3A3-45F5FA5BC593

Message: fallen, .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 03:25:28 PM (580429528)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F9820975-BDD5-4714-8D1A-35D443869E43

Message: next topic thinking is overrated

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 03:26:07 PM (580429567)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2735E28D-4211-46C3-991C-8FED5C1F5787

Message: eric is on the one eyed man in the land of the blind

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/24/19 04:26:18 PM (580433178)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 381605E7-D2CB-4B41-9443-82BB965A7656

Message: https://static.macmillan.com/static/holt/siege-michael-wolff/

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 01:00:21 AM (580464021)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1814F60F-6BB4-416E-8515-932A00B61270

Message: Oy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 04:38:22 AM (580477102)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DF58CEA1-3922-4504-A58C-22AFC04FDC11

Message: when do you arrive paris

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 06:28:43 AM (580483723)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 01ABF89E-FB8C-4CD7-8797-5D3F4A3DCFE2

Message: Heading to meeting @ Cannes : tonight Paris tomorrow night

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 06:29:16 AM (580483756)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 496CDF0D-0F62-4B2F-B8D5-95BE2B5E3FC5

Message: Just in from Kazakhstan

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 06:29:16 AM (580483756)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5891E83B-E3BF-4D7D-8C09-CE926DD36D74

Message: Landing now from Kazakhstan

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 06:42:43 AM (580484563)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 704D50D1-65E5-4992-BAFB-D6D2EE5D016C

Message: Was it interesting

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 06:43:54 AM (580484634)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4FFB53B1-7D95-4A86-80B0-234699BAF686

Message: Yes : thanks ; spent a lot of time with the general in charge of state security post WH : very good man

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 06:44:47 AM (580484687)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9689F905-4021-4360-AC84-39F85AD5D9B8

Message: Yes I know

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 06:46:22 AM (580484782)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9EDEA29C-1D2D-413B-83F6-B583999227FC

Message: If you are in New York 1st 2nd I'll fly in otherwise 12th

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 07:24:02 AM (580487042)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9FA39BDA-1969-4C0B-BD9D-74FDE5D4989B

Message: NYC 1st/2 nd

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 07:54:18 AM (580488858)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E02C3A3-9AD3-4AD2-AC45-22649C0AFE44

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 08:15:49 AM (580490149)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EFB361BD-E02F-43A9-9F21-301BDB001E6E

Message: Where r u now???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 08:16:28 AM (580490188)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B0C6B24-949C-451E-92EA-122BA79A0E12

Message: Santa fe

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 08:16:38 AM (580490198)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4810CCA1-350B-46EF-B72C-5BA49970D99D

Message: How is it?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 08:16:47 AM (580490207)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 326CDAA9-FFEA-4622-B1A3-54363A7E719F

Message: Amazing

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 08:17:11 AM (580490231)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D0E6F158-CE6C-49DD-B073-A7D3FF1E7983

Message: I do not get how u hang out in NYC

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 08:18:00 AM (580490280)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 280107F1-A139-425C-85C8-242F4E9EF181

Message: If i want ny smarts there is no other place

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 08:18:06 AM (580490286)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C75713B-46DE-4EBB-AFD9-67419FF096D2

Message: None

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 08:18:31 AM (580490311)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AAC9B185-AC28-49CD-91B6-D5FDCC1A6026

Message: I got that-- but u can cram my smarts into 2 days a month

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 08:19:03 AM (580490343)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C38D4A87-0D1C-49EC-9109-32EFDCD00A80

Message: That's the idea , actually 5

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 08:19:19 AM (580490359)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0EC1A6A9-30C1-4696-8A55-DD0B9114CB81

Message: 5 good

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 08:20:57 AM (580490457)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89F49087-2D23-4474-9C78-6758B43E934A

Message: Im on island 3-10 ny -14 then 6 weeks Paris Saudi morroco

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 08:24:21 AM (580490661)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B79D303D-C898-42BE-88A9-A1BA5359CDD5

Message: If Boris Johnson wins plus horowitz report plus deutsh bank doc plus Michael s book june will be active- ive asked Peter for eric contact

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 08:25:11 AM (580490711)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FD17E5A6-8601-4398-910E-15DF1BA61512

Message: You are Paris from when to when

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 08:30:47 AM (580491047)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5A068277-8A14-40E6-A11D-8BAF61B5341C

Message: Flying morning of 14 from ny -30

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 08:33:35 AM (580491215)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1FE37308-9F56-41C4-AA33-D2DAD8A13FF6

Message: I'm reading in the closet as you suggested - wow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 08:39:20 AM (580491560)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1577E2BD-1931-4700-B214-9D49DC0B8FE6

Message: My wall dude-- New Mexico --right outside El Paso -- in total secret -- we go on fox and friends on Monday to release

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 08:39:20 AM (580491560)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E594AB75-E797-44A4-9979-D1377D74CAA4

Message: I want to talk about 'closet'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 08:42:31 AM (580491751)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DFF43E44-40F9-45D2-826C-C7CAEE49ED55

Message: You won't be there?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 08:44:13 AM (580491853)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CB11893F-45AC-4D38-897E-0DF2DCE25E5C

Message: Can't ; have kobach and kolfage on site -- I'm the chairman but I push those 2 plus the construction guy as national heroes -- we started Memorial Day Friday after the courts closed-- and will be done Monday @ noon

Sender:[redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 08:44:40 AM (580491880)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C9116A2-9D38-4823-AB75-3BDC6DC8EDD6

Message: I also can't seem like I'm running trumps nose in his own incompetence

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 12:45:05 PM (580506305)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 03059F22-13D3-4895-BEA9-BAED9B98FC76

Message: How long

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 12:51:07 PM (580506667)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B2F2C050-A092-4348-A34B-DF92610BF8C9

Message: How long what

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/25/19 01:59:32 PM (580510772)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4DB19797-086D-47A6-8564-A8E36C3A5490

Message: The wall

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 02:51:10 PM (580513870)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 12C72B9C-F9E6-46D8-8D16-3C29C20EC129

Message: 1 mile

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 02:51:23 PM (580513883)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A083D30F-89D6-4803-8E23-190FEC92BFCA

Message: Connects two 21 mile sections

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/25/19 02:51:40 PM (580513900)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 69D4EA67-7ED2-4D56-B2AB-20221923B344

Message: It's a mile they said could never be built

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 06:52:00 AM (580571520)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1C515FA3-5CC8-4555-8CC1-B41B3A4C4579

Message: <Unsupported Message Content>

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 07:43:00 AM (580574580)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C4F52F1D-5D17-423E-9239-29FEE8987724

Message: Gods country

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 01:31:47 PM (580595507)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D5FA2715-68DB-4840-9A72-FB3F308C0765

Message: We r rolling

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 01:32:54 PM (580595574)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F23C1BF1-3AB4-43B9-AE5B-8EF809F58DA5

Message: □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 02:48:45 PM (580600125)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D8B3742C-836D-41BB-8A78-31A2AC341DE7

Message: Im told nationalists will have more space but no much more influence ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 02:50:10 PM (580600210)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3CDF700C-C0A0-4ABC-AE5C-17BEF5BD8D5D

Message: The establish order always digs in

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 02:52:01 PM (580600321)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F32E62EB-D4C3-4A5B-81F3-B336759A3C3F

Message: understood. . were there any surprises.? My germans said it was a slap in the face for macron, but knowing him he probably liked it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 02:52:29 PM (580600349)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 590ADF7F-F212-47BD-8D2A-B0DEEF338065

Message: He gambled all-- and lost

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 02:52:43 PM (580600363)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DB417690-A8F3-4C65-9EC0-48899AAEDE09

Message: On another note I hope Michaels new book doesn't stir up too much trouble.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 02:55:13 PM (580600513)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D1A81C85-9B19-4A44-940C-0D556EBEE141

Message: Have you read it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 02:55:24 PM (580600524)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D99B7A80-4E21-4A7E-9C26-C34C0F3AD75F

Message: He told me it was non event

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 02:58:08 PM (580600688)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3EE7B78D-6C88-411B-9F1B-1F8944EA7534

Message: I have not. He has declined to give me a copy. Melania? Not living with him Nikki haley , trump says blowjob but who can trust him . You.. lots Nick ayers. . Im mentioned int he palm beach house sale. Hopefully not anywhere else.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 02:59:30 PM (580600770)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 23A7BB81-A4CB-4D01-810B-76FD273F7A29

Message: 1 milllion copies. First printing

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 03:00:54 PM (580600854)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F68B9ABE-F370-41C0-80E2-20C1A1D77746

Message: Me lots of good or lots of snark ??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 03:02:01 PM (580600921)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 11863886-11C4-4338-9DF7-744653DB81F9

Message: I understand there is a passage where you saying maybe he kills himslef and his former friend . Says. No. He fakes a heart attack .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 03:02:14 PM (580600934)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C410FCA0-080F-465C-99C8-C79AFBC7BE7A

Message: Is that good or snark

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 03:04:32 PM (580601072)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AC9881A8-1AED-443D-A524-A701AC73C108

Message: Over the weekend I think we should see it.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 03:04:45 PM (580601085)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D7B098BD-BD11-49EC-91D6-20898492DBA8

Message: Nothing to be done but be informed

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 03:05:16 PM (580601116)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 48F9D6BC-3004-4F1F-9424-AA496E26ECF4

Message: Very stable individual needs all friends he can get

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 03:05:31 PM (580601131)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 058C63A5-2E68-43E7-A908-E1CB6DD536E6

Message: Stable genius

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 03:06:08 PM (580601168)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 71ECE044-ECEB-4B0B-BDFA-4579F8DCE7A7

Message: VERY

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/26/19 03:42:40 PM (580603360)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DE6F7220-0307-46D0-B688-478ED4D87914

Message: Im going for lunch tomorrow at the Chomsky's

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/26/19 03:44:24 PM (580603464)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 340FF495-106F-4541-935E-7E33A5CB9072

Message: Tell him the reactionaries are on the rise

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/27/19 03:54:17 AM (580647257)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A09E2EFA-C37F-4BD8-9B93-E79A3C8464BF

Message: We really did crush them

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/27/19 03:55:50 AM (580647350)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A26052CF-4549-41D5-80A0-9DB0D36388FF

Message: How to leverage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/27/19 03:56:26 AM (580647386)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D1B45D1A-6FE4-4483-8E17-1E1D0E44BB4C

Message: For movement and more importantly for you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/27/19 03:56:45 AM (580647405)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF0AA4B7-A3C2-4127-8AD1-BCEADE7663F1

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/27/19 04:00:02 AM (580647602)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E02EED1D-9DB2-4253-A948-C7C3D44F0468

Message: 1. you still need to call out china on currency . Bubble etc. 2. India. Great opportunity . 3. Navigate Biden Horowitz Barr. DB NYS /

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/27/19 04:00:27 AM (580647627)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 46100104-9B82-47E0-A72C-58D81A5A5728

Message: Yes agree 100%

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/27/19 04:01:05 AM (580647665)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C22F2891-1369-42D4-972C-B640EC59221D

Message: Policy not people. .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/27/19 09:34:53 AM (580667693)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 54A6A3B4-9C89-4518-ADA1-26287760BA42

Message: Kurtz out

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/27/19 09:39:15 AM (580667955)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8DF28F2E-40D8-494E-97C2-98D153CD71E1

Message: But back in September?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/27/19 09:41:15 AM (580668075)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B8AE5F15-6652-43D0-971B-E2EA05BAECC9

Message: To be seen correct ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/27/19 09:49:18 AM (580668558)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 999C9DDB-34EA-40FF-86D0-B232EB11A2DC

Message: He will win the election but no partner for coalition

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/28/19 04:33:38 AM (580736018)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8A475F54-0B26-475A-8793-A6193E2F0040

Message: What day are you back?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/28/19 05:52:12 AM (580740732)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BA9581D8-9232-4C64-B409-3B9414A37E7B

Message: Dude ::: standby

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/28/19 05:57:56 AM (580741076)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 624CA515-95F3-4E9E-A16D-61EDE2CFCCED

Message: https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-05-28/merkel-sees-succession-plan-unraveling-because-akk-not-up-to-job

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/28/19 06:26:01 AM (580742761)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 988DE5E3-83BD-43E1-B04F-7ABE28C8A732

Message: https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/may/28/mueller-trump-obstruction-charge-michael-wolff-book-siege-under-fire-news

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/28/19 10:12:36 AM (580756356)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7BE4306F-AC84-4060-BFEE-40A2F0A70FE0

Message: https://finance.yahoo.com/news/china-apos-first-bank-seizure-210000879.html

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/28/19 10:15:32 AM (580756532)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9E7F8FC6-CA19-4812-8C38-D3E4EB37D9B3

Message: Selling $$$ forward

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/28/19 02:29:51 PM (580771791)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4116D9D1-9739-44B4-8752-C4504776265F

Message: I have now seen some of Wolffs book. Mentions me and underage prostitutes. You as the man behind and in front of the curtain. Lots of Steve quotes. Lots

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/28/19 02:30:57 PM (580771857)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CCFD473E-70B3-4A19-A8FF-3ABA85900385

Message: Ugh -- anything awful??? Wish he hadn't done that-- why are u mentioned @ all?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/28/19 02:38:38 PM (580772318)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2C333688-5A63-4881-89B9-8FD0250B7B00

Message: Palm beach house purchase. . ! don't reach out to Michael. . but. Bannon was not confused , he had a clear understanding of how great a liability trump could be to Bannon's own vision and career. . - within minutes of the budget bill passage Bannon began working the phones is goal was to " light him up ". - costa sat at bannons dining room table for two hours. .

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/28/19 02:39:10 PM (580772350)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 510749B1-1740-4AFC-B08D-251AE05B88E1

Message: Ugh

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/28/19 02:39:12 PM (580772352)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DFA5FE28-67C6-4900-8AAC-CFA799C060D2

Message: I told Michael I wouldn't pass on , but..

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/28/19 02:40:20 PM (580772420)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 242859F5-8114-47DA-9CC5-88D7E1033FB6

Message: Ugh ugh ugh

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/28/19 02:42:17 PM (580772537)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 271DA2F1-AD55-443B-B100-C1AE100D63B7

Message: You should get 50-% f the royalties

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/28/19 02:43:03 PM (580772583)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FB4B635E-E87B-4AF6-85F4-14072AB16BA1

Message: Trumps stupidity could sometimes be made into a virtue

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/28/19 02:43:38 PM (580772618)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E1B40DA6-3E37-46B3-AEE3-60E2434C67AE

Message: How does he pitch this as an inside book on trump

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/28/19 02:45:43 PM (580772743)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DEC3228F-FAE3-4B03-8D0B-528FD04CD223

Message: In the last few weeks he had installed his allies. Pompeo bolton kudlowl lewandowski and bossie Bannon people carrying bannons message . UGH

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/28/19 03:17:16 PM (580774636)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 01BD2AA3-94D5-45B3-B773-AD5978C03AB4

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/28/books/review-siege-trump-under-fire-michael-wolff.html?login=email&auth=login-email

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 03:41:02 AM (580819262)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A4FB01BA-A759-4083-B4C1-D5CA95E065C9

Message: i will have the book today, full download by tonight . Are we meeting on sat ? Sun . ? I leave for island for week mon,

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/29/19 04:00:29 AM (580820429)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A1DEB637-E2A3-48FB-BD7B-8B7370ECE2AD

Message: Can we film on Saturday afternoon

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 04:19:06 AM (580821546)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EC9AC785-F76F-4629-96FA-6183B64FAFA1

Message: Standby

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 07:56:23 AM (580834583)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 43FB3A59-577F-44CE-B395-924189A32E63

Message: I read the whole book, its mainly you and your funny descriptions of people. Lol a couple of times. Nothing that interesting. Again points out how most think trump is awful insane .etc.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/29/19 08:23:11 AM (580836191)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 30A51E75-776D-4C66-A0AF-2A040E5BED70

Message: How bad am I going to get lit up ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 08:25:31 AM (580836331)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 874CBE04-F9DF-44E3-9698-88B86B1ABD2E

Message: Probably like the last time. Though in the epilogue he thanks you for being a source that stood by his comments in the first book

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/29/19 08:27:37 AM (580836457)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F3F6D59D-9063-4BCE-815F-D6977B97F57E

Message: Like last time!!!!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/29/19 08:28:20 AM (580836500)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FE81FB72-D7D0-4E38-9EFF-11B4FA5CB78E

Message: I don't actually remember any deep conversations

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 08:30:50 AM (580836650)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F5140DB3-9F21-499C-A4E8-FFAD6420784C

Message: Mcconell machaivelli wanting to lose the house , Giuliani a drunk, cliff sims a weasel Keith Schiller lying about how many days in Moscow. Pence and the mother , . Manipulating meadows. Bossie behind the scenes. , trump going after jr. I would say most of the book is you and your views

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 08:57:28 AM (580838248)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4AD99D97-CAF1-44FD-A7D6-CA93A0BF43B1

Message: With mueller saying today that he couldn't say trump didn't commit crimes. And that to charge him would be unfair as he couldn't defend himself but they preserved evidence for when he could , probably will take the focus off of you and your funny comments,

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/29/19 10:11:52 AM (580842712)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3379E410-860C-4FF5-96DD-7E9E2B280B63

Message: Did mueller just start an impeachment process

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 10:14:22 AM (580842862)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D46B911C-242B-4B7E-AE0D-5EFDD42392F3

Message: I don't believe so , but I can tell you that had he been referring to me or you , and said I preserved the evidence so that if a time comes when you can defend yourself. It could be used. Im not sure id get a good night sleep

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 01:41:08 PM (580855268)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0A0F6B28-225B-4508-9560-552B0F52270C

Message: Are we set for sat afternoon or Sunday. Your call

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/29/19 02:13:23 PM (580857203)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF8CA5A9-DBD4-4E78-8270-554352902EA9

Message: https://www.npr.org/2019/05/29/727850485/plenty-of-cards-to-play-chinese-media-suggest-cutting-rare-earth-exports-to-u-s

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/01/19 09:51:01 AM (581100661)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 365EB4B7-7C81-4983-9599-1A67182EBF4B

Message: Eta?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/01/19 09:52:04 AM (581100724)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AAE077B4-29A2-45CB-8815-87688A78D7B3

Message: Inbound eta 130

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/01/19 09:52:28 AM (581100748)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3BDA577F-DD8C-411C-A51D-9B57CBE10AB7

Message: Exactly time the shot is fixed

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/01/19 11:33:21 AM (581106801)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B271D35-3C1A-4F4F-9FEC-2F1ADC7D02EC

Message: I have blocked out new area.s. beards. Genotypes phenotypes. Ties as bacteria transmitters. . currencies and debt

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-06-12\[redacted] on 2019-06-12 at 15.55.49.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 06/12/19 12:55:49 PM (582062149)

End Time: 06/12/19 12:57:33 PM (582062253)

Last Message ID: 30575

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, +[redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com,[redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/12/19 12:55:49 PM (582062149)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A88D2BA8-B895-46A4-BEE4-B3F6FFB69FD1

Message: On the train to NY. Just met your friend POTUS.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/12/19 12:56:33 PM (582062193)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 089C232F-5E65-4F61-82F0-FBFC0B1F63CE

Message: See if you still have your wallet

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/12/19 12:56:59 PM (582062219)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B0E20683-7E5C-410C-89B1-2D3B7FBBEF89

Message: Im sitting here with Steve

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/12/19 12:57:33 PM (582062253)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CF615E3C-8E82-4792-BB29-D670D3895266

Message: Say hello. And I've not got so much too lose as you □

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-06-13\[redacted]5 on 2019-06-13 at 08.49.53.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 06/11/19 08:59:38 PM (582004778)

End Time: 06/13/19 04:42:38 PM (582162158)

Last Message ID: 30651

Chat Room:

Participants: jee,[redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com,[redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/11/19 08:59:38 PM (582004778)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 197410CC-B951-4559-B48F-238E618E6849

Message: Dude: I told you--CCP blinked

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/11/19 08:59:43 PM (582004783)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A05855EF-C097-4EDD-A49F-8AE777D8A60E

Message: Massive win

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/12/19 02:36:09 AM (582024969)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 773115FB-C321-4579-8D79-0D63C72F7388

Message: good work, get the video of hong kong into china . that's the in

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/12/19 06:34:15 AM (582039255)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EFD8BD70-510B-442A-B7A4-AB4DE3AACA13

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/12/19 06:45:07 AM (582039907)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E2740150-9228-43BD-83F9-64D9E2FF3BD6

Message: 3 pm to 5 pm shoot??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/12/19 06:45:20 AM (582039920)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EC909038-C865-41D6-ABCE-EE07B0D13792

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/12/19 12:01:36 PM (582058896)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A4F52668-981E-4D95-BDD0-950CEF23D8EC

Message: 10 minutes out

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/12/19 12:10:37 PM (582059437)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7856A1B7-5F08-41B9-8D89-436058058430

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/12/19 12:13:00 PM (582059580)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 12A58C95-3979-46E2-9074-03454EC717DE

Message: I'm here can u get your guys to the door

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/12/19 01:27:54 PM (582064074)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D9CFFF48-0828-43E2-B2BF-0E157356B316

Message: We r ready

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 02:43:42 AM (582111822)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D5D43664-C1B0-487D-AD00-D09C091789D3

Message: https://www.cnbc.com/2019/06/13/oil-jumps-more-than-3percent-on-reports-of-tanker-incident-in-the-gulf-of-oman.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 05:46:59 AM (582122819)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 47B11DB4-27E7-476E-B250-AB9FE02A3C09

Message: The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) is an independent agency of the United States government that protects the funds of the little guy FDIC insurance is backed by the full faith and credit of the United States government. Since the FDIC was established in 1933, no depositor has lost a penny of FDIC-insured funds. FDIC insurance covers all deposit accounts, including: Checking accounts Savings accounts Money market deposit accounts Certificates of deposit FDIC insurance does not cover the BIG GUYS ie, other financial products and services that banks may offer, such as stocks, bonds, mutual funds, life insurance policies, annuities or securities. The standard insurance amount is $250,000 per depositor, per insured bank, for each account ownership categor

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 05:47:15 AM (582122835)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2AD63804-2017-4F06-BE3F-91E68457E257

Message: straits of hormuz right on schedule

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 05:49:53 AM (582122993)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8BCCE397-3390-4362-8F09-E9C2E05ED14F

Message: Torpedoed !

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 07:05:48 AM (582127548)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E489787-F2FA-4B51-9673-569978D37A36

Message: i said mid june I two days early

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 11:02:37 AM (582141757)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EA7AA6F9-8855-4D1B-BF75-ABD07E8545E4

Message: 2 for 2.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 11:02:38 AM (582141758)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 71EDCC4B-45A5-403C-AFB6-19756A1CA458

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/13/us/politics/kellyanne-conway-hatch-act.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 11:03:09 AM (582141789)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3FA52BC2-186A-44C7-B309-63E98E8051DF

Message: You said she had no where to go

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 11:31:20 AM (582143480)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BCB66FBE-E179-49ED-82C7-54C9C4A6C0AF

Message: Dump back to campaign

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 01:22:10 PM (582150130)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5651DE9D-2A8B-46FF-95ED-7511C6BC766E

Message: You my chins guy hete want to speak?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 01:22:16 PM (582150136)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89F4D8DD-C31A-40E5-A1EC-5A73D398EC1D

Message: China

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 01:26:50 PM (582150410)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 39649D85-E0ED-418E-B86B-13C5D2EE6976

Message: ??

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 01:28:15 PM (582150495)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A478DD5-5374-46E7-A336-F875F933E0EE

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 01:28:22 PM (582150502)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0D8C91E6-5B1F-4D09-AA1F-A8B95BA46160

Message: Where is he

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 01:28:37 PM (582150517)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 498E1321-48B0-4C66-AC2D-9EC913D9F52A

Message: Call now

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 01:57:08 PM (582152228)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5BD7C2D7-8413-4840-92CA-FBEB1AF92022

Message: Can I get name and cell phone

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 02:35:01 PM (582154501)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 05966503-5D13-4B16-846D-DEB6AB1A30BC

Message: He wanted to be careful as he doesn't want your contact known

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 02:35:15 PM (582154515)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6BD87B81-1138-4AD7-B642-B107FB065C54

Message: I'll figure it out

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 02:35:17 PM (582154517)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BBC14E60-0099-41BB-9D51-8BCA7C239697

Message: Smart

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 02:35:20 PM (582154520)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0DDC808E-07F7-47CC-B221-B3946C94EF0C

Message: Smart

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 02:35:24 PM (582154524)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DB32DD33-652F-48D3-B4BE-D166900087EC

Message: Smart

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 02:42:52 PM (582154972)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 53BA19D3-F569-40BF-912D-B64850724AFB

Message: Please review your lawyers document!!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 02:44:21 PM (582155061)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F7F909FA-FAB0-44B7-8861-9CEF9A7374CB

Message: Dan and I did

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 04:36:10 PM (582161770)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACF1FA7D-BC33-45F9-B018-3787A8B9926D

Message: https://dailycaller.com/2019/06/13/alan-dershowitz-trump-biden/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 04:36:23 PM (582161783)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1684C9F0-D06B-4B9A-A847-3204E46AEE74

Message: What a Dick

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 04:36:45 PM (582161805)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 935AFCCC-71E7-48CE-96B4-CA10699326F4

Message: He was basically the guys attorney !!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 04:37:35 PM (582161855)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4E722469-B314-4664-8CD5-B51A93224FCC

Message: major dick

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 04:38:48 PM (582161928)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0CEDF2FD-57A1-468E-84EE-F9CF7248746F

Message: And it will garner ZERO love on Martha's Vinyard

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 04:38:57 PM (582161937)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A0940E6A-1F9B-4B39-91B4-73DCCBB2FD98

Message: you can be sure he is telling biden all that he knows]

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 04:39:25 PM (582161965)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7765CA14-925D-4FA8-A12A-4D7AF309FCD3

Message: 100000%

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 04:40:03 PM (582162003)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C62EF51B-4D17-4C3C-936A-5778A46E1BBD

Message: he will say trump never paid him , he wasn't his atony just talked to him so not bound.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 04:40:09 PM (582162009)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FED51746-CB2C-4D63-BB0D-163717E20DF6

Message: attorney

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 04:41:03 PM (582162063)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4DB2D686-CF02-4C48-A381-21834B56332A

Message: The worst

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 04:41:18 PM (582162078)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8E12EF77-5F36-4E26-BA04-68552BFC6CD5

Message: This is as bad as his Qatar sell out

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 04:41:47 PM (582162107)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F88734CB-3CB2-455B-9345-E8AA94078881

Message: there is a new yorker article about to come out that is devastating to him

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 04:42:06 PM (582162126)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 27AF662E-8D5C-4B74-80A7-5722BBB87DD7

Message: That's why he made this move

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 04:42:10 PM (582162130)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 597E1EC8-F6F0-4DB5-8913-8F1B96A785EA

Message: yup

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 04:42:38 PM (582162158)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 933DA4C8-AB7A-4FD1-9000-FF2988B3DCDC

Message: He is dumb but not stupid

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-06-13[redacted] on 2019-06-12 at 15.57.33.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 06/12/19 12:55:49 PM (582062149)

End Time: 06/13/19 07:19:15 PM (582171555)

Last Message ID: 30665

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/12/19 12:55:49 PM (582062149)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A88D2BA8-B895-46A4-BEE4-B3F6FFB69FD1

Message: On the train to NY. Just met your friend POTUS.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/12/19 12:56:33 PM (582062193)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 089C232F-5E65-4F61-82F0-FBFC0B1F63CE

Message: See if you still have your wallet

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/12/19 12:56:59 PM (582062219)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B0E20683-7E5C-410C-89B1-2D3B7FBBEF89

Message: Im sitting here with Steve

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/12/19 12:57:33 PM (582062253)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CF615E3C-8E82-4792-BB29-D670D3895266

Message: Say hello. And I've not got so much too lose as you □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 04:52:19 PM (582162739)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 22C2DB58-5277-4B31-977A-4F29FEBC6278

Message: I'm done at the reception. Can I come already 8:10 - traffic is collaborative

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 04:52:32 PM (582162752)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6C7ACD0E-388B-4506-8F20-D6643560AFAB

Message: of course

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 04:53:19 PM (582162799)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F544CD4B-34AC-4793-A466-E29C040C2E86

Message: Thx. I'm told it is impolite to come earlier than agreed :-)

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 04:54:02 PM (582162842)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 25DFD022-BB5A-4A94-B7CE-6F9A10718AC1

Message: must have been the tale of a bore

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 05:06:19 PM (582163579)

Flags: 1093637

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8C7FB065-A3A4-40A1-8E8C-D45782EA16B9

Message: You can even come as early as breakfast anytime

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 05:06:42 PM (582163602)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D8D56D4A-AA70-47D0-8934-9D798E325873

Message: □

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/13/19 07:18:38 PM (582171518)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 23B60111-B60A-499F-94BC-FE7470529D0C

Message: Always a treat. Not often enough

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/13/19 07:19:15 PM (582171555)

Flags: 1052673

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C6BD3CF-D87D-4036-B123-D85FC2D5BB9E

Message: I'm the one to say thank you. Safe travels.

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-07-05\Larry Summers on 2019-06-13 at 13.16.44.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 06/14/19 01:45:35 PM (582237935)

End Time: 07/05/19 01:27:01 PM (584051221)

Last Message ID: 31810

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, Larry Summers

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/19 01:45:35 PM (582237935)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F6A49ADE-D7A7-45B6-A2C0-21EFA549A8BB

Message: in paris, weather great

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 06:35:48 AM (582298548)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 38066713-F526-4190-8AC8-764528A08B0A

Message: I ll call bit later. Would u continue to dictating op Ed's for peril? Think she was off w some guy falling in love w Buddhist art? Not sure who or what.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 06:48:40 AM (582299320)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CA84C0AF-AE81-454A-9DB6-4CE8C5A72F07

Message: Drake equation probability estimation is garbage in garbage out but this not same thing as saying concept of a probability is wrong. Do I think meaningful to talk about prob of trump being re-elected or my getting horizontal w peril which are one shots.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 06:54:47 AM (582299687)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CC1FD992-B400-4122-901D-C9381A8DFB43

Message: Cannot use the concept of probability with only one example and not a repeated space . Gromov said its a question his children might ask and hopefully only once !

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 06:56:21 AM (582299781)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7E3BDC8C-5EB0-471E-A8CD-4C8B42E29146

Message: Ill have red ink on my summer s dollar thank you. -It should be a ten as you did add - with gusto-jeffrey , that is REALLY stupid

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 06:57:46 AM (582299866)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5F140C9E-862B-49B2-BD06-60639A071A5C

Message: Don't know Gromov. This is clearly wrong. Soviet doctrinaire sounds like. Do u think Question of prob that stock market will rise till end of 2019 is meaningless? You have one strong willed authority with achievements in some other sphere. So what.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 06:58:41 AM (582299921)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 98D6ED00-1E04-4E53-A9DC-8169CE4D9872

Message: U r better at understanding Chinese women than at probability theory. At understanding movement of money too.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 07:07:53 AM (582300473)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B93C1B4A-E109-491F-8679-CCB455F0C50D

Message: The stock market models as a contiuous function. With a history and many past events . More like what is the probability you being reincarnated .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 07:09:47 AM (582300587)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FDEEA9DA-EEF5-4BA4-96DF-14D6F4E7285E

Message: Im more concerned that it may be like the probability of you in bed again with peril. . □

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 07:21:46 AM (582301306)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 483E68C9-192F-4ACE-9A21-9571C845544B

Message: Uh oh. Lhopital s rule

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 07:33:00 AM (582301980)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A11E58FA-FC89-4549-AC92-6F9104243756

Message: Not exactly getting within the limit is NOT the same as IN

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 07:34:41 AM (582302081)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BF86BF72-356F-4488-86FA-10A007F4D403

Message: Just called

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 07:47:07 AM (582302827)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 72118E11-CDA2-41B5-88CB-4B89300C7C60

Message: Try now

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 08:26:49 AM (582305209)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B93ED8FC-2C3C-42A4-9460-2E7A6B5AD836

Message: Just tried back

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 08:34:09 AM (582305649)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CA6AD780-021E-479B-AB99-585E0F40ABD7

Message: U called but I couldn't hear anything

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 12:44:21 PM (582320661)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8123FEC4-499A-4091-A81A-DA5CB3C7E6DE

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/reuters/2019/06/15/us/15reuters-new-jersey-airport.html?action=click&module=Latest&pgtype=Homepage

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 03:37:15 PM (582331035)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7AF77F43-6258-4EBC-8EB6-09ACB3C11340

Message: Got it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 04:54:09 PM (582335649)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D5847834-B107-44B6-A639-5C38FEE110AB

Message: Subjective probability is a type of probability derived from an individual's personal judgment or own experience about whether a specific outcome is likely to occur. It contains no formal calculations and only reflects the subject's opinions and past experience rather than on data or computation. Subjective probabilities differ from person to person and contain a high degree of personal bias.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 05:11:12 PM (582336672)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E93782E1-F00E-470F-8EA8-5944E5C8AEEB

Message: This is silly.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 05:13:45 PM (582336825)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 28EDD23F-F776-4DFC-8BF5-C1CEF2FFB997

Message: Exactly

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 07:45:26 AM (582389126)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E6D323ED-E87A-4055-886B-C3DC71044C6C

Message: Later. In meantime, strategy w peril?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 07:46:46 AM (582389206)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0020441A-FB79-47DB-B899-705A12C6C659

Message: Continue to dictate -little downside

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 07:48:19 AM (582389299)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9EE6EAC0-3143-409D-9585-F917C3B94803

Message: Re later - you can read up on questions -re life on other planets described as " subjective probability " ie . Total nonsense

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 07:48:35 AM (582389315)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1F69910C-BE39-45BB-AB77-6F1B32EA5516

Message: Red ink

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 07:51:37 AM (582389497)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E3EC6FAD-5540-4788-AF64-44F27E630B1F

Message: Sounds like u r pessimistic re peril but agree. I think my injury is kind of exogenous event u said would change game. On other hand life has lots of bounces.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 07:52:10 AM (582389530)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2774B3F8-481B-462A-BB3F-59EBA0F7C23F

Message: Not at all. Long game

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 07:53:30 AM (582389610)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1C767735-679A-4A23-B2D5-25696C9CB759

Message: Im rarely pessimistic, i wonder what the probability is? Or in this case as it is a binary decision appropriate to use " odds"

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 07:57:23 AM (582389843)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 318A9F80-A641-481D-8ACF-F85D91C7E327

Message: On subjective probability, I think life on other planets complex example. Is stock market one continuous event with much Or is this moment unique. If u grant meaningfulness if talking odds on one off events we are down to semantics. Where u say odds I say subjective probability. If u are rarely pessimistic does that discredit your optimism. Suppose instead of peril it was dunking a basketball or going to an island w Angela Jolie

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 08:04:21 AM (582390261)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 72603E56-0703-400E-B4CC-2E3FE85F627D

Message: ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 08:06:22 AM (582390382)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 669FD759-B135-4C2C-AA9B-33783DE756CB

Message: Odds are limited to binary outcomes. . since you are immobile. Do some homework. . I concede your point on pessimism but would under bayesian rules. Feel comfortable. As humans are biased toward bad outcome avoidance. . She is never ever going to find another Larry summers. Probability ZERO

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 08:16:09 AM (582390969)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CCD605A6-90D4-484F-A2D8-0269C171FFC3

Message: That can't be right. There are odds on dem nominee w many outcomes possible. For objective or subjective probability u need well defined events.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 12:55:05 PM (582407705)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FD3E312C-E378-4798-8885-BE441B3BE005

Message: When are you able to walk again without crutches. . Its wholly impolite for me to mentally attack a cripple

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 12:57:14 PM (582407834)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 615FEF51-9D4D-4629-B310-A900B300FE7D

Message: Handicapped , not cripple

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 01:15:31 PM (582408931)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 55C08F2F-4921-429B-8E52-CFA0C94185E8

Message: 6 or 7 weeks.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 01:16:45 PM (582409005)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9E3C66A8-55B9-4760-B4AF-7970FC0C5BE4

Message: On tues. I ll have the math professor explain to you some things. And then wait until you are unable to claim your arguments were driven by the high level of pain killers. . on peril. Forced holding pattern in your interest

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 01:21:58 PM (582409318)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B1F044A8-CA51-4D8C-B6D8-04615DC230FE

Message: Why in my interest. Odds of success. I think another encounter at some point one third. Sustained series one fifth. Best shot for me. She gives up on marriage. Finds me invaluable and interesting and get her to conclude she can't have it without romance/sex without deciding I'm weak or vengeful

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 01:26:05 PM (582409565)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0E98C824-A354-4D17-B0E8-984267E20828

Message: Over time. She is doomed to be with you

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 01:27:02 PM (582409622)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0FE04027-6AAD-48B6-BD4A-6A22E6F76D10

Message: Unless she marries someone else. She is more monogamous than most

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 01:28:22 PM (582409702)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8ECC4603-F01F-48BC-9FEB-5A2ACAF4E71E

Message: Painkillers?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 01:47:00 PM (582410820)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B3872E56-E3F0-4814-A9FA-46920060C108

Message: Not for me??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 01:47:53 PM (582410873)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8F38D70D-9002-4745-B48C-D04C90ACF3E8

Message: Your views formed by your meds?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 09:01:18 PM (582436878)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4ECF37F0-A4AE-4885-A68B-98CFE7DDBED0

Message: Not formed by meds. Other than being a Bayesian rather than a pure math freak which wrong view do I have

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 02:21:14 AM (582456074)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2950BBD5-5155-4457-9BFA-AEA06DF00685

Message: She continues to be in contact

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 02:22:23 AM (582456143)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 50B6A567-D38D-474B-8B64-6BFF49FC250F

Message: Things are good - davos is set for you / she is there because program person is chinese

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 02:22:35 AM (582456155)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 33B3A9A3-FC94-453C-AF86-1295DB1E1C48

Message: Funny

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 05:33:18 AM (582467598)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0A6B17B8-3321-45D7-A89F-F017B93D1EAD

Message: Thx re davos. Happy to help re g20

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/23/19 11:09:56 PM (583049396)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C50180EF-188F-4DAB-ADE5-D39F692B6F86

Message: How are you

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/24/19 02:05:02 AM (583059902)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E6C43F7E-89F8-4F76-9C4D-CA266DE55C32

Message: If Bernie were to cancel all student debt. . how Is that reflected on govt books/ ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/24/19 02:05:13 AM (583059913)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DE927EA4-90AF-4208-884F-0A4A4618B044

Message: Do the borrowers get income?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/24/19 02:20:43 AM (583060843)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AD8C74A6-F051-46EE-918D-68EC6C523DC2

Message: I doubt borrowers get income but not certain. If they did many who struggle w debt service would get a whopping tax bill. I suspect a balance sheet impact but not a deficit impact. Depends on whether it's framed as a give away or recognition of reality.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/24/19 03:34:39 AM (583065279)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 48EA89F5-E85B-4C78-B4DF-E0B69FACF044

Message: How's the rehab. ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/24/19 03:36:24 AM (583065384)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B57FEAA-6429-442D-A7F8-C05796E4AD53

Message: My mathemactics guys. All said the propensity of the common man to put numbers on things where they don't belong is the answer to the odds probability questions et.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/24/19 03:40:53 AM (583065653)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 31778953-399A-4E04-9369-3450804DDD47

Message: Send peril flowers

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/24/19 04:13:47 AM (583067627)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 38694F4C-1706-42EB-BEE4-C30647C04878

Message: Your math guys are not that worldly. I ll call u later

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/24/19 09:56:28 AM (583088188)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 80BA418D-D8FA-4C95-AF99-A455AFD5C2D8

Message: Ok

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/19 04:25:52 AM (583586752)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0152C521-06F9-4B70-87E4-0A5F2B6CE778

Message: ?? U ok?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/30/19 04:27:03 AM (583586823)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 34975246-52F0-4BED-9DA1-4D227ED75480

Message: Yes. Sorry I will update you on developments. Will Ehud Be PM

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/19 04:28:53 AM (583586933)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 36171A28-D8BA-45D8-B40E-300F6682DBD5

Message: 331 441 70210. Doubtful. But 1. He is not to be underestimated. 2. Unlikely top job. But depends on coalition. 3. Driving me crazy

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/19 09:27:53 AM (583604873)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8858FAEF-7407-42E8-9B54-16B1C044A762

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/30/19 11:35:11 AM (583612511)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2B11E6E5-AE97-4B63-B229-9C2321147250

Message: Tried back

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/19 11:39:15 AM (583612755)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 55ABB821-38D7-41ED-807F-3EDAC529F483

Message: I just tried back

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/19 11:53:56 AM (583613636)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 968D4EA4-D7EA-4FA0-9569-960737DDFD91

Message: Try again

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 10:39:45 AM (584041185)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7D9E5CF8-5797-4B7D-AF38-9675678DAAAC

Message: All good?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 10:46:39 AM (584041599)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8A8FC2E2-375B-4C4E-AEA0-99A3D8E62484

Message: At cape w mother brothers kids and nephews nieces. Bit of an Ibsen play.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 10:46:57 AM (584041617)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C174D188-3910-4962-9DC5-FDAD5BA4EE22

Message: With perspective all good.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 10:47:02 AM (584041622)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B62E8C28-26EB-4B3A-8D33-F9EF4089E61B

Message: Better than checov

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 10:47:40 AM (584041660)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 09552BA8-0291-4AE6-8605-47934CB6650E

Message: Then I may misunderstand checov.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 10:47:46 AM (584041666)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 812B5A5E-49DA-49AA-81B7-5A24A93E49A5

Message: Or Ibsen

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 10:50:07 AM (584041807)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2B15A5DE-CE18-4CD2-B85D-4F4B682E5F8A

Message: E. J. Dillon thought "the effect on the reader of Chekhov's tales was repulsion at the gallery of human waste represented by his fickle, spineless, drifting people"

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 10:54:34 AM (584042074)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CA40E43B-C34D-412F-828D-D91149E01E1F

Message: "The Lady with the Dog"[91] (also translated from the Russian as "Lady with Lapdog"),[92] which depicts what at first seems a casual liaison between a cynical married man and a woman who meet while holidaying in Yalta. Neither expects anything lasting from the encounter. Unexpectedly though, they gradually fall deeply in love and end up risking scandal and the security of their family lives. The story masterfully captures their feelings for each other, the inner transformation undergone by the disillusioned male protagonist as a result of falling deeply in love, and their inability to resolve the matter by either letting go of their families or of each other.[93]

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 12:13:27 PM (584046807)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 57F5DB7E-F55D-4287-B550-D7DB85D4662E

Message: Jesus!!!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 12:14:24 PM (584046864)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FFC163A3-94A4-4FA7-A210-9B0586E17CFC

Message: I think you meant. Budhha

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 01:27:01 PM (584051221)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 98C92041-A5A0-4490-9351-D4AA8AC96500

Message: Ha

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-07-05\[redacted] on 2019-05-13 at 16.22.32.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 05/13/19 01:07:17 PM (579470837)

End Time: 07/05/19 10:39:09 AM (584041149)

Last Message ID: 31785

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/13/19 01:07:17 PM (579470837)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 25C47BC0-E21E-4131-B980-564057A8ED7E

Message: Trump is coming to Lutnick's house Thursday

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 05/13/19 01:10:23 PM (579471023)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 43C93A54-25AC-4884-9E2E-7514216ED7A0

Message: i won't be home otherwise i could have come out an waved.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 05/13/19 01:22:32 PM (579471752)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0984C9F7-49BF-4B2A-850C-5F78989402CD

Message: Ha! I love it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/04/19 05:43:56 AM (583937036)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FA3970C0-1127-48D4-B7C4-B2C4E2EC2CCA

Message: Happy 4th!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/04/19 05:44:01 AM (583937041)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E89C68E5-918D-4D85-AFC5-EF6DF8FEFC6C

Message: Hope you are great

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 10:39:09 AM (584041149)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5FB9EEC5-7270-4DD9-A66E-8DDAF06481FB

Message: Im in Sunday- u?

Source Entry: H\Macintosh HD\root\Users\jee\Library\Messages\Archive\2019-07-06\[redacted] on 2019-06-13 at 19.42.38.ichat

Service: iMessage

Start Time: 06/14/19 01:26:08 PM (582236768)

End Time: 07/06/19 04:37:44 PM (584149064)

Last Message ID: 31875

Chat Room:

Participants: jee, [redacted]

Presentity IDs: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com, [redacted]

Messages -

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/19 01:26:08 PM (582236768)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A7D94A79-1683-47BF-84C7-1BFA07258920

Message: https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/president-trumps-internal-polling-data-march-showed-joe/story?id=63718268

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/14/19 01:31:57 PM (582237117)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C8B0C6BC-3B13-4189-8A16-EAB36FBF2570

Message: 15 down in Wisconsin

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/14/19 01:36:30 PM (582237390)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 746E73D4-AC75-4138-8E3E-E50A3CB9674D

Message: wow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/14/19 11:39:21 PM (582273561)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 21B8A7B7-5E44-4F95-82B4-3109124BE6F3

Message: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-48645342

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 02:19:26 AM (582283166)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2CB94E3C-4AB6-4462-80C2-16FAEC0F7A90

Message: Darren awol

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 02:52:19 AM (582285139)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3A887095-1268-4571-A575-AAB62FDDD9F3

Message: No worry , with me as well. His mom back in hospital. I will speak to your lawyer directly if you like

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 02:52:32 AM (582285152)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 41A40CB1-D91F-459A-BC0B-F9798024EB86

Message: Chinese blink on extradition.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 02:53:33 AM (582285213)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B02C9AFF-8C6E-4D4B-A4A3-0A2DF3E1B905

Message: Can you give me a proposed schedule . Ranch island. Paris. Harvard.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 03:36:33 AM (582287793)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 928A2998-7B7D-4DF7-AE69-389150A63704

Message: Standby

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 03:38:58 AM (582287938)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 623AD06B-64B8-4715-8067-E6009FE58D30

Message: Miro. Here tomorrow. wow. Crazy goings on . - if you like send me the phone of your lawyer. I will call him give him the details

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 06:22:44 AM (582297764)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F0957F00-3F8B-4AC6-93EB-C6B26208138E

Message: Before shooting sked can I get subject matter experts in science , math, Wall Street --- I have overall smes need personal

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 06:57:28 AM (582299848)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4A861717-1331-4FA2-80C0-B4D58146E9AB

Message: Going to have dan talk with u this morning -- lawyers should keep with lawyers

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 07:08:56 AM (582300536)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B3850230-A5C8-4B9C-8100-B2379FBA1CDF

Message: Im back in 5 hrs

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 08:05:48 AM (582303948)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 61D18F29-6DBF-4BFF-BE5F-DACF895F06BF

Message: Cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 10:20:35 AM (582312035)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7C8E4D7F-018C-49EC-A9C2-219603BDD731

Message: Im told that as I am here . Leave lawyers to lawyers. Soo many people coming to see me. , I am told no privacy !!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 10:22:00 AM (582312120)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 849FABF3-49B5-4E1F-8F57-F2F145EA8E98

Message: In essence. Crazy father of the world Donald. No one knows how to behave, has no choice. Siblings family squabbles. GREAT OPPORTUNITY. . Saudi moving closer to china. ! ouch

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 10:31:18 AM (582312678)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5EFDC3A0-7860-4D19-9553-13E2DEE3C95E

Message: Siblings family squabbles among trump or wider ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 10:31:42 AM (582312702)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3D71DD57-E222-45B1-B4A4-08D40E2826B3

Message: Countries

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 10:31:57 AM (582312717)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 07C10F9F-5A3E-497A-A2FE-782C46A8BF82

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 10:31:59 AM (582312719)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A86F3FCF-BBC3-43E7-B750-1FD1843A0246

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 10:32:01 AM (582312721)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F64B4AEB-E47E-4006-AF3E-70466C6C1609

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 10:32:23 AM (582312743)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2FB3357F-60BD-4E67-8A75-32342F4D29FB

Message: Countries dependent on s strong daddy America all flipping out

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 10:45:36 AM (582313536)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 37B619BF-90BD-4753-A35D-2D62E6F8099F

Message: Not looking for 'protectorates'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 10:47:22 AM (582313642)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 25430DC2-269D-4277-96A1-2CBC1F639B24

Message: No. Not financial. Emotional . There is a difference.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 10:47:54 AM (582313674)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FBB547F6-FB9A-4B4A-BA98-12FFA672B1FA

Message: Incredible

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/15/19 10:47:58 AM (582313678)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 49EDFF64-ADEA-4FD0-A03A-DFCB525370AE

Message: Incredible

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 10:50:05 AM (582313805)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 042133B8-8B6D-4C28-809B-702CB81161CA

Message: Its the family issue of when do you put daddy in a home. ? all painful choices.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 10:51:51 AM (582313911)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F2B01A55-D244-4855-BA43-33BF7A463582

Message: https://www.msn.com/en-us/video/be-prepared/trump-warns-us-will-suffer-biggest-stock-market-crash-if-he-loses-in-2020/vp-AACVH6h

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/15/19 10:51:51 AM (582313911)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 054ED3EF-0DA8-4C75-9F85-4682AE7A4C70

Message: . A prediction or a threat???!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 05:55:39 AM (582382539)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D78E49C0-1F67-4119-A3FB-5ACAAC4C78F9

Message: Junior varsity 'project fear'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 05:56:22 AM (582382582)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 906A945B-C639-4A23-BEC4-52E13F416D87

Message: Im here with miro , feel free to call

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 05:56:38 AM (582382598)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CF2EF090-3295-4858-8B07-DC93EDC2438D

Message: Campaign in total disarray --- Bernie Marcus and the other hard core trump donors in panic because they are doing own polling

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 05:58:15 AM (582382695)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B32DC0F0-69A7-4ED6-8793-DF412D905C8D

Message: You in Paris ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 05:58:25 AM (582382705)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 10451654-EC12-4806-B40A-87394B6B3406

Message: Yup

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 08:07:22 AM (582390442)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 649BEBD6-C8DA-4793-B172-2E487450D934

Message: https://www.google.com/amp/s/www.indiewire.com/2019/06/russian-communist-party-ban-chernobyl-hbo-1202150036/amp/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 08:08:40 AM (582390520)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2B6DA14D-37B5-4599-BB52-4DD5E431DC33

Message: -- the scientist /math versus the the apparatus

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 08:10:54 AM (582390654)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 55D54726-4551-4CAD-A8A6-058EF8A19650

Message: No hbo in Paris need to wait a few days for apple

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 08:11:15 AM (582390675)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 36A760A5-F445-4221-AD3E-D9771C15915F

Message: It will blow u away

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/16/19 08:11:42 AM (582390702)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F96A0238-8B40-41CA-BDF8-E653894CA2AF

Message: I loved the Harriet Tubman bill signing

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 08:11:59 AM (582390719)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4B604871-A101-40AF-9B9C-88CC0D85C937

Message: Two fucking dollar bill

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/16/19 08:12:14 AM (582390734)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EC74DF82-B994-4B1F-A92C-B720E56EE76D

Message: #saveandrewjaxkson

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 02:33:44 AM (582456824)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A055F09D-7EB7-49C0-A8A4-DDC4CE36678E

Message: Nato would like to check choice of miro with dc. Should he contact Bolton or pompeo

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 04:13:46 AM (582462826)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F4507D0C-7144-4A1C-BA52-252980FDAA04

Message: Just out today in a science journal. Those who think scientists understand the issues of prebiotic chemistry are wholly misinformed. Nobody understands them. Maybe one day we will. But that day is far from today. It would be far more helpful (and hopeful) to expose students to the massive gaps in our understanding. They may find a firmer-and possibly a radically different-scientific theory. The basis upon which we as scientists are relying is so shaky that we must openly state the situation for what it is: it is a mystery.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 05:50:15 AM (582468615)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6CC01366-95CF-43B9-9DC7-79D1944E4F08

Message: Wow: which journal ??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 06:23:42 AM (582470622)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 43F4A178-E273-4172-9785-AD71F5578E51

Message: Inference

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 06:54:29 AM (582472469)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3F865CA0-8441-4861-BEC0-88080CDEE524

Message: Bolton or pompeo for miro ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:05:20 AM (582473120)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E001A67E-6637-44AE-AB9D-E2D0331873BE

Message: What's his official title ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 07:07:23 AM (582473243)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4F729DBE-9AFA-4B64-9A2B-5381C1015466

Message: Current . Slovakia foreign minister. Current chairman of OSCE . Former president United Nations

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 07:07:50 AM (582473270)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 13CCACCD-A8DA-456F-944D-D7FC1D05865D

Message: And most important. Friend

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:08:01 AM (582473281)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 87B35588-7570-4F4F-8E2E-8E92672FEA78

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:08:21 AM (582473301)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0659FE84-7C0C-422F-8EDB-0C6ACBBAA20F

Message: Pompeo and kiron skinner

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:08:30 AM (582473310)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB368213-5FBB-485B-B85F-2522C8903AF3

Message: Let me work it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 07:08:34 AM (582473314)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B230283D-E7B8-424E-B25F-341ABF4F641D

Message: ok

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 07:12:41 AM (582473561)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FC77B409-D411-4041-A975-1B7510985CFD

Message: https://www.aol.com/article/news/2019/06/17/israel-announces-golan-heights-settlement-to-be-named-after-trump/23751017/

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:19:42 AM (582473982)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3D88C37A-E596-4B00-8D83-A71E9DEAD18E

Message: Sick

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 07:26:23 AM (582474383)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E6216EFA-0D35-44BD-B7E1-4F6780210BC7

Message: melanie walker. Brain surgeon . Martin Novak. . joscha back . Seth Lloyd, . Lawrence Krauss, chomsky , mark tramo. Music . Not sure re summers. . should we use Michael Wolff. . ? John brockman. Edge.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:27:27 AM (582474447)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D9028DC3-8778-4B99-B296-D9AD2340D7E6

Message: I think very late in production we get wolf -- late late late

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:27:36 AM (582474456)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 82AC85A8-6A4D-4DE8-83A9-26C7357EC0ED

Message: Brockman genius

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:27:44 AM (582474464)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 75466C45-0403-4318-B38F-4F627A49A1D1

Message: How many more like him

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 07:27:52 AM (582474472)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EB34B52E-E0E1-4445-9350-EF6383813D1B

Message: Most dead

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 07:28:11 AM (582474491)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 76CC7C59-A5F9-4F1C-8E0E-F7129F2D12EC

Message: Minskys. Wife. gloria. Should be done asap

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:28:25 AM (582474505)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4B9D71FC-A3D1-4D61-8AEE-2109E5512536

Message: We can pull footage -- just get me names whether living or dead

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:28:32 AM (582474512)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AA43C55B-A5C6-4873-A06B-C2995ABCF794

Message: Plenty of footage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 07:28:41 AM (582474521)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 63E17F4E-3F07-4C6B-9560-B9A61913A1E9

Message: Maybe Linda stone. . i'll ask Watson.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:29:36 AM (582474576)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BB35D65C-2CE4-435B-9D90-C4D3B6558311

Message: We will pull best Watson footage

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 07:35:06 AM (582474906)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AB864FB3-0DEE-44C6-AC1A-965AD75533E7

Message: Ive asked him to come see you and I , it will be fun

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:39:58 AM (582475198)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACCBF364-80BB-4AC8-BBB5-F889B96A38CC

Message: Watson!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 07:40:22 AM (582475222)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 866B7D4B-97B6-449B-AAFB-AB22A23A4CB2

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 07:40:45 AM (582475245)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AF4B3046-8F10-4B77-B6C9-C5B5FF930764

Message: We will go to him

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/17/19 01:34:00 PM (582496440)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0994873C-4DC0-48BA-B854-6B886EA5B6D3

Message: Hes thrilled

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/17/19 01:34:43 PM (582496483)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FDF42491-E4D0-40FE-8BEA-93CE6F56824D

Message: Amazing

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 02:24:14 AM (582542654)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 03954E14-1A84-49D3-B42A-6FD2A6B68E59

Message: you will need to take the campaign if there is to be any hope at all

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 04:42:49 AM (582550969)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9192C48B-0F21-4479-A445-3B2D9A0DA318

Message: For certain

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 04:52:18 AM (582551538)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5460B87C-72A3-44F4-B58F-B4E149B3D34A

Message: I roared with laughter - GLORIA LOVES YOU!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 06:05:43 AM (582555943)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5F495C98-8A53-44E8-B8B2-9377CBAF56F4

Message: She's trying hard

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 06:26:32 AM (582557192)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DCA19976-A9A1-41AE-9019-CE23007A2148

Message: Who ??

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 06:26:55 AM (582557215)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6F8CC105-2969-42CE-B243-9FF3876B4CC3

Message: Your secret lover. Gloria

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 06:27:22 AM (582557242)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E4AE86EF-A9A8-48D3-AFE1-3FD627F84279

Message: Makes It harder for you to disclaim a nazi bent

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 06:27:49 AM (582557269)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 96E141A4-D5F9-48F2-BAB5-57DEC6D9876B

Message: You mean the nut case 'princess'???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 06:28:46 AM (582557326)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3FC94AF3-89FB-4FF7-B8D7-EF0D8AD945D4

Message: How dare you refer to your sweetheart by such a phrase. Shame on you , -
boy I've been having fun with this

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 06:29:18 AM (582557358)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9FFD05F4-78EA-48B4-8D5C-6D8F4FDEAD04

Message: If I were you. Id sign that dollar quickly. As the interest expense is getting
very very high

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 06:30:37 AM (582557437)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8651D2E0-261D-4DA4-A97A-E2F26BB23569

Message: All I need to say. Is " its so beautiful - he shares the same view of you " and Lucifer will look like mother Theresa

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 06:32:24 AM (582557544)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E1F8A93C-500E-4932-9015-2D80514BF628

Message: Do you think when she wakes up in the morning she looks a little like Donald

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 06:32:35 AM (582557555)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AD9D7B29-3704-4F1C-96E1-686EE325A138

Message: Sam jowls

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 06:32:39 AM (582557559)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 77357BC4-F95D-49F9-B407-1E942B20C7F1

Message: Same

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 06:33:39 AM (582557619)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4A43B276-0127-483F-B130-89DACDB8C623

Message: Scary

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 06:33:47 AM (582557627)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3DD74EF6-828B-4312-B41B-48D3077232A2

Message: Too much coke

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 06:37:46 AM (582557866)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 49509264-C9A3-4D13-9C52-2F04A12AAF1F

Message: Too much ugly

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 06:37:57 AM (582557877)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0A6E7F49-9D27-4778-B85A-6545D3BC35D8

Message: Miro ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 06:38:15 AM (582557895)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B8DC544-91FD-42DF-8B17-1EC581D4EDE8

Message: Im meeting council of Europe head thurs. to push

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 11:18:08 AM (582574688)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 931ED4B0-B786-4EC1-9B4A-487D80436B16

Message: Working miro

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 12:22:42 PM (582578562)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AD153C72-E0D9-41F0-A109-831A1AFB2CCD

Message: Shanahan blown up by CCP

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 12:30:15 PM (582579015)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8E652216-1A96-4B00-91E6-E6476006F336

Message: Did you watch Chernobyl yet???

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 12:31:11 PM (582579071)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0497AC90-D8FD-41E7-A03C-F566FEAB8EC6

Message: Have you read 'in the closet of the Vatican ' yet

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 12:32:48 PM (582579168)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C9179FCB-4E14-4452-87E3-E1D7541FED69

Message: Yes no yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 12:33:21 PM (582579201)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B9972373-A1CF-45BF-BE85-B5609818841E

Message: June 26 for chernobyl

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 12:39:54 PM (582579594)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 43DF61AC-328E-4F53-8014-1CC5C7E5A68B

Message: Dude-- I thought u were global player-- sean will get to u

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 12:39:57 PM (582579597)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 342FB8B9-9CC9-4BF5-89EB-C0F95EA3FF9D

Message: Today

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 12:40:50 PM (582579650)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1BF2CABD-F8DC-4872-B55F-3ADD223B992F

Message: You are now exec producer of 'ITCOTV'

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 12:41:20 PM (582579680)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 342BA0F2-9DA3-4D01-A85B-9FECC413992F

Message: Porn

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 12:42:54 PM (582579774)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F5EE791D-C5FA-43A0-80B6-4CBDBA3F0736

Message: Will take down Francis

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 12:43:28 PM (582579808)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ECC7083A-DE98-4BB5-9EF2-86F520E11153

Message: The Clintons, Xi, Francis , EU---come on brother

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 02:44:35 PM (582587075)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7CB1C119-8209-47CF-8532-41E88E21AFB7

Message: itcov?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/18/19 03:23:24 PM (582589404)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CB03A844-2774-44E4-A33A-91F68BC98796

Message: In the closet of the Vatican

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/18/19 10:54:39 PM (582616479)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 920BBBCE-A941-4731-AC52-63D8D0D4E2C0

Message: Chomsky asking when film

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/19/19 01:54:52 AM (582627292)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FEF10611-BF71-46FC-A9BB-FBB92E0137C4

Message:

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/19/19 01:54:53 AM (582627293)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2C9188E7-6260-4BF3-A0BF-F5179A4B088F

Message: https://thehill.com/opinion/white-house/448999-want-the-truth-put-your-money-on-bill-barr-not-jerry-nadler

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/19/19 07:59:18 AM (582649158)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C71D3B37-DBAE-4B50-B981-F8EB08184926

Message: https://oilprice.com/Geopolitics/Middle-East/Declassified-The-Sino-Russian-Masterplan-To-End-US-Dominance-In-The-Middle-Ea.html?fbclid=IwAR3wfcBIY4Wou92aKzBGIa5uAchk23qhBfMAIhipOgt99QnQpP5n7TK8TPk

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/19/19 08:04:34 AM (582649474)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1F7CDC23-48A7-4E85-A211-B020A502FA8A

Message: He is NOT well informed

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/19/19 08:55:33 AM (582652533)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A77CD188-B45D-4DBA-98A9-481AD8C99C55

Message: Agree

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/19/19 10:52:31 AM (582659551)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1160E7F5-2F94-488C-AEB4-5E9D9F121B92

Message: Thursday / Friday in Tucson

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/19/19 10:52:35 AM (582659555)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5923ABA5-76E2-4C80-9288-C8F67AEC4A82

Message: Next week

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/19/19 11:00:46 AM (582660046)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2BDB4676-34D3-4172-A95A-D96C11BB7755

Message: I m not back until mid July

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/19/19 11:00:54 AM (582660054)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7B98C851-C325-4EAC-B3ED-F80243F52717

Message: Are you coming to Europe?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/19/19 11:02:04 AM (582660124)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 70BA59BE-2CD3-4960-B493-3C050291E48D

Message: I just want him @ first

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/19/19 11:02:10 AM (582660130)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E0B0F498-19E2-4DD5-835A-E88CFB4F9F3F

Message: You 2 later

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/19/19 11:02:22 AM (582660142)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6D401CFA-2608-4B18-9F73-A936B8911DC6

Message: Coming around 1 July

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/19/19 11:02:44 AM (582660164)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 560DDFE0-9C1C-4380-A438-3DB89D206A89

Message: You can do anytime you like you have his email. . I m sure It can be arranged

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/19/19 11:04:22 AM (582660262)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C0A8F49C-992C-4F59-80D0-871252B447D3

Message: Already on it

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/19/19 04:49:05 PM (582680945)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 74433087-4939-4D1E-9C0A-D2E5B2F02820

Message: Darren clearly is not on the same page here-- and I don't think this is going to happen- he says today 'send me an invoice'-- like I said I don't think this is going to happen

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/19/19 06:49:19 PM (582688159)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 34E8A56C-8E25-4A08-BFC5-EE15EAFB9E53

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/20/19 06:27:42 AM (582730062)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8CF80F79-F630-4BA8-93DB-F4D581BE1993

Message: Dan will get to you

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/20/19 06:29:54 AM (582730194)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C1D508F3-73FA-46FA-BA9E-2CC289FFC04D

Message: Perfect no worry grandma

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/20/19 06:31:21 AM (582730281)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EBB46524-6A99-42A2-A7D9-2ACBDFD40E06

Message: ok

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/20/19 02:56:41 PM (582760601)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 598EEE60-2328-403F-8262-1B05E8CF89CA

Message: https://nypost.com/2019/05/16/joe-biden-and-son-hunter-cleared-of-wrongdoing-by-ukraine-prosecutor/

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/20/19 02:56:41 PM (582760601)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C55718B9-11B3-42B6-9B97-7A22F5130BED

Message: . Dig deeper

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/21/19 09:58:47 AM (582829127)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0A7E6693-412C-42FF-9377-881CF9E3E981

Message: Is this New York magazine story real

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/21/19 10:01:11 AM (582829271)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B843FDD5-5FAC-4E0D-BC0E-0FA0DA65EB88

Message: Yes BUT!!

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/21/19 10:01:30 AM (582829290)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EE41218A-043B-4D25-B928-341C0262753F

Message: Not for texts

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/21/19 10:03:08 AM (582829388)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9FD756CD-44A1-4920-BD65-D7AF08EEDED8

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/21/19 10:04:28 AM (582829468)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CEAF078D-75D7-4881-8C04-6F6436C473A7

Message: Do your homework. Put someone on it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/21/19 10:04:35 AM (582829475)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8BB43C78-CE9F-4377-87ED-8496616BFF8C

Message: Guaranteed

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/22/19 01:14:34 AM (582884074)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8B0907E1-BB75-4AEF-9982-A536067AD56B

Message: https://international.la-croix.com/news/pope-francis-or-steve-bannon-catholics-must-choose/10383#

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/22/19 03:23:23 AM (582891803)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1C463A75-7C43-4098-A2B1-99F361455493

Message: Easy choice

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/22/19 03:48:03 PM (582936483)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2EE39294-A131-45A0-A4BE-F11E81D936D3

Message: Spoke to dan

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/22/19 03:51:31 PM (582936691)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F869FEF1-DFC6-4A5E-A782-B363B162F05D

Message: Miro

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/22/19 05:07:29 PM (582941249)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 12B770FC-BEA2-4F82-9BCF-BE11056BBDEE

Message: Cool

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/23/19 03:48:06 AM (582979686)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 59E2E3A2-C98C-4686-A7A6-EB1DC7825C96

Message: Re ukraine. , Rudy is on the right track .

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/23/19 07:22:05 AM (582992525)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D384F4BA-ADFF-41E3-8B16-6BFA91D48DE9

Message: Any chance you coming to Europe

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/23/19 07:37:32 AM (582993452)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 090C9E0B-EDD7-4BAE-AAB5-14CECA2231DF

Message: If we are doing prep I'm there right after Chomsky

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/23/19 06:30:51 PM (583032651)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D70BE947-83C3-487C-A87E-6E758F33F9F4

Message: https://www.theguardian.com/technology/2019/jun/23/facebook-libra-cryptocurrency-poses-risks-to-global-banking

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/23/19 06:50:25 PM (583033825)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 932F5803-6DB4-4049-9B75-2D1394664A6C

Message: What are your thoughts

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/23/19 10:59:05 PM (583048745)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ED650823-E470-4D2D-8713-44C04346A00C

Message: Super dangerous

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/24/19 03:00:57 AM (583063257)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BD251E28-9E73-4470-9EC5-BA7E647C423E

Message: https://graphics.axios.com/2019-06-23-backgrounders/index.html#_ga=2.141485178.956675234.1561330008-1662470423.1561330007

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/24/19 03:02:43 AM (583063363)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9A4CB074-F8A2-42F0-B4AC-1A787B06DEC1

Message: Libra is not a currency !! It is money . . not the same. Cannot be used to pay taxes. Violates BARTER principles.. could take down financial system in wrong hands. . that's the reason I didn't pursue.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/24/19 03:13:26 AM (583064006)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 54C461EF-9168-4481-AF30-024508058F6B

Message: My geopolitical s. Site chinas inroads. In djubuti as highly dangerous. Base for African operations. 10k military. And can close off Suez

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/25/19 01:49:30 AM (583145370)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 24F5980A-DCDA-4085-85A3-34751F70ED78

Message: Love the idea of names on the wall . LOL

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/25/19 06:12:17 AM (583161137)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 14AC02E6-8AFA-4F32-8925-66CC49015DC7

Message: Big seller

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/25/19 07:38:43 AM (583166323)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C685F0D3-AA4D-4DF5-9CD1-9264FCB17E94

Message: Jeffrey Epstein plea deal must stand, prosecutors tell sex abuse victims

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/25/19 07:52:50 AM (583167170)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 97980581-522B-42CE-A6C8-7659C0D73D5F

Message: Dude!!!!!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/25/19 07:52:57 AM (583167177)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5299006F-ADA7-4938-9D1F-61CB80AAE57E

Message: Is this real

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/25/19 07:57:53 AM (583167473)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 35FC8665-B493-4E97-BAD0-F07E72F10EF3

Message: Tell me this is real

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/25/19 08:06:31 AM (583167991)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8627C4E2-A1FE-4A8E-9E78-B036230689D0

Message: yup

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/25/19 08:55:47 AM (583170947)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CF63C0CC-D271-4342-8DD3-5A213C080725

Message: Is that out anywhere yet

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/25/19 09:06:09 AM (583171569)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A2B76F0D-5502-4737-A93E-3BC03ED2EC65

Message: Miami herald. But more and better july 9

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/25/19 09:12:18 AM (583171938)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D8939CA8-0AC6-4C7E-AD22-F879D8DD9D9B

Message: Epic epic epic

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/26/19 07:34:51 AM (583252491)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3EB63BA2-03A3-4962-81E2-928266E8F4E5

Message: Are we doing Tucson ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/26/19 07:35:15 AM (583252515)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6443229B-15B6-4950-B364-1040E657A68E

Message: We?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/26/19 08:01:00 AM (583254060)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E0B50DAA-844E-4F2A-A720-73871354053E

Message: My team

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/26/19 08:01:09 AM (583254069)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BB0D60ED-1704-4F7C-BA1E-7ACD8B725838

Message: Don't need you for this

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/26/19 09:43:46 AM (583260226)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4C2AD4B6-16B1-464D-9245-3524B02FA750

Message: https://www.ynetnews.com/articles/0,7340,L-5537033,00.html

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/26/19 09:43:46 AM (583260226)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 74437FF6-F2C2-48B2-9DC8-AF737D7B0B96

Message: . I've been busy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/26/19 09:55:32 AM (583260932)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 49EF4C95-E800-4E08-974F-ECCA8142CCAF

Message: Wow!!!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/26/19 09:55:36 AM (583260936)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 76BDB4B9-F9B8-4111-BAA7-E32FE2F6082C

Message: Wow!!!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/26/19 09:55:39 AM (583260939)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 89B49DAE-2DD0-43E3-9A2C-11DDF19D5A0D

Message: Wow!!!

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/26/19 01:34:43 PM (583274083)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 35CD8353-88F3-42C1-BC7A-CF1AEE5E61C3

Message: Hate to be a pain on this but I've got to deploy my guys if we are going get this done in Tucson

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/26/19 01:44:27 PM (583274667)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: EF837A8C-814D-452E-924A-68A3D4F773DF

Message: Have you been in contact with him

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/26/19 01:52:24 PM (583275144)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C875AFC0-F316-4000-BEEC-DA02F2541E49

Message: Think dan has

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 09:29:21 AM (583432161)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9B8CEB88-24DA-427A-9F5F-D47773A506C5

Message: We are set for Noam on Saturday -- have you told him what we are prepping for

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/28/19 09:48:34 AM (583433314)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4D6C1F92-2CDD-40DA-8645-2A5E296CDCF8

Message: nope

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 09:54:55 AM (583433695)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FF377F24-7843-4D2B-A90B-A38488F6F6B9

Message: He would be onboard correct ???

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 09:55:04 AM (583433704)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A226C61A-3372-44B1-A1E9-AC64D86E5D2B

Message: Or should I ask?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 09:55:08 AM (583433708)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0FE55C81-994F-4380-B687-1CFC08F14DE1

Message: Easy for me

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/28/19 09:55:18 AM (583433718)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D2EC900B-CDE2-47CC-B1C4-6C46FC00D9D4

Message: Ask. And yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/28/19 09:55:25 AM (583433725)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 599372A0-DE85-4B5A-A86E-1E6DDC64DBAB

Message: I could of course

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/28/19 09:55:41 AM (583433741)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2A8FCBD5-E4AD-491F-A874-DC05C1517466

Message: Im dealing with Ehud in Israel. Making me crazy

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 09:56:17 AM (583433777)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D49EE85D-A9F2-425D-A2E9-C625B687E267

Message: Ehud massive-- can we announce I'm his strategic advisor?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/28/19 09:56:48 AM (583433808)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D30A2A78-28FD-4DBF-9E99-A53645FD630E

Message: This will be a long campaign. Elections in sept (17). Lots to talk about

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 09:57:06 AM (583433826)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 90CEAE58-2A31-4A1C-9378-BABD286AA92B

Message: This is brilliant move

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/28/19 09:57:27 AM (583433847)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CA800EC6-F29F-4AEB-BA5D-BB8ADEE4A833

Message: thx. . only the first step.

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/28/19 09:58:16 AM (583433896)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A313F83E-739A-40A3-BCFF-64EB011BEFF9

Message: Now you can understand why trump wakes up in the middle of the night sweating when he hears you and I are friends

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 10:15:24 AM (583434924)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 09BFFF44-44F1-469C-9B96-51A35F960951

Message: Dangerous

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 10:44:33 AM (583436673)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0998EA6E-41CF-4C93-8A96-EA7D40032F4B

Message: Did u ever send dan your footage on Noam ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/28/19 11:58:34 AM (583441114)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 26F65865-A36F-46BE-B373-73BC47D9DF92

Message: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/27/us/politics/tillerson-mattis-kushner-bannon-foreign-policy.html

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 12:04:08 PM (583441448)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E1E6C300-2C39-48A7-8256-1257D91C96F8

Message: check the date of the dinner

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/28/19 02:04:41 PM (583448681)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8574FD79-E5E9-4FE0-928E-E4BE2A301A8C

Message: ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 02:05:14 PM (583448714)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 152FBCE3-7D2A-4544-8B68-69CF7D224C68

Message: 20 May -- first day of Riyadh summit

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/28/19 02:11:02 PM (583449062)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 191A313C-8D43-464D-BE30-87E801CAE0CD

Message: YIKES

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 02:12:33 PM (583449153)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: FFD9881D-3A84-499C-8557-9706A5745E0E

Message: Where are u next week-- we r ramping up on prep

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/28/19 02:20:27 PM (583449627)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3E3369FC-7E40-46C0-91D9-1F2E3FE8A40B

Message: Probably Paris. Then back to states. 10 -19. Island. Then back to Europe till aug

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 02:26:45 PM (583450005)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1DBC8EE4-1ADB-47CF-B458-A0BDEC34D2DE

Message: K

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 02:26:49 PM (583450009)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 29C291F8-44D6-4A0D-A80C-B1AB12A87DD9

Message: On it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/28/19 02:28:35 PM (583450115)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A0DF8C3D-B27D-4CEA-BAD6-4E648CA89D99

Message: Then aug ranch

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 02:45:37 PM (583451137)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 243D33E2-B650-4844-897E-59D3BE635CC4

Message: Excellent

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/28/19 04:19:44 PM (583456784)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 82EC7667-8E3A-4365-8600-C63B576DDD04

Message: 5 July to 10 July Paris ???

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/29/19 11:09:52 AM (583524592)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B18D6F6B-F64E-47A8-AAED-52D1C881AF5D

Message: Did u get Chernobyl yet???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/29/19 11:11:36 AM (583524696)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DF45EA33-6B2C-4E73-82B1-8F666F7C8F71

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/29/19 11:14:18 AM (583524858)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A179D898-C5BA-4E54-8073-EC1E8B6F7551

Message: Masterpiece no???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/29/19 11:37:05 AM (583526225)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 91FAFCEE-C4A7-4425-AECE-7EFB836712B6

Message: will watch next week.

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/29/19 11:50:14 AM (583527014)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 675B2DD4-B308-4203-A5FB-CC1A32AA68B5

Message: If I get there we can watch together --- style is something special

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/29/19 01:33:26 PM (583533206)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 08A066B7-5D5A-4562-8E0C-9A945F25859D

Message: Island week of 8 , Paris again 16 -30 ranch August

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/29/19 02:00:46 PM (583534846)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 564C5FC2-D438-47AA-8EA9-BEF6EB67390B

Message: 8 July Island ; 16 July Paris; 30 July into August New Mexico

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/29/19 07:52:46 PM (583555966)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: E2B27061-7952-4FE8-BEA8-FB03ED6336CD

Message: Noam in no shape to film---clearly in some sort of pain and has grown a beard--- @ 90 we need to get him scheduled soon as practicable

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/29/19 07:53:06 PM (583555986)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D48FEE0A-3A52-4D00-BF77-46A423EB4419

Message: He spent 3 hours crushing me

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/29/19 10:59:10 PM (583567150)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9571141E-642D-4926-8756-88C011C1AE8F

Message: Shame . For both of you

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/19 04:17:35 AM (583586255)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B92A1D87-5BCA-4894-8853-EDBED0DB3564

Message: I will land ny sund. Fly to island tues afternoon. Then back to Paris following tush's

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/19 04:17:37 AM (583586257)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7FCC19C0-D29D-4E60-84B2-4A5BD5BBD3AF

Message: tues

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/30/19 04:47:24 AM (583588044)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5523A867-FF10-4D99-8D9A-30DEEC497B99

Message: K got it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/19 07:29:04 AM (583597744)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7FF9D435-C61E-4136-AECB-8AB4C122529C

Message: Im free to speak later. If you like

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/30/19 08:12:40 AM (583600360)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 00E5F455-BBE5-4C52-9487-984197CD6AAB

Message: Yes : finishing broadcast

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 06/30/19 07:53:04 PM (583642384)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ABFDEF0F-9873-43CE-94CF-C9AF4D56FBE7

Message: Miro

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 06/30/19 08:17:20 PM (583643840)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 459081D7-79DE-411D-A785-C87569752809

Message: Yes : reached out to him

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/19 06:04:35 AM (583679075)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D104B446-46F3-45D9-8573-8CD5E9E162F1

Message: You following Hong Kong

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/19 06:06:30 AM (583679190)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 26F1E832-C6DE-4368-97A4-62C9CD59624C

Message: Yes, all china controlled

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/19 06:07:20 AM (583679240)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 09F139FC-31BF-4F78-8AE6-BCAC664930AA

Message: The protests?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/19 06:09:39 AM (583679379)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C4123F95-1FAF-4AF1-A839-510E41E6A05D

Message: yup

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/19 06:10:01 AM (583679401)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CC0B916E-A7DA-4992-A17A-CA3E8841978B

Message: no surprise

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/19 06:10:05 AM (583679405)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8AFF92BD-5AD2-43B3-97B6-24B87CE0F686

Message: Ah... r u watching this live ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/19 06:10:08 AM (583679408)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B55C0079-192D-4E70-849A-97A20CD652D0

Message: Good. Head fake

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/19 06:10:15 AM (583679415)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 609120BF-CDCC-4063-A9EB-338D0088ADF6

Message: yujp

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/19 06:10:30 AM (583679430)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1BACD3A3-2CE2-4BD2-91B0-212E85E42EB2

Message: Do U get your news @ infowars

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/19 06:11:17 AM (583679477)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4B0A533B-4172-49F7-BA47-2C04B55D274E

Message: Art of war

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/19 06:11:48 AM (583679508)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3776144F-FD6F-4D65-AE8D-3C81DAAA8AFA

Message: You are falling for the oldest trick

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/19 06:11:56 AM (583679516)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CE49E001-7A4D-41B5-AB79-25D773BF09FC

Message: Too much desert sun

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/19 06:34:22 AM (583680862)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5D5857C1-4279-4920-8510-5663CFD2459D

Message: I see that unsupervised for a couple of weeks u have started to believe all the nonsense from the apparatus

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/19 06:35:09 AM (583680909)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: CF2418DA-937A-4DCA-8F7F-DAB606FD3DAC

Message: I m drinking soy sauce for breakfast

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/19 06:40:45 AM (583681245)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 19FB21B8-93B1-4437-A864-1593AD61C776

Message: Then get off the high sodium-- they just took Legco

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/19 06:43:27 AM (583681407)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2C0440A4-05DA-44B6-90DE-EAACE7B59A04

Message: He has to send in the PLA riot police-- TS2 coming

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/19 06:45:06 AM (583681506)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 59584474-48DF-4FA1-929C-C266FF08E321

Message: Watching. Big time wrestling. . next up is haystacks calhoun

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/19 06:45:50 AM (583681550)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F500E65A-3660-478D-8950-F425B9EAFB2E

Message: I have so much to teach grasshopper about china

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/19 06:47:03 AM (583681623)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: AD0D9DD2-C6F2-4189-A68B-FB0543FD0376

Message: If you mean the china your mother keep in the cupboard ill listen

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/19 06:47:34 AM (583681654)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C6B9A864-88CC-4DAA-AC8D-94B2BB1AA76A

Message: I mean the china that is overthrowing the CCP

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/19 07:25:09 AM (583683909)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 53E8D34F-0D11-46CC-A795-E8D524F288AB

Message: Talked with miro : I'm on point

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/19 11:26:58 AM (583698418)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8EA25641-3F6E-404C-8199-FC88334B3006

Message: Tear gas

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/01/19 02:24:02 PM (583709042)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9CD52D20-ED49-4A92-A7E4-F49AEA764379

Message: Talk tomorrow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/01/19 02:26:22 PM (583709182)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: D1EB5DB9-EC5D-4B9F-BEAD-852FC5138381

Message: K

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/03/19 05:47:30 AM (583850850)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 8586631D-FDF5-415D-BB9E-583EA22A4D14

Message: Today is yesterday's tomorrow

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/03/19 06:42:02 AM (583854122)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 96DAA298-4C25-44D3-BB9F-D3A2A68426FE

Message: What is the sound of one hand clapping

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/03/19 07:14:54 AM (583856094)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 174D28C7-25B2-4624-8131-7EB21A6301FE

Message: Sunday New York?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/03/19 07:16:30 AM (583856190)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BEAB07C1-7C37-42E3-8FD6-390629F32D25

Message: R u back then???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/03/19 07:26:12 AM (583856772)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4D1F947F-9255-4D5E-9577-2B943274B884

Message: Scheduling now

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/03/19 07:26:42 AM (583856802)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A845CA2E-D50D-4F24-8A41-3E0EC1A0002F

Message: Keep me in the loop

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/03/19 08:23:45 AM (583860225)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C0E5C561-87A7-414B-AD9C-0B462111B725

Message: I arrive Saturday 9 pm ny all day Sunday

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/03/19 08:28:52 AM (583860532)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: F5CE426F-5ED5-4944-A540-09E81CB31A23

Message: How early can we meet

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/03/19 08:32:48 AM (583860768)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B60C13C1-E7CC-4DF7-BACF-FA8C1218E60A

Message: 6 30

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/03/19 08:33:02 AM (583860782)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B49000AB-A22E-4717-B3B8-641413927CED

Message: Done

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/03/19 12:39:02 PM (583875542)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 7BE34E9E-AEC7-48AC-AC9C-EF5B0026C250

Message: https://www.thedailybeast.com/jeffrey-epstein-court-orders-release-of-sealed-docs-about-alleged-sex-ring?ref=home2

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/03/19 08:29:21 PM (583903761)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 481A56D9-629F-4D69-A9B8-99DA31AA56D4

Message: My guy is in israel-- can we connect him to erhud ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/03/19 11:32:42 PM (583914762)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 852516F4-B5DB-4B57-9076-75877FCA3D42

Message: Name

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/03/19 11:33:12 PM (583914792)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3BE9E534-8595-4FD4-A6F1-4237D00B607B

Message: Aaron Klein

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/03/19 11:34:48 PM (583914888)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 803ADAE3-4CEA-4C26-959A-6873244F2438

Message: On it

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 05:21:13 AM (584022073)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 823788B9-6110-4090-BFD4-718860858E28

Message: kiron skinner ? Miro ?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 05:21:42 AM (584022102)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BF71C860-5D43-45A0-9FA2-DAA712DE35E0

Message: For meeting?

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 05:21:54 AM (584022114)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1998F7A8-F18F-4E9B-93B8-D6DE41371BC6

Message: I'm working Pompeo

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 05:22:00 AM (584022120)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 01460BFD-A277-481F-9262-22B2E94F96CB

Message: For support

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 05:22:13 AM (584022133)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6D5B9ECA-7DFE-4E9A-9168-58AD263FCC02

Message: Did you reach mike or anyone on his dog nato aspiration

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 05:23:29 AM (584022209)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 558BE79B-690F-47F0-80FD-C9E5495A48F1

Message: Dsg-

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 05:24:33 AM (584022273)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 9DFBF33C-1ECC-427F-9FB4-4482C40A4077

Message: Time sensitive

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 05:27:14 AM (584022434)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 17683659-B4C3-4CEF-A6DC-00D6B9B8406D

Message: Yes yes yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 05:29:15 AM (584022555)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 257EB00A-2942-479C-A0CE-08524FC8C3D5

Message: Im driving out to cold spring Monday morning to have lunch with Watson

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 05:32:18 AM (584022738)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A0E8AB7B-3FAA-4C03-AF62-7037D05A6857

Message: If you are still around , of course come with me

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 05:36:56 AM (584023016)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A423A343-4258-4A09-B661-75D220C21950

Message: Problem is their country is nothing burger-- poland and Baltic important

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 05:37:12 AM (584023032)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5529E1BF-64B2-470D-BCB2-340EE20EDA51

Message: The Watson !

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 05:37:44 AM (584023064)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 2295C2DC-463E-4E4B-8BFB-2F9326BE4022

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 05:45:50 AM (584023550)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0B773B23-A268-47F6-B885-48DB17D00440

Message: Can I join u?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 05:46:33 AM (584023593)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3B8578A0-B294-4111-AA0F-97A7BDBE42DC

Message: Yes

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 11:54:15 AM (584045655)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B1DC5D36-945D-476F-8A66-15A954F4657E

Message: https://thehill.com/homenews/news/451777-far-right-anti-muslim-uk-activist-tommy-robinson-convicted-in-contempt-case

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 11:57:31 AM (584045851)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: B0BF5B15-8ABF-48F4-B92A-2C2070A9ED2E

Message: 'backbone of England '

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/05/19 12:00:42 PM (584046042)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: ACBC7AD0-982A-4EB6-AEFE-5B308B974243

Message: Thats why the pound so low

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 12:01:00 PM (584046060)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 1FA33CD0-4676-4709-9D5D-B78ED0F23051

Message: Cheap @ any price

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/05/19 06:37:51 PM (584069871)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6549E80C-2D05-4647-A5A9-45F11B45CA84

Message: Can we film Sunday morning : Sunday afternoon ???

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/06/19 12:14:23 AM (584090063)

Flags: 1150981

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 5F712EF5-1CDF-4049-9419-C67712CEFD51

Message: Goofball. Had you told me earlier I would have adjusted my schedule. . Im only in town Sunday

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/06/19 03:36:08 AM (584102168)

Flags: 1126401

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 848B4BF0-82C1-4913-A32A-D41D718D7E27

Message: U still going to see Watson on Monday ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/06/19 03:54:59 AM (584103299)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 0B980FD2-1B4B-415D-9164-470457252D08

Message: Yes, and you are coming

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/06/19 03:58:06 AM (584103486)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 6242013E-DBA3-4F4E-9992-FD056C194C33

Message: We are scheduled to go to his house in cold spring harbor. I will then go to airport and island . For rest of week

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/06/19 03:58:40 AM (584103520)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: C33ECA0A-1E71-4D4D-9D79-701092E46824

Message: Cool

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/06/19 03:59:04 AM (584103544)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: A2F4FC6E-2AF2-4A60-BD48-53E15A1FED30

Message: If we can arrange it can we film on the island ?

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/06/19 03:59:09 AM (584103549)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 4EA76388-55FA-4EA0-89E7-580F7776CD1B

Message: Yes

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/06/19 03:59:23 AM (584103563)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 3DADD415-E1E6-47B4-BA78-DAB1B76E011F

Message: Perfect

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/06/19 04:35:17 PM (584148917)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: BE373011-D1DD-462D-A88D-C35569D1A29C

Message: Can we do late morning say 11. Am

Sender: e:jeeitunes@gmail.com

Time: 07/06/19 04:37:20 PM (584149040)

Flags: 1085445

Is Read: No

Is Invitation: No

GUID: 45B58F9E-EAA2-416B-80FF-4764C94B9FBC

Message: All canceled

Sender: [redacted]

Time: 07/06/19 04:37:44 PM (584149064)

Flags: 1060865

Is Read: Yes

Is Invitation: No

GUID: DA66A681-A36A-46E8-AF72-0B091B2CE1F2

Message: You r not coming in?

Night Flight

They say that you can read a person's feelings on his face. But if so, either I'm a very good actor – the opposite of what anyone who has worked closely with me would tell you – or the journalists clustered in front of me weren't very good face-readers. They said that I looked defeated. Distressed. *Depressed.*

Yet as I delivered my brief final statement outside an olive-green cabin at Camp David, the American presidential retreat in the forested Catoctin hills north of Washington, I felt none of those things.

Yes, I was disappointed. I realised that what had happened over the last 14 days, or more crucially what had *not* happened, was bound to have serious consequences, both for me personally, as Prime Minister of Israel, and for my country.

But I had been a politician, at that point, for all of five years. By far most of my life, I had spent in uniform. As a teenager, small and slight and not even shaving yet, I was one of the founding core of a unit called *Sayeret Matkal*, Israel's equivalent of America's Delta Force, or Britain's SAS. It may be that the way I thought and acted, the way I dealt with danger or with crises, came from someplace inside me. Even as a young kid, I was always quiet, serious, contemplative. But my 13 years as a part of Israel's main special-forces unit, especially once I became its commander, etched those qualities more deeply. And they added new ones: a sense that you could never plan a mission too carefully or prepare too assiduously; an understanding that what you thought, and certainly what you said, mattered a lot less than what you *did*. And above all the realisation that, when one of our nighttime commando operations was over, whether it had succeeded or failed, you had to take a step back. Evaluate things accurately, coolly, without illusions. Then, in the light of how the situation had changed, you had to decide how best to move forward.

That approach, to the occasional frustration of the politicians and diplomats working alongside me during this critical stage of Israel's history, had guided me from the moment I became Prime Minister. In my very first discussions with President Clinton a year earlier – a long weekend, beginning at the White House and moving on to Camp David – I had mapped out at great length, in great detail, every one of the steps I knew we would have to take to confront the central issue facing Israel: the need for peace.

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In choosing to return, now, to Camp David for two weeks of summit talks, I knew the risks. Of all the moments of truth in my life – and in the life of my country – few, if any, would carry higher stakes. Success would mean not just one more stutter-step away from our century-long conflict with the Palestinians. It would signal a real, final peace: in treaty-speak, *end of conflict*. Whatever the complexities of putting an agreement into practice, given all the suffering and bloodshed endured by both sides, we would have crossed a point of no return.

There would be two states, for two peoples.

And if we failed? I knew, if only from months of increasingly stark intelligence reports, that an explosion of Palestinian violence – not just with stones or bottles this time, but with guns and explosives – would be only a matter of time.

I knew something else as well. This would be a moment of truth not just for me. Or for Bill Clinton, a man who understood our conflict more deeply, and was more determined to help us end it, than any other president before him. It was a moment of truth for the leader of the Palestinians, Yasir Arafat.

The Oslo Accords of 1993, groundbreaking though they were, had created a peace *process*, not peace. Over the past few years, that process had been lurching from crisis to crisis. Political support for negotiations was fraying. And yet the core issues of our conflict had not been resolved. In fact, they had hardly been talked about. The reason for this was no secret. For both sides, these questions lay at the heart of everything we'd been saying for years, to the world and to ourselves, about the roots of the conflict and the minimum terms we could accept in order to end it. At issue were rival claims on security, final borders, Israeli settlements, Palestinian refugees, and the future of ancient city of Jerusalem. None of these could be resolved without painful, and politically perilous, compromises.

Entering the summit, despite the pressures ahead, I was confident that I, with my team of aides and negotiators, would do our part to make such a final peace agreement possible. Nor did I doubt that President Clinton, whom I had come to view not just as a diplomatic partner but a friend, would rise to the occasion.

But as for Arafat? There was simply no way of knowing.

That was why I had pressed President Clinton so hard to convene the summit. That was why, despite the misgivings of some of his closest advisers, he had taken the plunge. We both knew that the so-called "final-status issues" –

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the substance of any real peace – could not simply be put off forever. Untangling them was getting harder, not easier. And we realised that only in an environment like Camp David – a "pressure cooker" was how I described it to Clinton, and to US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright – would we ever discover whether a peace deal could in fact be done.

Now, we knew.

* * *

Israel's equivalent of Air Force One, perhaps in a nod to our country's pioneering early years, was an almost prehistoric Boeing 707. It was waiting on the runway at Andrews Air Force Base outside Washington to ferry me and the rest of our negotiating team back home.

It contained a low-rent equivalent of the American version's presidential cabin, and a few 1960s-vintage first-class seats, but consisted mostly of two long lines of coach seats, three abreast, separated by an almost tightrope-narrow aisle. I dare say I was alone in finding an odd sense of comfort in boarding the plane. This museum piece of an aircraft was part of my past. It was the same model of 707 for which I, with a couple of other young soldiers and engineers, had come up with what we dubbed the "submarine door" system outside the cockpit – to protect El Al pilots from future attacks after one of its planes had been hijacked to Algiers in the summer of 1968. It was also the same kind of plane – a Sabena flight, hijacked to Tel Aviv's Ben-Gurion Airport – which I stormed, before sunrise, four years later with a force of nearly two dozen *Matkal* commandos. The shooting was over within 90 seconds. One of my men – a junior officer named Bibi Netanyahu – was wounded. By one of our own bullets. But we managed to kill two of the heavily armed hijackers, capture the others, and free all 90 passengers unharmed.

Still, even I had to accept, it was no fun to fly on.

As we banked eastward after takeoff and headed out over the Atlantic, the mood on board was sober. Huddling with the inner core of my negotiating team – my policy co-ordinator Gilad Sher, security aide Danny Yatom and Foreign Minister Shlomo Ben-Ami – I could see that the way the summit ended had hit them hard. It was probably true, as all three often reminded me, that the greatest pressure fell on me. I was the one who ultimately decided what we could, or

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should, offer in search of a true peace with the Palestinians. I was the one who would be blamed by the inevitable critics, whether for going too far or not far enough, or simply for the fact the deal had eluded us. I knew the drill: the same thing had happened when I had come tantalizingly close to finalizing a peace deal with Syria's then-dying dictator, Hafez al-Assad, a few months earlier. Yet these three dedicated men – Gili, who was by training a lawyer; Shlomo, an academic; and Danny, a former Mossad chief – had just been through dozens of hours of intricately detailed talks with each of Arafat's top negotiators at Camp David, not to mention the dozens of other meetings before we had even got there. Now they had to accept that, even with the lid of the pressure cooker bolted down tight, we had fallen short of getting the peace agreement which each of us knew had been within touching distance.

I don't think that even they could be described as depressed. On our side, after all, we knew we had given ground on every issue we possibly could, without facing full-scale political rebellion at home. We had proposed an Israeli pullout from nearly all of the West Bank and Gaza. A support mechanism for helping compensate tens of thousands of Palestinian refugees from the serial Arab-Israeli conflicts of the past half-century. And most painfully and controversially – my rivals and critics back home were already accusing me of "treachery" – we had agreed to let President Clinton present a proposal for the Palestinians to get sovereignty over the Arab neighbourhoods of Jerusalem as well as "custodial sovereignty" over the Haram al-Sharif, the mosque complex perched above the Western Wall, the holiest site in Judaism.

But precisely because we had been ready to offer so much, only for Arafat to reject it all, even as a *basis* for talks on a final deal, I could sense how gutted my key negotiators were feeling.

Still, I'm sure none of them was surprised when my own old operational instincts kicked in. In my statement to journalists, I had been careful to say that Arafat was not ready *at this time* to make the historic compromises needed for peace. But before parting with President Clinton and Secretary Albright, I'd been more forthright. It was clear, without my saying so, that the chances of our getting a peace agreement on Clinton's watch were now pretty much over. He had barely five months left in office. Yet my deeper fear was that with Arafat having brushed aside an offer that went far further than any other Israeli had proposed – far further than the Americans, themselves, had expected from Israel – the prospects for peace would be set back for years. Perhaps, I said, for two decades.

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The challenge now, I told my exhausted team, was to make sure we were prepared for this new reality. Part of the spadework was already in place. Much as I'd hoped that Arafat and I could turn a new page in Middle East history, I had directed our army chief-of-staff, nine months before the summit, to draw up contingency plans for the likelihood of an unprecedentedly deadly eruption of Palestinian violence if we were to fail.

Now, I felt we had to go even further, and to prepare a proactive alternative to the negotiated deal we'd been unable to secure. I proposed considering a *unilateral* Israeli pullout from the West Bank and Gaza. The territorial terms would, necessarily, be less far-reaching than the proposal Arafat had rejected. But I felt we should still withdraw from the great majority of the land we had captured in 1967, still leaving the Palestinians an area which the outside world would recognize as wholly sufficient for them to establish a viable, successful state.

And crucially, this would finally give Israel, *our* country, a delineated, final border with the territory captured in the Six-Day War.

Gili, clearly uneasy about accepting the idea that the chances for a negotiated peace were definitively gone, left to try to get some sleep on the long flight ahead. Danny and Shlomo Ben-Ami as well. Within an hour or so, the plane was full of irregularly slumped bodies, the silence broken only by the drone of the 707's engines and the occasional sound of snoring.

I sat, wide awake, in one of the seats at the front.

My sleeping habits were another inheritance from *Sayeret Matkal*. During those years, nearly everything of significance which I did had happened after sundown. The commando operations were, of course, set for darkness whenever possible. The element of surprise could mean the difference between success and failure, indeed life and death. But all of my planning, all my *thinking*, tended to happen at night as well. The quiet, and the lack of distractions, helped to discipline my mind. I found that it helped to free my mind as well, sometimes only to discover that it went off in unexpected directions.

It did so now. Perhaps even I was still reluctant to accept that Camp David meant that the opportunity for a transformative deal with Arafat was finished. Yet whatever the reason, I began thinking back to the first time that my path and his had crossed. It was in the spring of 1968, nearly a year after Israel had defeated the armies of our three main Arab enemies – Egypt, Syria and Jordan. Israeli forces were advancing on a Jordanian town called Karameh, across the

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Jordan River from the West Bank, from which a fledgling group called Fatah, under the command of Arafat, had been staging a series of raids. In one of their most recent attacks, they'd planted land mines, one of which destroyed an Israeli schoolbus, killing the driver and one of the teachers and injuring nearly a dozen children. The so-called Battle of Karameh was our single most significant operation since the 1967 war. In pure military terms, it succeeded. But at a price: more than two dozen Israeli soldiers dead. It also had a major political impact. It caused shock among many Israelis, still wrapped in a sense of invincibility from the Six-Day War, as well as a feeling in the Arab world, actively encouraged by Arafat and his comrades, that compared to the great armies Israel had defeated in 1967, Fatah had at least shown fight. Fatah had drawn blood.

I had just turned 26 years old. I was finishing my studies in math, physics and economics at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and had joined my *Sayeret Matkal* comrades the night before the assault. It was a huge operation: ten battalions, including crack infantry units. Our own role was relatively minor. We were to seal the southern entrance to the town. But it proved a tough slog just to get there. Our vehicles got bogged down in mud. By the time we arrived, Fatah fighters, although many were in civilian clothes so we couldn't be sure, were racing past us in the other direction. One of them, we were later told, was Yasir Arafat. On a motorcycle.

It would be nearly three decades before the two of us actually met – shortly after the assassination of my longtime comrade and friend Yitzhak Rabin, when I had become Foreign Minister under Shimon Peres. But in the intervening years, Arafat was rarely off of my radar. By the early 1970s, he and his fighters had been expelled by King Hussein's army from Jordan and were re-based in Lebanon. Arafat was becoming a significant figure on the Arab and world political stage, and an increasingly uncomfortable thorn in Israel's side. I was head of *Sayeret Matkal* by then. Over a period of months, I drew up a carefully constructed plan – a raid by helicopter into a Fatah-dominated area in southeastern Lebanon, during one of Arafat's intermittent, morale-boosting visits from Beirut – to assassinate him. My immediate superior, the army's head of operations, was all for our doing it. But the chief of military intelligence said no. Arafat, he insisted when we met to discuss the plan, was no longer the lean, mean fighter we had encountered in Karameh. "He's fat. He's a politician. He is not a target."

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A decade later, the idea would suddenly resurface. In my first meeting, as a newly promoted Major General, with our then Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, Sharon turned to me and the army's Chief of Staff, Rafael Eitan, and said: "Tell me. Why the hell is Arafat still alive?" He looked first at Raful, then at me, and added: "When I was 20 years younger than you are, I *never* waited for someone like Ben-Gurion or Dayan to ask me to plan an operation. I would plan it! Then I'd take it to them and say, you're the politicians, you decide, but if you say yes, we'll do it." I smiled, telling him that I'd done exactly that, a decade earlier, only to have one of his mates in the top brass say no. Sharon now said yes. But the plan was overtaken: by his ill-fated plan to launch a full-scale invasion of Lebanon in 1982, targeting not just Arafat, but with the aim of crushing the PLO militarily once and for all.

I finally met Arafat face-to-face at the end of 1995. Although the Oslo peace process had dramatically changed things, it was clear that the real prize – real peace – was still far away. We were in Barcelona, for a Euro-Mediterranean meeting under the auspices of King Juan Carlos, aimed at trying to re-invigorate negotiations. The ceremonial centrepiece of the event was a dinner at one of the royal palaces, and it was arranged for me and Arafat to meet for a few minutes beforehand. I arrived first. I found myself in a breathtakingly opulent, but otherwise empty, room. Empty, that is, except for a dark-brown Steinway piano. From childhood, I have loved music. And while I am never likely to threaten the career of anyone in the New York Philharmonic, I have, over the years, developed some ability, and drawn huge enjoyment, as a classical pianist. I pulled back the red-velvet bench and began to play. With my back to the doorway, I was unaware that Arafat had arrived, and that he was soon standing only a few feet away, watching as I played one of my favourite pieces, a Chopin waltz. My old commando antennae must have been blunted. I may not have become "fat". But, undeniably, I was now a politician.

When I finally realised Arafat was behind me, I turned, embarrassed, stood up, and grasped his hand. "It's a real pleasure to meet you," I said. "I must say I have spent many years watching you – by other means." He smiled. We stood talking for about 10 minutes. My hope was to establish simple, human contact; to signal respect; to begin to create the conditions not to try to kill Arafat, but to make peace with him. "We carry a great responsibility," I said. "Both of our peoples have paid a heavy price, and the time has come to find a way to solve this."

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I sensed, at the time, at least the start of some connection. I suspected that Arafat viewed me, as he had Rabin before me, as a "fellow fighter". But if so, I now wondered whether that might have been part of the problem in his ever truly understanding my mission at Camp David. My motivations. Or my mind.

Even in Israel, my reputation as a soldier has sometimes been as much a burden as an advantage. A whole body of stories has followed me from my 36 years in uniform – a career which, after *Sayeret Matkal*, led me up the military ladder until I was head of operations, intelligence, and eventually of the entire army as Chief of Staff. By the time I left the military, I was the single most decorated soldier in our country's history. Some of the stories were actually true: that when we burst onto the hijacked Sabena airliner, for instance, we were dressed as a maintenance crew; or that, in leading an assassination raid in Beirut against the PLO group that had murdered Israeli athletes at the 1972 Munich Olympics, I was disguised as a woman. Not the most attractive young lady, perhaps, though I did, painfully, pluck my eyelashes, and, with the help of four pairs of standard-issue Israeli Army socks, develop quite a comely bosom. I rejected the idea of wearing a long dress, in favour of stylishly flared trousers. I was going on a commando operation, after all, not a prom date. But I did wear heels. So yes, a woman, of sorts.

Yet some of the stories were just plain myth. I had given up counting the times I'd heard about my alleged prowess in recording the fastest-ever time on the most gruelling of the Israeli army's obstacle courses. In fact, I was a lot more like Goldie Hawn in *Private Benjamin*.

The main misunderstanding, however, went deeper. The assumption appeared to be that my military achievements, especially in *Sayeret Matkal*, were down to a mix of brute force and raw courage. Courage, of course, was a requirement: the willingness to take risks, if the rewards for success, or the costs of inaction, were great enough. Few of the operations I fought in or commanded were without the real danger of not coming back alive. But whatever success I'd had as a soldier, particularly in *Matkal*, was not only, nor even mainly, about biceps. It was about brains. The ability to make decisions. To withstand the pressure of often having to make the most crucial decisions within a matter of seconds. It was, above all, about thinking and analyzing – and always, always, looking and planning ahead.

And as our plane droned onward towards Israel, I knew that I would now need all of those qualities more than ever.

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* * *

This book is only in part the story of my life – a life that, from my beginnings as a kibbutz boy in pre-state Palestine, has been intimately entwined with the infancy and adolescence and, now, the increasingly troubled middle age of the State of Israel.

Still less is it only a record of its, or my, achievements, although they are inevitably a part of the story.

In setting out to write it, I was also determined to document, from the inside, the critical setbacks as well. Mistakes. Misjudgements. Missed opportunities. And the lessons that we can, and must, be prepared to learn from them.

No less so than I when I was planning a hijack rescue or a cross-border commando operation in *Sayeret Matkal*, I remain convinced that Israel's security, Israel's very identity, can be safeguarded only by evaluating dispassionately the situation in our country and the world. And by looking ahead.

Even when I was a soldier, I never stopped thinking this way, especially when, first as military intelligence chief and especially as Chief of Staff, I knew, in detail, every one of the security threats that faced Israel and was part of discussions and decisions to try to confront them. I still vividly remember as Chief of Staff, every Friday before the arrival of the Jewish Sabbath, sitting with Rabin, who was then Israel's Defence Minister. Our offices were along the same hallway of the *kirya*, the ministry's headquarters in the heart of Tel Aviv. Rabin had a very low table in his office, with two chairs. We would sit across from each other, each with a ready supply of coffee and Yitzhak smoking an apparently endless supply of cigarettes, and we would just talk. Politics. Strategy. Israel. The PLO. The surrounding Arab states. And the wider world.

Many years before I became Prime Minister, I gave a lecture at a memorial meeting for an Israeli academic. Not many people were there. I doubt even they remember it. But I do, because what I said has, sadly, become more prophetic than even I could have imagined. I talked about the imperative for peace as part of Israel's security. There was a "window," I said. We were militarily strong. In regional terms, we were a superpower. But politically, resolving the conflict with our Arab enemies would almost certainly become more difficult with time.

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Iraq, perhaps Iran and other Middle Eastern states, might get nuclear weapons. A violent form of fundamentalist Islam could, over time, erode existing Arab and Muslim states, threatening Israel of course, but also the stability of our neighbourhood and of the world. In those circumstances, even if an Israeli government was strong enough, wise enough, forward-looking enough to pursue avenues for negotiated peace with its immediate neighbours, getting the popular support required would be all but impossible.

The window is still there. But it is only barely open.

I fear that I was right, as well, in predicting that our failure to secure a final peace agreement with the Palestinians at Camp David might set back peacemaking not just for a few months, but for many years. I have persisted in trying, very hard, to make that particular prediction prove wrong. That was why, despite intense pressure from my own political allies not to do so, I decided to return to government in 2007 as Defence Minister. I remained in that role for six years: mostly in the current, right-wing Likud government of my onetime *Sayeret Matkal* charge, Bibi Netanyahu.

Much of what I say in this book about war and peace, security and Israel's future challenges, will make uncomfortable reading for Bibi. But very little of it will surprise him, or his own Likud rivals further to the right, like Foreign Minister Avigdor Lieberman and the Economy Minister, Naftali Bennett. I have said almost all of it to them behind closed doors in the past few years, more than once. When I finally decided to leave the political arena last year, it was largely because I realized that they were guided by other imperatives. In the case of Bibi, the most gifted politician with whom I've worked except for Clinton, the priority was to stay in power. For Avigdor and Naftali, it was to supplant Bibi, when the opportunity was ripe, as Likud leader and as Prime Minister. And much too often – as with their hugely ill-advised recent proposal to amend Israel's basic law to define it explicitly as a Jewish state, and deny "national rights" to non-Jews – the three of them have ended up competing for party political points rather than weighing the serious future implications for the country.

Peacemaking, as I discovered first-hand, requires taking risks. Statesmanship requires risks. Politics, especially if defined simply as staying in power, is almost always about the avoidance of risk.

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The problem for Israel, no matter who or what party is in government, is that there are risks everywhere one looks, and they show every sign of getting more, not less, serious.

The "Arab Spring" has morphed into an Islamic winter. National frontiers that were put in place by British and French diplomats after the fall of the Ottoman Empire are vanishing. Centuries-old conflicts between tribes and rival religious communities have reignited. The old Cold War system of nations has given way to a world without a single geopolitical centre of gravity. Perhaps most seriously, Iran seems determined to get nuclear weapons, and, in my view, may succeed in doing so.

Where Israel is concerned, relations with our indisputably most important ally, the United States, are more strained than at any time in decades. Diplomatic ties with Europe, our single largest trading partner, have been growing steadily worse. And the only real certainty is that anyone who tells you that they know absolutely where things are heading next is lying. Just ask Hosni Mubarak, who, despite having nearly half-a-million soldiers and security operatives at his disposal, was utterly blindsided, and very soon toppled and imprisoned, by an uprising that began with a sudden show of popular anger in Cairo's Tahrir Square.

Internally as well, Israel faces dangers. Chief among them is the alarming erosion of the standards of civil discourse, amid the increasingly shrill, often hateful, divisions between left and right, secular and religious, rich and poor and, most seriously of all, Jews and Arabs. While we remain economically successful, the fruits of our wealth are being ever more unevenly shared, and the prospects for continued growth constrained by the lack of any visible prospect of long-term peace.

Bibi Netanyahu, of course, knows all of this. Indeed, he has repeatedly spoken of the multiple threats Israel faces, not only in somber terms, but at times almost apocalyptically.

That works, politically. Politicians, not just in Israel but everywhere, know that it is a lot easier to win elections on fear than on hope.

Yet my own prescription – learned, as this book recounts, from years on the battlefield, then reinforced by my years in government – is that Israel must resist being guided by either of those alternatives. Not fear, certainly. But neither by simple, untempered hope. Though the stakes have become much higher since my night flight back from Camp David nearly 15 years ago, our

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need remains what I tried to impress on my negotiators then: realism. A meticulously informed, utterly unvarnished, understanding of the threats we face, of each altered situation after every success or a failure, and an ability to set aside the background noise and political pressures and chart a way forward.

So what is that way? It begins with the mindset. On more than one occasion in the past few years, after Prime Minister Netanyahu had warned our country of a nuclear Iran or the spread of Al Qaeda-style hatred and violence, as if prophesying the coming of Armageddon, I would say to him: "Stop talking like that. You're not delivering a sermon in a synagogue. You're Prime Minister." Having been privileged to live my own life along with the entire modern history of our country, I went further. Zionism, the founding architecture of Israel, was rooted in finding a way to supplant not just the life, but the way of thinking, which hard-pressed Jewish communities had internalised over centuries in the diaspora: in Hebrew, the *galut*. We would instead take control of our own destiny, building and developing and securing our own country.

Now, I told Bibi, he was back in the mindset of the *galut*. Yes, al-Qaeda, and more recently Islamic State, were real dangers. The prospect of a nuclear Iran was even more so. "But the implication of the way you speak, not just to Barack Obama or David Cameron, but to *Israelis*, is that these are existential threats. What do you imagine? That if, God forbid, we wake up and Iran is a nuclear power, we'll pack up and go back to the *shtetls* of Europe?"

Of course not. Israel, as my public life has taught me more than most, remains strong militarily. We are, still, fully capable of turning back any of the undeniable threats on our doorstep. Keeping that strength, developing it and modernizng it, are obviously critically important. But as Israel's founding Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, used to say, the success of Zionism, and of the Israeli state, required two things: strength and "righteousness." He didn't mean the word in purely religious terms. He meant that Israel, if it were to retain international backing and internal cohesion, must be guided by a core of moral assumptions as well.

That, in itself, would be reason enough to pursue every possible opportunity for "end of conflict" with our neighbours. And, at home, to protect and re-inforce our commitment to Israel as both a Jewish and a democratic state. But Israel's simple self-interest – its hope for prosperity, social cohesion, and growth in future – makes this nothing short of imperative.

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Bibi is right about one thing. The negotiating challenges have become more difficult since Arafat's refusal of our offer at Camp David. Arafat is no longer alive. Palestinian politics have become ever more fragmented and messy, not least as a result of the Hamas takeover of Gaza.

But Churchill once said that the difference between a pessimist and an optimist was that the pessimist always saw difficulties in every opportunity. The optimist saw opportunities in the difficulties.

I, of all people, do not look at such opportunities without hard-headed analysis, even a dose of scepticism. But the opportunities are undeniably there, and never has Israel risked paying a higher price for failing to see and at least to try to act on them.

The first port of call should still be the Palestinians. I have repeatedly asked Bibi, and the right-wing rivals that seem often to loom large in his political calculations: "If you're so sure you don't have a negotiating partner in the Palestinians, who not at least try? Seriously. What do you have to lose?"

But beyond this, there is a whole range of relatively moderate countries – and, as Sunni states, strongly anti-Iranian countries – which share with Israel a real, practical interest in putting in place a new political arrangement in the Middle East. So does the United States, Russia, even China. Each, in their own ways, is threatened by a terror threat that will require international action, and many years, finally to defeat.

A Saudi "peace plan", for instance, has been on the table for years. Formally endorsed by the Arab League, it proposes a swap: Israeli withdrawal for full and final peace and Arab recognition. Successive Israeli governments have dismissed it out of hand, arguing that the withdrawal which the Saudi proposal demanded – every inch of territory, back to the borders before the Six-Day War – would be not only politically unacceptable, but practically impossible.

In the final days of the Camp David summit, as our failure was becoming inescapably clear, a disheartened Bill Clinton said to me that he could understand, just about, why Yasir Arafat had not accepted the unprecedentedly far-reaching proposals I had presented. But what he couldn't grasp was how the Palestinian leader could say no even to accepting them as a *basis* for the hard, further work which we all knew a final peace agreement would entail. Wasn't Arafat capable of looking beyond the political risks, of understanding the greater risks of inaction. Of seeing the rewards? Of *looking ahead*?

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My fear – not just on issues like the Saudi peace plan, but in charting our place in a dramatically changed world, and safeguarding our twin Jewish and democratic identities at home, pairing our physical strength with an equally strong moral centre – is that we Israelis are now in danger of jettisoning the example of David Ben-Gurion. For Yasir Arafat's.

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Chapter One

I am an Israeli, but also a Palestinian. I was born in February 1942 in British-ruled Palestine on a fledgling kibbutz: a cluster of wood-and-tarpaper huts amid a few orange groves and vegetable fields and chicken coops. It was just across the road from an Arab village named Wadi Khawaret, which disappeared, with the establishment of the State of Israel, when I was six years old.

As Prime Minister half-a-century later, during my stubborn yet ultimately fruitless drive to secure a final peace treaty with Yasir Arafat, there were media suggestions that my childhood years gave me a personal understanding of the pasts of *both* our peoples, Jews and Arabs, in the land which each of us saw as our own. But that is in some ways misleading. Yes, I did know first-hand that we were not alone in our ancestral homeland. At no point in my childhood was I ever taught to hate the Arabs. I never did, even when, in my years defending the security of Israel, I had to fight, and defeat, them. But my conviction that they, too, needed the opportunity to establish a state came only later, after my many years in uniform, and especially when, as deputy chief-of-staff under Yitzhak Rabin, we were faced with the explosion of violence in the West Bank and Gaza that became known as the first *intifada*. And while my determination as Prime Minister to find a negotiated resolution to our conflict was in part based on a recognition of the Palestinian Arabs' national aspirations, the main impulse was my belief that such a compromise was profoundly in the interest of Israel: the Jewish state whose birth I witnessed, whose existence I had spent decades defending on the battlefield and which I was ultimately elected to lead.

Zionism, the political platform for the establishment of a Jewish state, emerged in the late 1800s in response to a brutal reality. And that, too, was a part of my own family's story. Most of the world's Jews, who lived in the Russian empire and Poland, were trapped at the time in a vise of poverty, powerlessness and anti-Semitic violence. Even in the democracies of Western Europe, Jews were not necessarily secure. Theodor Herzl, a thoroughly assimilated Jew in Vienna, published the foundation text of Zionism in 1896. It was called *Der Judenstaat*. "Jews have sincerely tried everywhere to merge with the national communities in which we live, seeking only to preserve the faith of our fathers," he wrote. "In vain are we loyal patriots, sometimes super-loyal. In vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow citizens… In our native lands where we have lived for centuries, we are still decried as aliens." Zionism's answer was the establishment of a state of our

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own, in which we could achieve the self-determination and security denied to us elsewhere.

During the 1890s and the early years of the new century, more than a million Jews fled Eastern Europe, but mostly for America. It was only in the 1920s and 1930s that significant numbers arrived in Palestine. Then, within a few years, Hitler rose to power in Germany. The Jews of Europe faced not just discrimination or pogroms. They were systematically, industrially, murdered. From 1939 until early 1942 when I was born, nearly two million Jews were killed. Six million would die by the end of the war. Almost the whole world, including the United States, rejected pleas to provide a haven for those who might have been saved. Even after Hitler was defeated, the British shut the doors of Palestine to those who had somehow survived.

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I was three when the Holocaust ended, and it was three years later that Israel was established in May 1948, and neighboring Arab states sent in their armies to try to snuff the state out in its infancy. It would, again, be some years before I fully realized that this first Arab-Israeli war was the start of an essential tension in my country's life, and my own: between the Jewish ethical ideals at the core of Zionism and the reality of our having to fight, and sometimes even kill, in order to secure, establish and safeguard our state. Yet even as a small child, I was keenly aware of the historic events swirling around me.

Mishmar Hasharon, the hamlet north of Tel Aviv where I spent the first 17 years of my life, was one of the early *kibbutzim*. These collective farming settlements had their roots in Herzl's view that an avant-garde of "pioneers" would need to settle a homeland that was still economically undeveloped, and where even farming was difficult. Members of Jewish youth groups from Eastern Europe, among them my mother, provided most of the pioneers, drawing inspiration not just from Zionism but by the still untainted collectivist ideals represented by the triumph of Communism over the czars in Russia.

It is hard for people who didn't live through that time to understand the mindset of the kibbutzniks. They had higher aspirations than simply planting the seeds of a future state. They wanted to be part of transforming what it meant to be a Jew. The act of first taming, and then farming, the soil of Palestine was not

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just an economic imperative. It was seen as deeply symbolic, signifying Jews finally taking control of their own destiny. It was a message that took on an even greater power and poignancy after the mass murder of the Jews of Europe during the Holocaust.

Even for many Israelis nowadays, the all-consuming collectivism of life on an early kibbutz, and the physical challenges, are hard to imagine. Among the few dozen families in Mishmar Hasharon when I was born, there was no private property. Everything was communally owned and allocated. Every penny – or Israeli pound – earned from what we produced went into a communal kitty, from which each one of the 150-or-so families in Mishmar Hasharon when I was a child got a small weekly allowance. By "small", I mean tiny. For my parents and others, even the idea of an ice cream cone for their children was a matter of keen financial planning. More often, they would save each weekly pittance with the aim of pooling them at birthday time, where they might stretch to the price of a picture book, or a small toy.

Decisions on any issue of importance were taken at the *aseifa*, the weekly meeting of kibbutz members held on Saturday nights in our dining hall. The agenda would be tacked up on the wall the day before, and the session would usually focus on one issue, ranging from major items like the kibbutz's finances to the question, for instance, of whether our small platoon of delivery drivers should be given pocket money to buy a sandwich or a coffee on their days outside the kibbutz or be limited to wrapping up bits of the modest fare on offer at breakfast time. That debate ended in a classic compromise: a bit of money, but very little, so as to avoid violating the egalitarian ethos of the kibbutz.

But perhaps the aspect of life on the kibbutz most difficult for outsiders to understand, especially nowadays, is that we children were *raised* collectively. We lived in dormitories, organized by age-group and overseen by a caregiver: in Hebrew, a *metapelet,* usually a woman in her 20s or 30s. For a few hours each afternoon and on the Jewish Sabbath, we were with our parents. But otherwise, we lived and learned in a world consisting almost entirely of other children.

Everything around us was geared towards making us feel like a band of brothers and sisters, and as part of the guiding spirit of the kibbutz. Until our teenage years, we weren't even graded in school. And though we didn't actually study how to till the land, some of my fondest early memories are of our "children's farm" – the vegetables we grew, the cows we milked, the hens and chickens that gave us our first experience of how life was created. And the

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aroma always wafting from the stone ovens in the bakery at the heart of the kibbutz, where we could see the bare-chested young men producing loaf after loaf of bread, not just for Mishmar Hasharon but villages and towns for miles around us.

Until our teenage years, we lived in narrow, oblong homes, four of us to a room, unfurnished except for our beds, under which we placed our pair of shoes or sandals. At one end of the corridor was a set of shelves where we collected a clean set of underwear, pants and socks each week. At the other end were the toilets – at that point, the only indoor toilets on the kibbutz, with real toilet-seats, rather than just holes in the ground. All of us showered together until the age of twelve. I can't think of a single one of us who went on to marry someone from our own age-group in the kibbutz. It would have seemed almost incestuous.

Mishmar Hasharon and other kibbutzim have long since abandoned the practice of collective child-rearing. Some in my generation look back on the way we were raised not only with regret, but pain: a sense of parental absence, abandonment or neglect. My own memories, and those of most of the children I grew up with, are more positive. The irony is that we probably spent more waking time with our parents than town or city children whose mothers and fathers worked nine-to-five jobs. The difference came at bedtime, or during the night. If you woke up unsettled, or ill, the only immediate prospect of comfort was from the *metapeled*, or another of the kibbutz grown-ups who might be on overnight duty. Still, my childhood memories are overwhelmingly of feeling happy, safe, protected. I do remember waking up once, late on a stormy winter night when I was nine, in the grips of a terrible fever. I'd begun to hallucinate. I got to my feet and, without the thought of looking anywhere else for help, made my wobbly way through the rain to my parents' room and fell into their bed. They hugged me. They dabbed my forehead with water. The next morning, my father wrapped me in a blanket and took me back to the children's home.

To the extent that I was aware my childhood was different, I was given to understand it was special, that we were the beating heart of a Jewish state about to be born. I once asked my mother why other children got to live in their own apartments in places like Tel Aviv. "They are *ironim*," she said. City-dwellers. Her tone made it clear they were to be viewed as a slightly lesser species.

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Though both my parents were part of the pioneer generation, my mother, unlike my father, actually arrived as a pioneer, part of a Jewish youth group from Poland that came directly to the kibbutz. In addition to being more naturally outgoing than my father, she came to see Mishmar Hasharon has her extended family and spent every one of her one hundred years there.

Esther Godin, as the then was, grew up in Warsaw. Born in 1913, she was the oldest of the six children of Samuel and Rachel Godin. Poland at the time was home to the largest Jewish community in the world, more than 3 million by the time of the Holocaust. While the Jews of Poland had a long history, the Godins did not. Before the First World War, my mother's parents made their way from Smolensk in Russia to Warsaw, which was also under czarist rule. When the war was over, the Bolshevik Revolution had toppled the czars. Poland became independent, under the nationalist general Josef Pilsuldski. The Godins had a decision to make: either return to now-Communist Russia or stay in the new Polish state, though without citizenship because they had not been born there. No doubt finding comfort, community and a sense of safety amid the hundreds of thousands of Jews in the Polish capital, they chose Pilsuldski over Lenin. They lived in what would become the Warsaw Ghetto, on Nalewski Street, where Samuel Godin eked out a living as a bookbinder.

My mother came to Zionism as a teenager, and it was easy to understand why she, like so many of the other young Jews around her, was drawn to it. She saw how hard her parents were struggling economically, on the refugee fringes of a Jewish community itself precariously placed in a newly assertive Poland. She saw no future for herself there. Though she attended a normal state-run high school, she and her closest friends joined a Zionist youth group called Gordonia, which had been founded in Poland barely a decade earlier. She started studying Hebrew. Each summer, from the age of 13, she and her Gordonia friends would spend deep in the Carpathian Mountains. They worked for local Polish landowners, learning the rudiments of how to farm and the rigors of simple physical labor. Late into the evening, they would learn not just about agriculture but Jewish history, the land of Palestine, and how they hoped to put both their new-found skills and the Zionist ideals into practice.

She had just turned 22 when she set off for Mishmar Hasharon with 60 other Gordonia pioneers in the summer of 1935. It took them nearly a week to get there. They travelled by train south through Poland, passing not far from the little town of Oświęcim which would later become infamous as the site of the Auschwitz concentration camp. Then, on through Hungary and across Romania

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to the grand old Black Sea port of Constanța, and by ship through the Bosphorus, past Istanbul, and on to Haifa on the Palestinian coast, from where they were taken by truck to their bunk-bed rooms in one of a dozen prefab structures on the recently established kibbutz. Though the water came from a well, and it lacked even the basic creature comforts of the cramped Godin apartment in Warsaw, that, to my mother, was just part of the challenge, and the dream, she'd embraced and had come to define her. I know that she felt, on arriving in the kibbutz, that only now was her life truly beginning.

It was a feeling that never left her. Yet it was always clouded by the memory of the family she left behind. When the Second World War began in September 1939, the Germans, and then the Soviets, invaded, overran and divided Poland. Two of my mother's three sisters fled to Moscow. Her teenage brother Avraham went underground, joining the anti-Nazi partisans. All three would survive the war. Yet in the autumn of 1940, the rest of her family found themselves inside the Warsaw Ghetto with the city's other 400,000 Jews. My mother's parents died there, along with her 13-year-old brother Itzik and her little sister Henya, who was only 11.

When my mother arrived in the kibbutz, her Gordonia friends assumed she would marry a young man named Ya'akov Margalit, the leader of their group back in Warsaw. But the budding romance fell victim to the Zionist cause. As she was embarking on her new life, he was frequently back in Poland training and arranging papers for further groups of pioneers. He continued to write her long, heartfelt letters. But the letters had to be brought from the central post office in Tel Aviv, and the kibbutznik who fetched the mail was a quiet, dimunitive 25-year-old named Yisrael Mendel Brog – my father. Known as Srulik, his Yiddish nickname, he had come to Palestine five years earlier. He was an ordinary kibbutz worker. He drove a tractor.

My father's initial impulse in coming to Palestine was more personal than political. He was born, in 1910, in the Jewish *shtetl* of Pushelat in Lithuania, near the larger Jewish town of Ponovezh, a major seat of rabbinic learning and teaching. His own father, though the only member of the Pushelat community with rabbinical training, made his living as the village pharmacist. Many of the roughly 10,000 Jews who lived there had left for America in the great exodus from Russian and Polish lands at the end of the 19th century. By the time my father was born, the community had shrunk to only about 1,000. When he was two years old, a fire broke out, destroying dozens of homes, as well as the shtetl's only synagogue. Donations soon arrived from the US, and my paternal

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grandfather was put in charge of holding the money until rebuilding plans were worked out. The problem was that word spread quickly about the rebuilding fund. On the night of September 16, 1912, two burglars burst into my grandfather's home and stole the money. They beat him and my grandmother to death with an axle wrenched loose from a nearby carriage. Their four-year-old son Meir – my father's older brother – suffered a deep wound from where the attackers drove the metal shaft into his head. He carried a golf-ball-sized indentation in his forehead for the rest of his life. My father had burrowed into a corner, and the attackers didn't see him.

The two orphaned boys were raised by their paternal grandmother, Itzila. Yet any return to normalcy they may have experienced was cut short by the outbreak of the First World War, forcing her to flee with them by train ahead of the advancing German army. They ended up some 1,500 miles south, in the Crimean city of Simferopol. Initially under czarist rule, then the Bolsheviks and from late 1917 until the end of the war under the Germans, they had to deal with cold, damp and a chronic shortage of food. My Uncle Meir quickly learned how to survive. He later told me that he would run after German supply carriages and collect the odd potato that fell off the back. Realizing that the German soldiers had been wrenched from their own families by the war, he began taking my father with him on weekends to the neighborhood near their barracks, where the soldiers would sometimes give them cookies, or even a loaf of bread. Yet they were deprived of the basic ingredients of a healthy childhood: nutritious food and a warm, dry room in which to sleep. By the time Itzila brought them back to settle in Ponovezh at the end of the war, my father was diagnosed with the bone-development disease, rickets, caused by the lack of Vitamin D in their diet.

In another way, however, my father was the more fortunate of the boys. The lost schooling of those wartime years came at a less formative time for him than for his brother. Meir never fully made up the lost ground in school. My father simply began his Jewish primary education, *cheder*, a couple of years later than usual. He thrived there. Still, when it was time for him to enter secondary education, he decided against going on with his religious education. Meir was preparing to leave for Palestine, so my father enrolled in the Hebrew-language, Zionist high school. When he graduated, one of the many Brog relatives who were by now living in the United States, his Uncle Jacob, tried to persuade him to come to Pittsburgh for university studies. But with Meir signing on as his sponsor with the British Mandate authorities, he left for Palestine shortly before

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his twentieth birthday. Jacob did still insist on helping financially, which allowed my father to enroll at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

He did well in his studies – literature, history and philosophy – but abandoned them after two years. His explanation for not staying on, when I asked him years later, was that with the accelerating activity of the Zionist pioneers, it felt wrong to him to spend his days going to lectures, reading books and writing essays. I am sure that he also felt isolated and alone, with Meir, the only link to his life before Palestine, working in Haifa on the coast, four or five hours by bus from Jerusalem. When he began looking for a way to become part of the changes going on around him, Mishmar Hasharon didn't yet exist. Its founding core – a dozen Russian Jewish pioneers – was still working on argicultural settlements near Herzliya, north of Tel Aviv, until they found a place to start their kibbutz. But they had been joined by several young men and women who, though a year or two older than my father, had been with him at the Hebrew High School in Ponovezh. He decided to join them.

Late in 1932, the Jewish National Fund, supported financially by leading Jewish figures in western Europe and the US, bought 2,000 acres from an Arab landowner near Wadi Khawaret. The area was set aside for three Jewish settlements: a moshav called Kfar Haim, where the land was divided into family plots, and two kibbutzim. One was called Ma'abarot. Next to it was Mishmar Hasharon. My father was among the seventy youngsters who set off in three trucks with everything they figured they would need to turn the hard, scrubby hill into a kibbutz. They built the core from pre-fab kits: wooden huts to sleep in and a slightly larger one for the dining hall. They dug a well and ordered a pump from Tel Aviv, at first for drinking and washing, but soon allowing them to begin a vegetable garden, a dairy with a dozen cows, a chicken coop with a few hundred hens, and to plant a first orange grove and a small vineyard.

Still, by the time my mother arrived three years later, there were not enough citrus trees, vines, cattle and chickens to occupy a membership which now numbered more than 200. Along with some of the others, my father worked outside the kibbutz, earning a regular paycheck to help support the collective. On his way back, he would stop at the post office in Tel Aviv to pick up letters and packages for the rest of the kibbutz – including Ya'akov Margalit's love letters to my mother. That was how my parents' friendship began, how a friendly hello led to shared conversation at the end of my father's working day, and how, a few years later, my mother decided to spurn her Gordonia suitor in favor of Srulik Brog, the postman. It was not until 1939 that they moved in

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together. They didn't bother getting married until the summer of 1941. Perhaps because this was less than nine months before I was born, my mother always remained vague when asked their exact wedding date.

My parents were an unlikely pair. My mother – bright, lively and energetic – was a *doer*, who believed passionately in the grand social experiment of kibbutz life. Having helped her mother raise her siblings in Warsaw, and with a natural affinity from children, she became the main authority on issues related to childbirth and early childcare. She actively partook in the kibbutz's planning and politics, and reveled in its social life. My father was more detached both politically and socially. He was more contemplative, less assertive, less self-confident. Though he agreed broadly with the founding principles of the kibbutz, and wanted to play his role in making it a success, I could see, as I grew older, that he was often impatient at what he saw as its intellectual insularity and its ideological rigidities.

Though it didn't strike me at the time, he was not a large man. As a result of his childhood illness, he never grew to more than five-foot-four. Still, he was a powerful presence, stocky and strong from his work on the kibbutz. He had a deep, resonant voice and wise-looking, blue-gray eyes. It was only through Uncle Meir that by the time I was born, he had moved on from driving a tractor to a more influential role on the kibbutz. Meir worked for the Palestine Electric Company and when Mishmar Hasharon installed its own electricity system, the PEC was in charge of the work. Meir trained my father and put him forward as the kibbutz contact for maintaining and repairing the equipment. He was well suited for the work. He was a natural tinkerer, a problem-solver. He was good with his hands, and his natural caution was an additional asset as the kibbutz got to grips with the potential, and the potential dangers, of electric power. Once the system was installed, he became responsible for managing any aspect of the settlement that involved electricity: water pumps, the irrigation system, the communal laundry and our bakery.

My parents were courteous and polite with each other, but they never showed any physical affection in our presence. *None* of the adults did. This was part of an unspoken kibbutz code. Not only for kibbutzniks, but for all the early Zionists, outward displays of emotion were seen as a kind of selfishness that risked undermining communal cohesion, tenacity and strength. Because I'd known no other way, this did not strike me as odd. Besides, I was a quiet, contemplative, bookish and self-contained child. Only in later years did I come to see the lasting effect on me. It was be a long time before I became comfortable

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showing my feelings, beyond my immediate family and a few close friends. When I was in the army, this wasn't an issue. Self-control, especially in high-pressure situations, was a highly valued asset. But in politics, I think that it did for a considerable time inhibit my ability to connect with the public, or at least with the news media that played such a critical intermediary role. And it caused me to be seen not just as reserved or aloof, but sometimes as cold, or arrogant.

I did get much that I value from my parents. From my mother, her boundless energy, activism, her attention to detail, and her focus on causes larger than herself – her belief that politics *mattered*. Also her love for art and literature. When I would come home from the children's dormitory to my parents' room – just nine feet by ten, with a wooden trundle bed to save space during the day – there was always a novel or a book of verse sharing the small table with my parents' most single prized possession: their kibbutz-issue radio.

As a child, however, I spent much more time with my father. He was my guide, my protector and role model. Like my mother, he never mentioned the trials which they and their families endured before arriving in Palestine. Nor did they ever speak to me in any detail about the Holocaust. No one on the kibbutz did. It was as if the memories were scabs they dared not pick at. Also, it seemed, because they were determined to avoid somehow passing on these remembered sadnesses to their sons and daughters. Still, when I was ten or eleven, my father did – once, inadvertently – open a window on his childhood. Every Saturday morning, we would listen to a classical music concert on my parents' radio. One day, as the beautiful melodies of Tchaikovsky's violin concerto in D came through the radio, I was struck by the almost trancelike look that came over my father's face. He seemed to be in another, faraway, place. When the music ended, he turned and told me about the first time he'd heard it. It was on the train ride into Crimean exile with Itzila and Meir in the early days of the First World War. The train took five days to reach the Crimea and sometimes halted for hours at a time. Every evening, a man at the far end of their carriage would take out his violin and play the second movement of the Tchaikovsky concerto.

I have heard the piece in concert halls many times since. When the orchestra begins the second movement – with the violin notes climbing higher, trembling ever so subtly – it sends a shiver down my spine. I can't help thinking of the railway car in which my then four-year-old father and other Jews from Ponovezh escaped the Great War of 1914. And of other trains, in another war 25 years later, carrying Jews not to safety but to death camps.

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Listening to the concert program in my parents' room was something I always looked forward to. It was my father who encouraged me, when I was eight, to begin learning to play the piano. I took lessons once a week all during my childhood along with several other of the kibbutz children. When we got old enough, we took turns playing a short piece – the secular, kibbutz equivalent of an opening prayer – at the Friday-night meal in the dining hall. I have always cherished being able to play. Sitting down at the piano and immersing myself in Tchaikovsky, Beethoven, Schubert or Mozart never ceases to bring me a sense of calm, freedom and, especially nowadays, when I have finally worked to master a particularly intricate piece, a feeling of pure joy.

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As a young child, I spent most of my waking hours in the company of my several dozen kibbutz "siblings" in the children's home, the dining hall, or running through the open spaces in the center of the kibbutz with our *metapelet*. She would often take us through the orange groves in the afternoon, and sometimes across the main road to the Arab village.

Wadi Khawaret consisted of a few dozen concrete homes built back from a main street bordered by shops and storehouses. She would buy us sweets in the little grocery store. The man behind the counter had a kindly, weathered face and a dark moustache. Dressed in a gray *galabiya* and a keffiyeh, he smiled when we came in. There was always a group of Palestinian women, in full-length robes, seated on stoops outside breastfeeding their babies. We saw cattle, bulls, even the odd buffalo, being led to or from the fields. I sensed no hostility, and certainly no hatred, toward us in the village. The people seemed warm, and benignly indifferent to the dozen Jewish toddlers and their *metapelet*. My own attitude to Wadi Khawaret was of benign curiosity. I did not imagine that within a couple of years we would be on opposite sides of a war. I enjoyed these visits, as I enjoyed every part of my early childhood. Each age-group on the kibbutz was given a name. Ours was called *dror*. It was the Hebrew word for "freedom".

But *dror* was also the name of one of the Jewish youth movements in the Warsaw Ghetto, heroes in their doomed uprising against the Nazis. Little by little, from about the age of five, I became more aware of the suffering the Jews had so recently endured in the lands my parents had left behind, the growing

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tension around us and the sense that something momentous was about to happen as the prospect of a state got closer.

The memories remain with me to this day, like a series of snapshots. It was on a spring morning in 1947 that I got my first real sense that the Jewish state was something which would have be fought for, and that youngsters not all that much older than me would have a critical role to play. I got a close-up look at the elite of the Zionist militias, the Palmach. It numbered something like 6,000, from a pre-state force totaling around 40,000. The Palmachniks were highly motivated, young political activists. They had no fixed base. Each platoon, almost all of them teenagers, spent five or six months at a time on various kibbutzim. For the first two weeks of each month, they would earn their keep by working in the fields. They spent the other weeks training. I had just turned five when I watched three dozen Palmach boys and girls, in their T-shirts and short khaki pants, rappel confidently down the side of one of our few concrete buildings. The building was only 25 or 30 feet high, but it looked like a skyscraper from my perch on the grass in front, and the feat of the young Palmachniks seemed to me nothing short of heroic.

A few months later, on a Saturday afternoon in November 1947, I crowded into my parents' room as the Haganah radio station crackled out its account of a United Nations debate on the future of Palestine. The session was the outcome of a long train of events starting with Britain's acknowledgement that its mandate to rule over Palestine was unsustainable. The British had proposed a series of arrangements to accommodate both Arab and Jewish aspirations. Now, the UN was meeting to consider the idea of splitting Palestine into two new states, one Arab and the other Jewish.

Since the partition was based on existing areas of Arab and Jewish settlement, the proposed Jewish state looked like a boomerang, with a long, very narrow center strip along the Mediterranean, broadening slightly into the Galilee in the north and the arid coastline in the south. Jerusalem, the site of the ancient Jewish temple, was not part of it. It was to be placed under international rule. By no means all Zionist leaders were happy with partition. Many, on both the political right and the left, wanted a Jewish state in all of Palestine, with Jerusalem as its centerpiece. But Ben-Gurion and the pragmatic mainstream argued that UN endorsement of a Jewish state – no matter what its borders, even with a new Palestinian Arab state alongside it – would represent a historic achievement. The proceedings went on for hours. At sundown, we had to return to the children's home. But we were woken before dawn. The vote for partition

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– for the Jewish state Herzl had first dreamed of 50 years before – had been won. A huge bonfire blazed in front of the bakery. All around us the grown-ups were singing and dancing in celebration.

On the Arab side, there was no rejoicing. Every one of the Arab delegations at the UN voted against partition, rejecting a Jewish state even if it was created along with a Palestinian Arab one. Violence erupted the next day. An attack on a bus near Lydda, near the road up to Jerusalem, left six Jews dead. Similar attacks occurred around the country. Shooting broke out in mixed Arab-and-Jewish towns and cities: Jaffa on the southern edge of Tel Aviv. Safed, Tiberias and Haifa in the north, and in Jerusalem.

I followed all this with curiosity and trepidation through my halting attempts to read *Davar le Yeladim*, the weekly children's edition of the Labour Zionist newspaper *Davar*. We children felt an additional connection with what was going on. One of our *Dror* housemates, a boy named Giora Ros, had left the year before when his father took a job in Jerusalem. As the battle for the city raged through the end of 1947 and into 1948, its besieged Jewish residents fought for their lives. We sent our friend packages of clothing and food, which we saved up by eating only half of an egg at breakfast and smaller portions at dinner.

The mood darkened further at the end of January 1948, four months before the British departed. A cluster of settlements known as Gush Etzion, south of Jerusalem near the hills of Bethlehem, also came under siege. Around midnight on January 15, a unit of Haganah youngsters set off on foot to try to break through. They became known as "The 35". Marching through the night from Jerusalem, they had made it only within a couple of miles of Gush Etzion when they were surrounded and attacked by local Arabs. By late afternoon, all of them were dead. When the British authorities recovered their bodies, they found that the enemy had not simply killed them. All of the bodies had been battered and broken. Rumors spread that in some cases, the dead men's genitals had been cut off and shoved into their mouths. Since I was still a few weeks short of my sixth birthday, I was spared that particular detail. But not the sense of horror over what had happened, nor the central message: the lengths and depths to which the Arabs of Palestine seemed ready to go in their fight against us. "*Hit'alelu bagufot!*" was the only slightly sanitized account we children were given. "They mutilated the corpses!"

Even after the partition vote, statehood was not a given. In the weeks before the British left, two senior Americans –the ambassador to the UN and Secretary

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of State George C. Marshall – recommended abandoning or at least delaying the declaration of an Israeli state. Yet Ben-Gurion feared that any delay risked the end of any early hope of statehood. After he managed to secure a one-vote majority in his *de facto* cabinet, the state was declared on May 14, 1948.

And hours later, the armies of five Arab states crossed into Palestine.

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Chapter Two

The 1948 war and the decade that followed remain vivid in my mind not just for the obvious reason: they secured the survival of the infant state of Israel and saw it into a more assured and independent young adulthood. It was also the time when I grew from a young child –introspective and contemplative, aware of how quickly my mind seemed to grasp numbers and geometric shapes and musical notes, but also small for my age and awkward at the sports we'd play on the dusty field at the far edge of the kibbutz – into a sense of my own place in the family and community and the country around me. I did, along the way, become arguably the most effective left defensive back on our kibbutz soccer team. But that was not because I suddenly discovered a buried talent for the game. Physically, I was like my father. I had natural hand coordination which made delicate tasks come easily – one reason I would soon discover a pastime that lent itself to acts of kibbutz mischief bordering on juvenile delinquency. But when it came to larger muscles, I was hapless, if not hopeless. My prowess as a soccer defenseman was because no opposing player in his right mind, once I'd inadvertently cut his knees from under him when aiming for the ball, felt it was worth coming anywhere close to me.

But when the war broke out in earnest in the spring of 1948, my focus, like that of all Israelis, was on the fighting, which even the youngest of us knew would determine whether the state would survive at all. Day after day, my father helped me to chart each major advance and setback on a little map. Dozens of kibbutzim around the country were in the line of fire. Some had soon fallen, while others were barely managing to hang on. Just five miles inland from us, an Israeli settlement came under attack by an Iraqi force in the nearby Arab village of Qaqun.

But inside Mishmar Hasharon, I had the almost surreal feeling that this great historical drama was something happening everywhere else but on our kibbutz. If it hadn't been for the radio, or the newsreels which we saw in weekly movie nights in the dining hall, and the little map on which I traced its course with my father, I would barely have known a war was going on. One Arab army did get near to us: the Iraqis, in Qaqun. If they had advanced a few miles further, they could have overrun Mishmar Hasharon, reached the coast and cut the new Jewish state in half. I can still remember the rumble of what sounded like thunder one morning in June 1948, as the Alexandronis, one of the twelve brigades in the new Israeli army, launched their decisive attack on the Iraqis.

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"No reason to be afraid," our *metapelet* kept telling me. That only made me more scared. Yet within a few hours, everything was quiet again, and never again did the shellfire get near to us. A few weeks later, I heard the only gunfire inside the kibbutz itself. It came from the top of our water tower. The man on guard duty thought he saw movement on the road outside. But it turned out to be nothing.

It wasn't until well into 1949 that formal agreements were signed and "armistice line" borders drawn with the Arab states. By the measure that mattered most – survival – Israel had won and the Arab attackers had lost. Jordan did end up in control of the West Bank, as well as the eastern half of a divided city of Jerusalem, including the walled Old City and the site of the ancient Jewish temple. The new Israel remained, at least geographically, vulnerable. It was just 11 miles wide around Tel Aviv and even narrower, barely half that, near Mishmar Hasharon. Egyptian-held Gaza was seven miles from the southern Israeli city of Ashkelon and just 40 from the outskirts of Tel Aviv.

Israel did secure control of the entire Galilee, up to the pre-war borders with Lebanon and Syria, and of the Negev Desert in the south. The territory of our new state was about a third larger than the area proposed under the UN partition plan rejected by the Arabs. Yet the victory came at a heavy price: more than 6,000 dead, one per cent of the Jewish population of Palestine at the time. It was as if America had lost two million in the Vietnam War. One-third of the Israeli dead were Holocaust survivors.

The Arabs paid a heavy price too, and not just the roughly 7,000 people who lost their lives. Nearly 700,000 Palestinian Arabs had fled – or, in some cases, been forced to flee – towns and villages in what was now Israel. The full extent and circumstances of the Arabs' flight became known to us at Mishmar Hasharon only later. But it did not take long to notice the change around us. Wadi Khawaret was physically still there, but all of the villagers were gone. As far as I could discover, none had been killed. They left with a first wave of refugees in April 1948, and eventually ended up near Tulkarem on the West Bank. After the war, the Israeli government divided up their farmland among nearby kibbutzim including Mishmar Hasharon.

The absence of our former neighbors in Wadi Khawaret seemed to me at the time simply a part of the war. From the moment the violence started, I understood there would be suffering on both sides. When we sent our care packages to Giora Ros in Jerusalem, I remember trying to imagine what "living

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under siege" would feel like, and what would happen to Giora if it succeeded. Especially after the murder and the mutilation of The 35, I assumed the war would come down to a simple calculus. If there was going to be an Israel – if there was going to be a Mishmar Hasharon – we had to win and the Arabs had to lose. At first, even the fact our kibbutz had been given a share of the land of Wadi Khawaret seemed just another product of the war. After all, Ben-Gurion had accepted the plan for two states. The Arabs had said no, deciding to attack us instead. S*omeone* had to farm the land. Why not us?

* * *

Yet events after the war did lead me to begin to ask myself questions of basic fairness, and whether we were being faithful to some of the high-sounding ideals I heard spoken about with such pride on the kibbutz. The Palestinians were not the only refugees. More than 600,000 Jews fled *into* Israel from Arab countries where they had lived for generations. More than 100,000 arrived from Iraq, and several hundred thousand from Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria in north Africa. Immediately after the war, about 50,000 were airlifted out of Yemen, where they had endured violent attacks ever since the UN partition vote.

The reality that greeted the Yemenis in Israel was more complex. Most were initially settled in tented transit camps. I'm not sure how several dozen Yemeni families made their way to Wadi Khawaret, but it made sense for them to move into the village's vacant homes. It was empty except for several deserted buildings which we and other kibbutzim began using for storage and, later, for our transport co-operative. Yet a few nights after the Yemenis moved in, a posse of young men, including some from Mishmar Hasharon, descended on them and, armed with clubs and wooden staves, drove them away.

I was shocked. I'd seen the photos in *Davar le Yeladim* celebrating the airlift, with the Yemenis kissing the airport tarmac in relief, gratitude and joy at finding refuge in the new Israeli state. Now, for the "crime" of moving into a row of empty buildings in search of a decent place to live, they'd been beaten up and chased away. By *us*. I realized Wadi Khawaret no longer belonged to the Arabs. But, surely, our kibbutz had no more right to the buildings than Jews who had fled from Yemen and needed them a lot more than we did. For days, I tried to discover who had joined the vigilante attack. Though everyone seemed to know what had happened, no one talked about it. In the dining hall, I ran my

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eyes over all the boys in their late teens and early 20s. I was sure that after something like this there had to be some sign of who had done it. But they looked the same as before, eating and talking as if nothing had happened.

The Yemenis also needed jobs. This led to a challenge for Mishmar Hasharon. The core of the kibbutz ethos was that we would live from our own labor. Yet Ben-Gurion insisted we and other kibbutzim provide work for the Yemenis and other new arrivals from the Arab states. We began hiring Yemeni workers when I was about ten, the age when we kids started working for an hour or so each day in the fields. We worked alongside several dozen Yemeni women who lived a few miles north in a *maabarah*, a transit settlement which later evolved into a village called Elyakhin. Each morning, the Yemenis arrived in a bus, and they left at the end of their day's work.

I don't know whether I expected to feel a Gordonian sense of joy at the redemptive value of physical labor when I began working in the fields. Our first assignment was to plant long rows of flower bulbs – gladioli – spaced at intervals of four inches or so. But as I joined the other children and the Yemeni women, what I felt was more mundane. Heat. Fatigue. Boredom. To make the time pass, I thought of it as a competition. Each of us began together, planting the bulbs in furrows stretching to the end of the field. The point was obviously to do it right. But I found it interesting to see who finished first, and how much longer it took the rest of us.

The same worker always led the way. She was a Yemeni in her early thirties. Her name was Baddura. Short and stocky, with dark curly hair, she was nearly always smiling, whether we were planting bulbs, sowing seeds or picking oranges and grapefruit and lemons, potatoes or peppers and tomatoes. When I remarked to her how much better and faster she was than the rest of us, she laughed. Still years away from growing into my adult body, I looked more like a eight- or a nine-year-old. She took me under her wing. The next day, we were picking tomatoes. "Do the row next to mine," she said. Watching the almost balletic grace with which she moved made it easier. I decided it was like mastering a new piece on the piano. The secret was to achieve a kind of unthinking fluidity, by focusing on the passage one or two ahead of the one you were playing. Physically, Baddura was far stronger than me. Before long, however, I was finishing my sowing or reaping a good ten yards ahead of the other kids, and not too far behind her.

Though the Yemenis worked in our fields, they were not members of the kibbutz. They were paid a day-rate. Though they were by far the most

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productive workers, they got no share of what we produced or possessed. A few years later, I raised this at one of the separate *aseifa* meetings held by young people on the kibbutz, only to be told we'd never wanted to employ outsiders in the first place. It was only because of Ben-Gurion that we felt unable to refuse. I'm sure that was true, but it seemed to me an incomplete answer, and an evasion. It struck me as an exercise in finding a verbal rationale for a situation that was obviously unjust.

It was an accidental glance up from picking carrots which focused in my mind the sense of unfairness I felt. We were working on a tract of about seven acres of rich, dark soil where we grew carrots, tomatoes and potatoes and eggplants. I think I was 11 or 12. We had assembled in the early afternoon near the kibbutz garage. We piled on to a flatbed trailer, a dozen kids and a dozen Yemeni women. We were towed by a tractor driven by a man named Yankele. He was in his mid-40s. Like my father, he was one of the original group at Mishmar Hasharon. Before the Yemenis came, he had worked planting and harvesting. Now, he was responsible for "managing" the Yemenis, and us kids as well, during our fieldwork. He paced among us every half-hour or so to make sure the work was going smoothly. Though the area was ankle-deep in mud during in the winter, it was hot and dusty in the summer. I'd been working for an hour or so, crouching alongside Baddura, when I looked up. On the edge of the field, under the shade of a clump of banana trees, I saw Yankele. He had a set of keys on a metal chain. He was twirling them around his finger, first one way, then the other, as his eyes tracked us and our Yemeni co-workers. Like a kibbutznik-turned-plantation-owner.

* * *

As a February baby, I was the youngest in our age group. In the tiny world of the kibbutz, there were not enough children to organize separate school classes for each year. When I started school, I was five-and-a-half. Most of the others were six. A few had already turned seven. Maybe it was this age pressure, or maybe something inside me, but from the outset, I had a thirst for knowledge. I was aware early on that some of the schoolwork came easily, almost automatically to me: numbers and math and reasoning most of all. I also began reading books, even if I could not fully understand them. By the time I was eight or nine, I was burying myself in volumes of the children's encyclopedia at

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the kibbutz library, trying to untangle the mysteries of airplanes and automobiles, or the creation of worldly wonders, from the Hanging Gardens of Babylon to the Empire State Building and the Golden Gate Bridge.

At first, I got many of the answers from my father. On Saturdays, we would walk around the kibbutz as I plied him with questions. In many ways, he always lacked self-confidence. I remember decades later, after he had passed away, asking my mother how come they had spent their entire lives on the kibbutz and never moved away. She replied: "What would your father have done outside?" But he had a quick mind and, despite having left Hebrew University early, had secured enough credits to get his degree – one of a handful of men on the kibbutz to have done so. He delighted in acquiring, and sharing, knowedge.

How come the moon wasn't always round, I remember asking him in one of our first educational strolls. How did anyone *know* that the sabertooth tigers I'd seen in the encyclopedia actually existed? And where were they now? There was not a single question he did not try to help me answer. When I was nine or ten, he took me to see the first water pump on the kibbutz. I watched as he disassembled the casing, then the power unit, which had a big screw-like element in the middle. I wanted to know how it worked, how it was designed. How it was made. A few months later, he took me to the factory near Tel Aviv where the pumps were manufactured.

I was an introverted child, not so much shy as self-contained, contemplative, at times dreamy. Our *metapelet* from when I was three until age eight was named Bina. She was the mother of twins a year younger than me. She was more handsome than beautiful, with wavy dark hair. But she was full of warmth. She was especially kind to me, which was no doubt one reason I felt the effects of my collective upbringing less dramatically than some other kibbutz children. When we were both much older, she used tell a story about my slightly ethereal approach to life when I was in her charge. One winter afternoon when I was four, she took our group on to the gentle rise on the northern edge of the kibbutz, which at that time of year was full of wildflowers. When she got there, she realized I had gone missing. Retracing her steps, she found me standing in front of a rock in the middle of the dirt path. "Ehud," she said, "why didn't you come with us?" I apparently replied: "I'm thinking: which *side* of the rock should I go around?"

Still, important though Bina was as a presence in my life, it was the influence of another figure – another youngster – who mattered more and for longer. His name was Yigal Garber. In first grade, every child got a mentor.

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Yigal was mine. Solidly built and self-confident, with a knowing smile, he would go on to become one of the most respected members of the kibbutz. Though I was the only child he mentored, he was also in charge of our class's extracurricular educational program. It began when I was ten, and Yigal was sixteen. It was a mix of ideological training – the kibbutz equivalent of what my mother had done with her Gordonia friends in Poland – and a scouting course.

One evening a week, he would spend several hours with us. He began by reading us a story or a poem. One which I remember with particular clarity involved a slave who had a nail driven into his ear in hopes of remaining in his master's service forever. He had become enslaved not only in body, but in mind. Another night, Yigal read us an account of a Palmach unit stranded on a hill they had taken, with anti-personnel mines all around them. The readings were gripping and they were always an entry-point for a discussion: how did we understand the story? What would *we* do if faced with a similar choice?

When that part was over, he walked us into the fields outside the kibbutz. The only sound we heard was the occasional screech of a jackal. Sometimes, he would split us into twos and have each pair set off from a far edge of the field and find our way back. Yigal stationed himself at the center. We would have to sneak up and see which of us could get closest without his seeing or hearing us approach. In his last year with us before leaving for his army service, he gave each of us a narrow wooden stick and began drilling us in the teenage introduction to martial arts. But I was less interested in that part of the training than the scouting exercises. Not only was I the youngest in our group, and the smallest, except for a couple of the girls. Notwithstanding my accidental prowess on the soccer field, I lacked the strength and coordination to hold my own in most physical contests at the time.

* * *

Yet then, shortly after I turned thirteen, I overheard a conversation between a couple of older kids in the dining hall. They said there was this guy in Gan Shmuel, a kibbutz to the north of us, who had an "amazing" ability. Using a strip of steel shaped to work like a key, he could open locks – even chunky Yale padlocks, the gold standard in those days – in less than a minute.

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I was intrigued by the mechanical puzzle and managed to locate two slightly rusted locks. One was a Yale, the other an Israeli-made lookalike called a Nabob. One evening after dinner, I searched the ground around the kibbutz garage for shards of metal that looked like they might fit into the key slot, and spent the next half-hour or so propped against a tree, trying and failing to coax either lock to open. I realized I would need to discover how the locks worked. But how to get inside to see?

Saturday afternoons in Mishmar Hasharon were a quiet time, like the old Jewish neighborhoods and shtetls back in Europe but minus the religious trappings. The next day, I waited until mid-afternoon and walked past the bakery towards the garage. Its roll-down, corrugated door was locked. So was the structure next to it, where the blacksmith and metalwork shop were. But attached to the blacksmith's was a hut where our scrap metal was dumped. I doubted it would be locked, and it wasn't. Pausing to let my eyes get used to the dark, I made my way into the metalwork area. I crossed to the cabinet where the tools were kept. I took out a steel jigsaw used for cutting through metal and, hiding it under my shirt, made my way out again.

Fortunately, the saw was up to the task of cutting into the softer alloy that made up the body of the locks. Once I'd cut inside them, I saw they shared the same basic construction. There was a series of springs and shafts which, in response to the indentations of a key, aligned in such a way to allow the lock to open. I sneaked back into the metalwork shop five or six times. By trial and error, I managed to shape one of jigsaw blades into a pick tool that seemed like it should do the job. For days, I manipulated it into each of the padlocks. I knew I had the principle right, but I still couldn't get it to work. Blisters formed on my thumb and fingers. Then, finally, the Yale sprung open! With each successive try I got better at knowing how to put the blade in, when and where to rotate it and how much pressure to apply. After fashioning a half-dozen other tools, each slightly different in width and shape, I reached a point where I could get the mechanism to work on my first try. Other locks – doors, trunks, closets – were even easier after I made picks for them as well.

I couldn't resist sharing my newly acquired skill with a couple of the boys in my class, and word gradually spread. There was a handful of slightly older boys who we referred to as the "rogues". They weren't delinquents. They were free spirits, bridling at the uniform expectations and rules of kibbutz life. Over the next few years, as co-conspirators more than close friends, I found myself drawn to two of them. Ido and Moshe were 18 months older than me. Though

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Ido was just a few inches over five feet, he was strong and athletic, a star even on the basketball court. Moshe was taller, if a bit overweight. He was nowhere near as strong as Ido, but still stronger than me, and had a streetwise intelligence and a sardonic sense of humor. Both had tested the patience of our teachers to breaking point. Ido had been sent off to a vocational school in Netanya. Moshe was moved to *Mikveh Israel*, a school which focused mostly on agriculture. On Friday evenings and Saturdays in the kibbutz, however, they filled their time with a variety of minor misdeeds. My role – the cement in our budding partnership – was as designated lock-picker.

Our first caper targeted the concrete security building near the dining hall. It contained the kibbutz's store of weapons, with a metal door secured by a padlock. Late one Friday night, with Ido and Moshe as lookouts, I crouched in front of the lock and took out my tools. In less than a minute, I had it open. We darted into the storeroom. There were about 80 rifles, along with a few machine guns, on racks along the walls. Ido took a rifle from the furthest end of the rack and wrapped it in a blanket. Moshe pocketed a box of ammunition. As the others hurried back to our dormitory, I closed the lock, making sure it was in the same position I'd found it, and joined them. The next afternoon, we stole away through the moshav of Kfar Hayim into a field on the far side. We test-fired the rifle until sunset, when we returned to the kibbutz and replaced it in the armory. It felt like the perfect crime: foolproof, since no one was likely to notice anything. Essentially harmless. And repeatable, as we confirmed by returning on Friday nights every month or two.

This modest pre-adolescent rebellion never extended to doubting the national mission of Israel. Growing up on a kibbutz in a country younger even than we were, we all felt a part of its brief history, and its future. That was especially true after my kibbutz mentor, Yigal, left for his military service and joined one of the Israeli army's elite units.

The 1948 war had been won. But it had not brought peace. Palestinian irregulars, *fedayeen* operating from Jordan and the Gaza Strip, mounted hit-and-run raids. In armed ambushes or by planting mines, they killed dozens of Israeli civilians and injured hundreds more. The country was in no mood for another war. The newly created Israeli armed forces – known as *Tzahal*, a Hebrew acronym for the Israeli Defense Force – also seemed to have lost the cutting edge, or perhaps the desperate motivation, of the pre-state militias. At first, Ben-Gurion relied on young recruits in the new army's infantry brigades to counter the fedayeen attacks. Nearly 90 reprisal operations were launched in 1952 and

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early 1953. Nearly all ended with the soldiers failing to reach their target or taking casualties. Sometimes both.

By mid-1953, the army decided to set up Israel's first dedicated commando force. It was called Unit 101. It was led by a 25-year-old named Ariel Sharon, who had been a platoon commander in 1948. With Ben-Gurion and especially his army chief-of-staff, Moshe Dayan, determined to hit back hard at the fedayeen attacks, Sharon took a few dozen hand-picked soldiers and began mounting a different kind of retaliatory attacks. The largest, in October 1953, was in response to the murder of a woman and her two children in their home in central Israel. It was against the West Bank village of Qibya. Sharon and his commandos surrounded and attacked the village, destroying homes and other buildings – and killing at least 40 villagers sheltering inside them. Israel immediately came under international condemnation, accused of allowing its troops to unleash a massacre. Unit 101 was disbanded. It lasted just half a year. But that was not because of Qibya. While realizing the importance of avoiding civilian casualties, Dayan remained convinced that only units like 101 offered any realistic hope of taking the fight to the fedayeen. He made Unit 101 the core of a larger commando force merged into Battalion 890 of the paratroopers' brigade, and he put Sharon in overall command.

It was this force that Yigal Garber joined. He became part of its elite commando team, Company A and took part in a series of attacks on the West Bank and in Gaza. While avoiding a repeat of Qibya, they inflicted heavy casualties on Jordanian and Egyptian army and police units, and also suffered casualties of their own. Battalion 890 was based just a couple of miles from Mishmar Hasharon and Yigal returned to the kibbutz every few weeks. He never talked about the commando operations. But every time there was a report of Israelis killed in a fedayeen attack, I knew there would be a retaliation raid, with my Yigal almost certainly involved and, I hoped, returning unscathed.

He did. And in 1956, two years into his military service, he was part of Israel's second full-scale war. For a while, the reprisal attacks seemed to be working. The fedayeen attacks decreased. But that didn't last, especially in the south along the border with Gaza. Egypt's pro-Western monarchy had been toppled in a coup organized by a group of army officers led by a stridently pan-Arabist – and anti-Israeli – lieutenant colonel named Gamal Abdel Nasser. Egypt began providing not just tacit support for the fedayeen in Gaza, but arming and training them and helping organize cross-border attacks. Then, in

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the summer of 1956, Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal, which had been owned by the British and French.

Ben-Gurion was emboldened to go war by the fact that both Britain and France wanted to retake the canal. Under an agreement reached beforehand, Israel was to begin the hostilities, after which the British and French would enter under the guise of separating Israeli and Egyptian forces. Ben-Gurion's hope was to end the threat of fedayeen strikes, at least in the south, by taking control both of Gaza and the enormous natural buffer afforded by the Sinai Desert. Militarily, it went to plan. On October 29, 1956, Yigal and other paratroopers from Battalion 890 were dropped deep into the Sinai. They landed near the entrance to the Mitla Pass, a sinuous route between two lines of craggy hills 25 miles from the canal. British and French air strikes began three days later. Nasser pulled most of his forces back across the canal. By early November, Israel was in control of Gaza and the whole of the Sinai.

Politically, however, Ben-Gurion and his European partners had catastrophically miscalculated. Britain and France were fading imperial powers. The balance of power after the Second World War rested with America and the Soviet Union. Both were furious over the obviously pre-arranged seizure of Sinai, Gaza and the canal. It took a while for the message to sink in. In a speech to the Knesset after the conquest was complete, Ben-Gurion declared the post-1948 armistice null and void, and said Israel would never again allow "foreign forces" to control the territory it had captured.

A few days later, however, he had no choice but to deliver a different message in a radio address to the country. He had at least managed to secure a concession with the help of the Americans. The Sinai and Gaza would be placed under supervision of a UN force. He also got a US assurance of Israel's right of passage through the Straits of Tiran to the Red Sea, and an agreement that if the Egyptians blocked Israeli shipping we would have the right to respond. But he announced that we would be leaving every inch of territory taken in the war. By early 1957, we did so. The one lasting gain came in Gaza. On their way out, Israeli troops destroyed the fedayeen's military installations, and cross-border attacks from the south ceased.

Unlike in 1948, the Sinai War touched me directly. I never felt Israel's existence was in danger. The fighting was brief and far away. But Mishmar Hasharon had a small role in the war plan. Ben-Gurion and Dayan were concerned that the co-ordinated attack might lead to a wider war, with the possibility that Egyptian warplanes might get involved as they had in 1948.

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Among the precautions they took was to base several hundred reservists from the Alexandroni Brigade in a defensive position near the Mediterranean: the eucalyptus grove at the top end of our kibbutz, where the cover was so dense they were all but invisible from the air.

We kids seized on the chance to talk to the reservists. I can't remember whether it was Ido or Moshe who noticed an area at the back of their encampment, on the other side of the kibbutz cemetery, where neatly stacked boxes of munitions were being kept. But we spent the next several afternoons on reconnaissance. A soldier was always on guard. But there were times the area was unwatched, either when one guard handed over to the next, or on their cigarette breaks.

We struck the following Friday. Nowadays, the cemetery consists of a half-dozen rows of headstones. Walking through it, as I still do at least once each year, is like revisiting my past. Almost all the grown-ups I remember from my childhood now rest there, including my parents. My father died in 2002, at the age of 92. My mother passed away only a few years ago, a few weeks after her 100th birthday. But in 1956, the cemetery was tiny. The chances of anyone being there at midnight on a Friday were close to zero. Crouching in the shadow of the headstones, we could see the guard. We waited until he left for his break. Each of us took a wooden box and one of the slightly larger metal boxes. Inside, we found a treasure trove: thousands of bullets for all kinds of weapons. The metal cases held heavier firepower: grenades and mortars. We returned those. We were mischievous, but not crazy. Yet each of us now had a crate full of ammunition, even including belts for machine guns.

* * *

My experience at school began to change in my early teenage years as well. Shortly before my fourteen birthday, our age group was sent to a school outside Mishmar Hasharon. The kibbutz had decided that since there were only a dozen-or-so children in each class, it wasn't economically viable to provide a quality education. They sent us to the regional high school.

It was several hundred yards down the road in the direction of Tel Aviv. It was far more rigorous. I was no longer the only kid in my class who liked to read or could do math problems in his head. It was there I first got truly

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interested in science. When I came across concepts I couldn't understand, our teachers always seemed able to answer my questions or help me find the answers myself. I liked the school enormously. I might well have gone on to finish my secondary education there. I probably should have. But the next year, the kibbutz brought us back again.

One of the considerations was financial. Like many kibbutzim, Mishmar Hasharon concluded that in order to make its school more economically sustainable it would take in a number of "outside children" – *yeldei chutz* – from towns and settlements around Israel. Yet this latest policy change was also triggered a debate over the *kind* of education kibbutzim should provide. Should a kibbutz school offer a curriculum tailored to passing the *bagrut*, the matriculation exam, and going on to university? Or should it limit itself to a fairly basic education geared to developing the talents needed for a productive life on the kibbutz? In a series of heated debates in the dining hall, almost all of Mishmar Hasharon supported the model of a basic, kibbutz-oriented education.

My father was the leading voice among the dissenters, and though it seemed obvious he was fighting an uphill battle, I remember feeling a sense of pride at watching him – and an echo in my own impulse to reach my own judgment about issues and to act on it as I was growing older. Not only was he opposed to the new policy. He was aghast. In the only time I can recall his speaking out at one of the weekly kibbutz meetings, he asked how Mishmar Hasharon could take upon itself the right to constrain an individual child's life potential. "We are Jews!" he said. "We are people who have left our impact on history through our scholars, not our peasants. I can't understand how we, who came here to open a new chapter in the history of our people, can choose to keep our sons and daughters from studying. We should *encourage* them to study!" He accepted that the interests of the kibbutz mattered. But what kind of "model society" would we be creating if we chose to "doom our own children to ignorance, and cut them off from the great forward momentum of history in Israel and the whole world?"

Especially in a kibbutz, however, the majority ruled. In this case, it was nearly unanimous, my mother included. I could see she felt torn, whether because she agreed with my father or because she realized how deeply he felt. But she accepted the decision. For her, that was what was meant by being part of the larger kibbutz family. Still, my father didn't give up. He couldn't change the kibbutz's ruling. But he tried to get me to stay at the regional high school. A couple of years earlier, examiners had fanned out across Israel to administer its

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first aptitude tests. I finished among the top two dozen results in the country. "How can you throw your gifts away? For *what*," he asked me. "If you leave that school, and give up on going to university, it will be like betraying yourself." At one point, he walked me out to the patch of hard-packed soil where we parked the tractors and farm machinery. "What do you want to do with your life," he asked. "Do you want to be a *farmer*?"

I thought about it before answering. "I don't know what will happen in the future," I said. "But if you ask me now, I would say I want to drive one of the kibbutz trucks."

I could see the shock and disappointment in his eyes. But it was the truth. I did imagine that at some point I might want to make a life outside the kibbutz. But I'd never lived anywhere else. If I was going to remain a part of it, I could think of no better way than to join our little corps of drivers. Though they lived on the kibbutz, they spent most of their time delivering or picking up goods in places like Tel Aviv, Holon or Ashkelon. As the US Marines might have put it, I guess I figured I'd join the truck-drivers and see the world.

The deeper reason I said no to my father, as I am sure he suspected, was that I felt a need to take control of my own life. That was simply a part of growing up, a process which probably happened more quickly for 1950s kibbutz children than for town or city kids. We loved and respected our parents. But we were living with other teenagers. We weren't just residents of the kibbutz. We were part of the economic collective, working in the fields or orchards, the garage and the metal shop. This bred a sense of independence. I listened to my father's arguments. But this was a decision about *my* future. I felt I had to make it for myself. I cared about my education. But I'd reached a stage where my life outside the classroom, and my circle of friends, mattered more. I am sure that the same impulse drove me in my continuing freelance forays into lockpicking and petty larceny with Ido and Moshe.

So I returned to the kibbutz school. The level of teaching was nowhere near the regional school's. But we did begin studying new subjects like economics and politics. There were two other welcome surprises as well. The first was the arrival of a new history teacher. Knowledgable, enthusiastic and eloquent, he had a rare gift for igniting excitement in his students. We studied the French Revolution. He brought it to life with insights into Montesquieu, Rousseau and John Locke, Louis XVI and Mary Antoinette, Robespierre and Napoleon. He traced the dynamics that led to the revolution, and the way its ideals descended into the bloodshed and terror that followed. He presented history as a human

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process that raised as many questions as it answered, as something we could learn from.

The second high-point was a couple named David and Leah Zimmerman. Though Mishmar Hasharon, like other kibbutzim, was secular, they introduced us to the Talmud, the ancient compendium of rabbinic discussion and debate on the meaning of passages from the Bible. We focused on two tractates, *Baba Kama* and *Baba Metziah*, in which the rabbis drew on verses from Exodus to argue out a system of rules for resolving civil disputes. It was the Talmud of torts. The intricacy and the depth of the rabbinical debate fascinated me.

* * *

Yigal returned from the army a few months after the 1956 war, when, like other teenagers, I was about to enter a pre-military program known as *Gadna*. There were several options kids could choose. One was linked to the air force, another to the navy. But most of us joined the reconnaissance and scouting group, *Gadna Sayerim*. It involved studying topography and navigation, as well as field exercises that were a lot like the ones Yigal had put us through a few years earlier. At year's end, we took part in a national exercise. It was called, a bit grandiosely, *Miyam el Yam*: from sea to sea. We had to find our way from the Mediterranean, near Haifa, across northern Israel to a lake which was a sea only in name, the Sea of Galilee. It lasted three days. We were placed in teams of four. We were each given a topographical map and a compass, with landmarks marked along the way which we had to find and draw in a notebook to prove we'd been there.

A couple of hours in, we faced our first challenge. We were making our way along a shepherds' trail, with brush and bramble on either side, when the path split in two. We had to decide which fork to take. The map didn't help. Each inch covered the equivalent of a mile-and-a-half. The key was to be able to match it with what we were seeing around us. To use points we *could* identify from the map – Haifa and the sea in the receding distance, and a taller hill to our northeast – and then figure out which path was more likely to take us in the right direction. I knew this mix of calculation and imagination was something I enjoyed. But it was more than that. Each of us had had the same preparation for the exercise. As my trek-mates turned to me for this first decision, and then on

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each successive stage as we crossed the Galilee, I realized that it was also something that I was naturally good at.

Still, the closest thing to real military activity remained my excurions with Ido and Moshe. Our ammunition trunks were stowed under our beds. But the final piece of our arsenal fell into place in May 1958. For the tenth anniversary of Israel, there was a national exhibition celebrating the achievements of the state. I paid a first visit on my own. I was curious to see what was on show. But as I walked through, I couldn't help noticing the lack of security. Two days later, I returned with Ido and Moshe. There was a stand devoted to the Israeli military industry. We already had a supply of ammunition for an Uzi submachine gun, courtesy of our raid on the Alexandroni Brigade. Now, when the guy in charge of the stand was chatting with other visitors, we came away with an Uzi.

It was then the trouble began. Along with Ido, Moshe and the other older boys, I now lived in a larger dormitory under the cursory gaze of an older *metapelet*. She was doing routine cleaning when she decided to dust around the boxes under our beds. She'd never given them much thought. But when she tried to move one of them, she was amazed by its weight. She got one her sons-in-law to help. I think the box he pried open first was Moshe's. But within a few minutes he'd opened Ido's and mine as well. Inside each were hundreds of bullets and the machine-gun belts. Inside mine was our prized Uzi. It would not exactly have taken the KGB to work out the rest. The kibbutz leaders ordered an inquiry. Ido was summoned first, and attempted a brief show of defiance. "What's the big deal," he asked. "It's just stuff we collected. Why should you care?" But separately questioning Moshe, then Ido again, the inquisitors worked out every detail. The fact that the ammunition had come from the Alexandroni Brigade, the reservists sent to *defend* us, was bad enough. But the Uzi had been stolen from the National Exhibition. That was even worse. It was left to the core of young men in their late 20s and 30s to figure out how to punish us. Everyone agreed we could not be reported to the police. That would risk a scandal for the kibbutz. They decided to beat some sense into the offenders, in front of all the rest of the teenagers in the dormitory.

I wasn't there. One afternoon each week, I now boarded a bus into Tel Aviv for my piano lesson. But when I returned after sundown, I sensed immediately something was wrong. Yigal was waiting at the bus stop outside the kibbutz. He told me that what I had done was terrible. Not just because it involved weapons, but because it was a *breach of trust*. Did you really *steal ammunition from the*

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army, he asked, his voice rising. And from the *National Exhibition*? I didn't bother denying it. I suppose I felt lucky they hadn't found out about our raids on the kibbutz armory. He did not administer my beating. That came a few weeks later from one of the kibbutz elders. He simply took me by the shoulders and shouted: "You must *never* do this again."

It was worse for my parents. At first, they believed I was an innocent party. They were convinced I couldn't have got involved in something like this without being dragged in by the others. My father even asked me whether the reason I'd been "drafted" by Ido and Moshe was because I was small, and able to squeeze through tight spaces in windows and doors. As it happened, that did sometimes come in handy. But I told them, no, I was not an unlucky bystander. I was as much a part of it as the others. My father was angrier than I had ever seen him. My mother, faced with what must have seemed like a betrayal of every one of her Zionist principles, told me that if the kibbutz had decided to report us to the police, she would not have objected.

Their mood lifted slightly when I began my final year of high school in September 1958. After two years back in the kibbutz school, our age-group was sent out again in another shift in policy. This one was in response to signs of growing support in Mishmar Hasharon and other kibbutzim for the argument my father had made against the quality of education we were offering. In order to go at least some way toward meeting that objection, Mishmar Hasharon was banding together with two dozen other kibbutzim and sending all 12th-graders to one of two outside high schools. The first, called Beit Berl, was a Labor Zionist institution focusing on the humanities. In addition to a few of the less academic boys, most of the girls were sent there. The rest of us went to a place called Rupin. It was a few hundred yards past the regional high school. It specialized in agriculturally related scientific research.

A few of the teachers were enormously gifted, and they were in the areas that most interested me: math, physics and biology. Yet the rest of the curriculum was almost numbingly *un*inspiring. I did not miss a single math or science class. But otherwise, I began setting my own schedule. Some days, I would sleep late, or not go at all. When I did go, I'd often show up without having done the homework. Neither Ido nor Moshe was with me at Rupin. They were starting their military service. But I assembled a new band of mischief-makers, and it was not hard to entice them to go AWOL.

I was warned several times by the school administrator. He said he could not accommodate a student who seemed oblivious to, or dismissive of, the rules. He

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was especially upset because my attitude seemed to be infecting others. A few months into the school year, he told the leaders of Mishmar Hasharon, and then my parents, that I would have to leave. My father was especially upset. A couple of years earlier, he'd had visions of my staying on in the regional high school and going to university. Now, I'd been unable to hold my own in Rupin. Still, both he and my mother were relieved when Mishmar Hasharon and the school worked out a compromise which did not end my studies altogether. The expulsion stood, but I was allowed to continue attending math and science classes.

For my mother, the blow was softened by the fact I began working almost full-time on the kibbutz, alongside Yigal, driving a tractor. I woke up early and accompanied him into the fields of wheat, barley or rye. We also made a series of trips 130 miles south into the Negev to a moshav called Patish. It had been set up by newly arrived Moroccan Jews. Since they didn't have the equipment or know-how to cultivate all their fields, they were renting out some of the land. Mishmar Hasharon had contracted to farm a parcel of 450 acres.

For ten days at a time, Yigal and I would place a tractor on the back of a pickup and head to Patish. We worked from four in the morning until sundown. After work, we ate at a tiny family-run restaurant a few miles away in Ofakim, a so-called "development town" populated by Moroccan Jews who had been moved there as soon as they arrived in Israel. Far from regretting not being in school, I drew satisfaction, and pride, from knowing that I was functioning as an independent adult. But it also gave me time to think. My whole life had been circumscribed by the struggle to create and secure the state. But I again found myself pondering issues of basic fairness in our young country, and the challenge of reconciling our words and principles with our deeds amid the difficult *realities* of building the state.

Back on the kibbutz, it was the example of the kindly and hard-working Baddura which had caused me to question how we were treating the Jews who had arrived from Yemen. In the Negev, I met members of the even larger post-war influx from Morocco. One image struck me above all. It was from the place Yigal and I ate dinner. Ofakim was a development town that had yet to develop. It had no visible means of support, and there was no sign the government was doing much to remedy that or integrate the new immigrants economically and socially. The "restaurant" was a side business a family had set up in the dining room of their tiny home. The sixth or seventh time we went there, I was startled by sudden movement a couple of feet away from where we were sitting.

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Looking more closely, I saw a wooden box, the kind we used in Mishmar Hasharon to crate oranges. It was filled with hay. At first, I thought the stirring inside was a family pet. Then, I saw it was a baby. I said nothing until we had left. "Was that really a child?" I asked Yigal. "A *baby*?" He replied, with a tinge of sadness but also a look that seemed to convey surprise at my naivety: "Yes. They don't have room for him."

* * *

My evolving feelings about the Arabs, the other people with dreams of what they still saw as Palestine, would become more complex as my childhood drew to an end. As mentioned, I barely registered the fate of the absent villagers of Wadi Khawaret.

And yet as I got older – in my teens – I came to understand *why* the Palestinians were fighting us. Before the 1956 war, Dayan gave a brief speech that had a powerful impact on me. It was a eulogy, but it was for someone Dayan didn't know personally. His intended audience was the rest of the country. He spoke in Nahal Oz, a kibbutz on the border with Gaza often targeted by fedayeen. In April 1956, a group of Arabs crossed from Gaza and began cutting down the wheat in Nahal Oz's fields. The kibbutz security officer, a 21-year-old named Roi Rotberg, rode out on horseback to chase them away. The intruders opened fire as soon as he got close. They beat him, shot him dead and took the body back over the armistice line. The corpse was returned, mutilated, after an Israeli protest through the UN.

With Israeli newspapers full of agonized accounts of what had happened, Dayan's message was that we should not blame the *Arabs* for Roi Rotberg's death. We should look at ourselves, and the neighborhood in which we lived. "Why should we talk about their burning hatred for us?" he asked. "For eight years, they have been sitting in the refugee camps of Gaza, while before their eyes we have been transforming the lands and the villages where they and their fathers dwelt." Of course, they hated us and the state we were building. Rotberg had allowed his "yearning for peace to deafen his ears, and he did not hear the voice of murder waiting in ambush." Dayan said the danger was that other Israelis had become similarly naive. "How did we shut our eyes, and refuse to see, in all its brutality, the destiny of our generation?" A generation which was

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settling the land but which, "without the steel helmet and the barrel of the gun, will not succeed in planting a tree or building a home."

Still, if I was part of a generation that understood the need for military preparedness, strength and a readiness to fight if we were to survive in the Middle East, the 1956 war also brought home to me the need to consider *how* we fought. This meant grappling with a contradiction wired into Zionism from the start: the need to take up arms to defend our state, while recognizing the Jewish moral code that was its foundation. When the Israeli armed forces were established in 1948, Tzahal's doctrine included the principle of *tohar haneshek* – "purity of arms" – and an explicit requirement for our soldiers to use the minimum necessary force and do all they could to avoid civilian casualties. Putting "purity of arms" into practice was always going to be hard. All arms kill. In all wars, civilians die. But that did not make the principle, or the need to be aware of it in combat, any less important.

Even if the soldier called on the make that judgment was someone who had mentored me from the time I was six, and whose military prowess I had come to respect. Even if it was Yigal Garber. His parachute jump on the first day of the 1956 war went smoothly. But the battle for control of the Mitla Pass turned out to be the most deadly of the war. It was also unnecessary. Under Israel's pre-war choreography with the British and French, the very fact of our landing near the Mitla Pass was to be the trigger for an Anglo-French attack. In fact, Arik Sharon, the commander of Battalion 890, received orders from Tel Aviv *not* to take the pass. Only grudgingly, did they let him send in a reconnaissance force to establish whether it was safe to cross.

The reconnaissance company walked into a trap. Machine-gun and mortar fire rained down from Egyptian troops dug into the caves and other natural defensive positions above the pass. It took hours to extricate the stranded men. Yigal's unit fought its way in from the eastern side of the pass. A small group from the reconnaissance force managed to get a foothold on the western side. Almost 250 Egyptians were killed. But 38 Israeli paratroopers also died, the largest single toll in any battle since 1948. Battered and bitter, the surviving men from the reconnaissance force parachuted into the southernmost part of the Sinai, near Et-Tur on the Red Sea. Yigal and the others headed overground to join up with them. By the time they got there, Egyptian resistance had all but ended. Yigal's company had a brief exchange of fire with several dozen hold-outs in the Egyptian force. The Egyptians surrendered. And then, apparently, Yigal and his fellow paratroopers shot all of them dead.

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At least those were the rumors after the war. I asked friends what they were hearing. I asked some of the older men on the kibbutz, my father included. All of them responded with a slightly different version of events. But I knew what I *wasn't* hearing. No one of them told me it was a lie. When I asked Yigal, he averted my glance, and then changed the subject. I knew it was true, at least broadly.

I realized that, before it happened, Yigal and the others had seen dozens of friends gunned down in an Egyptian ambush in the Mitla Pass. But I didn't need a lesson *tohar haneshek* to know that the killing of captured Egyptian soldiers should not have happened. Or that it was plainly, simply wrong.

When Yigal and I made our final trip to Patish in 1959, I knew it would be pointless to ask him about it. Whatever he said wouldn't change anything. I still respected his courage and his fighting spirit, and the part he'd played in defending Israel. I appreciated what he'd done for me as I grew up. But what mattered now wasn't what Yigal had done. It was what I would do, and how I would live my life.

Especially since I, too, was about to begin my army service.

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Chapter Three

I reported for induction on the second Sunday of November 1959, three months short of my eighteenth birthday. Military service was a near-universal rite of passage for Israeli teenagers. For children of the kibbutz, it held even greater significance. Now that we had a country, the kibbutzniks' role as the avant-garde in taming and farming the land had ceased to be relevant. But the sense of mission we'd been raised with – what we were led to believe set us apart from the mere "city-dwellers" – drove us to aspire, maybe even assume, we would leave an imprint in other spheres of the new state's life. I doubt it's an accident that nearly every one of the boys with whom I grew up in Mishmar Hasharon went on to become an officer during his time in the military.

Judging from my own first few weeks in uniform, however, there was every reason to believe I would end up as an unfortunate, undistinguished exception.

This was not due to lack of ambition. In fact, I thought at first of joining the air force. But a question on the application form asked whether I ever suffered from any breathing discomfort. Like almost everyone on the kibbutz, I did get a bit clogged up when the weather turned cold and damp. So I naively answered yes, ending any chance of training as a pilot. My fallback choice was a tank unit. But when I joined the hundreds of other draftees at the processing center near Tel Aviv, about a hundred of us were shunted, by alphabetical lottery, into training for armored personnel carriers instead. Known as battle taxis, the APCs which Israel had at the time were lumbering, World War Two-vintage halftracks.

Our training battalion was based, alongside the country's main armored brigade, in a huge, hillside army camp outside Beersheva in the Negev. I knew that our *tironut* – basic training – would be tough. That was the whole point. But we endured a seemingly endless array of inspections, under the watchful eye of a corporal who meted out punishments for the tiniest scuff on a boot, a belt, or a rifle. The rest of the time was spent in physical training, which I found especially hard, at least at the beginning. I still weighed barely 130 pounds, and by no means all, or even most, of it was muscle. My military career, such as it was, looked very likely to involve spending my required couple of years baking inside an APC in the Negev before moving on to something more useful, and certainly more fulfilling, with the rest of my life.

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But a series of accidents, in Israel's life and in mine, would soon point me in a dramatically different direction. The first became known as the Rotem Crisis, and it delivered a jolting reminder of Israel's vulnerability to a surprise attack from neighboring Arab states. Militarily, we were far stronger than in 1948. But we were still a young country, at an early stage in our economic development. Our defense strategy rested on a recognition we could not afford to sustain a large standing army, relying instead on a pool of trained reservists. The problem was that a full call-up of the reserves would require something like 48 hours. That meant some form of early warning was critical.

Rotem erupted in February 1960, about halfway through my *tironut*, and began almost farcically. The Chief of Military Intelligence, Chaim Herzog, was at a diplomatic receiption in Tel Aviv when he began chatting with a guest he knew well: the head of the local CIA station. What, the American asked, did he make of the fact that Egypt had moved its two main armored divisions into the Sinai, toward the border with Israel? Herzog came up with a suitably woolly reply, about how it was obviously a situation which bore watching. But the truth was that neither he nor anyone else in Israel had any idea about the Egyptian mobilization. He left the party as soon as he could, to tell Dayan and Ben-Gurion. When a reconnaissance flight the next day confirmed that dozens of battle-ready tanks had been rolled forward toward the Suez Canal, Ben-Gurion and the generals scrambled for a response.

They did not want a war. Ben-Gurion was particularly worried that in responding to Nasser's buildup, he might inadvertently escalate things further. He vetoed the idea of a full mobilization. But he did order a more limited call-up, of about 7,000 reservists. He placed the air force on alert. He directed the four brigades responsible for the defense of southern Israel, including our armored brigade near Beersheva, to move within a few miles of the border – and gave us the additional role of sending several overnight munitions convoys to equip the hastily assembled border force.

The first sign I saw that anything extraordinary was going on was the sudden movement of tanks and APCs inside our camp. At first, no one told us raw recruits anything. We were left to look on, and stay out of the way. But with our operational units preparing to move forward, the problem was that there seemed no one else with the expertise, experience and local knowledge to lead the supply columns. So our training battalion was summoned before the platoon commander. "Any volunteers," he asked. When none of us raised a hand, he said: "Come on. One of you must have grown up around here. That means the

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first 25 miles will be familiar territory." He left unspoken the obvious postscript: the need to negotiate the final five to ten miles, through open desert, and to find the right area, on our side of a border that wasn't even marked. "Can't *any* of you," he barked, "lead a convoy of a few dozen trucks?"

I'm not sure what possessed me. But I thought to myself: yes, I probably can. I had been scouting and navigating in one way or another since those first evenings with Yigal in the kibbutz orchards. I'd trained with *Gadna Sayerim*. And while I'd never lived in the south, the farm settlement of Patish, where I'd worked along with Yigal after getting kicked out of high school, was not far from the route the conveys would have to take.

So I raised my hand.

"Can you lead a convoy?" he asked.

"Yes, sir," I said. "Of course, I'll need a map. And a compass."

"Why do you think you're qualified?" he prodded. I'd been in *Gadna Sayerim*, I said. I was good with maps. "Okay," he replied, and he sent me, along with two of the company's junior officers, to the battalion commander.

Someone must have phoned ahead, because he was clearly expecting us. Still, I could see the surprise in his eyes when he looked at me: only just eighteen, but looking closer to 15, my uniform sagging on my slender frame. He gazedat the officers, then back at me, then at the officers again, as if trying to figure out whether he was about to approve something utterly crazy. But he had little choice. Three convoys had to be dispatched within the next couple of hours. So far, with me, he had a sum total of one guy to lead them. "Fine," he said, and waved us out.

The column consisted of eight huge, American-made six-wheelers, each packed with ten tons of munitions and other supplies. I was in the lead truck. The driver was a reservist in his mid-30s. So were most of the men in the rest of the transport trucks, one driver and one soldier in each. A staff sergeant, in the second vehicle, was in theoretical command. But, surreal though it felt, I was actually in charge, since I was the only person who might, conceivably, get us to the right place.

The platoon commander was right. The first part, on paved roads, was fairly easy. But just before sunset, we reached open desert, the beginning of more than three hours of picking and weaving, calibrating and recalibrating, our way across a wide expanse on sand and occasional scrub bushes that, every mile or

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so, would suddenly give way to a windswept series of dunes and wadis. The map and compass helped. But I soon realized that it was almost impossible to get an accurate reading from inside the truck. Every few minutes, I waved the convoy to stop, got out, and walked fifty or sixty yards into the sand and clumps of acacia trees and calibrated our progress from there. My fallback was the stars. From them, I could at least make sure we were headed in broadly the right direction. But the need to navigate around the dunes meant we were never moving in a perfectly straight line. The miles ticking by on the truck's odometer couldn't tell me exactly how far we'd travelled. A couple of times, I realized we were wandering off line – not by a much, but enough to risk leaving us either a mile or two south of where we were supposed to go or, worse, on the Egyptian side of an unmarked desert frontier that, especially at night, would look pretty much the same on either side.

Finally, a few hours before dawn, I brought the convoy to a halt. I climbed out, walked back to the staff sergeant and told him, with more confidence than I felt: "We're here." I had no way of knowing for sure. But I felt we were generally in the right place. Before we'd set off, I was briefed by the officer in charge of one of the operational APC battalions. He had been to the area before, on training exercises. Because of the emergency call-up, he was too senior to lead a supply convoy. But he told me that once we got there, we should stop and wait. He would follow our tracks the next morning and link up with us. An hour after sunrise, we saw his jeep bobbing over the sand towards us. He pulled to a stop, shook hands with the staff sergeant, and then he turned to me. "Unbelievable," he said. "We're where we need to be."

Our role in the grand scheme of things, and certainly mine, was hardly decisive. But the rest of the border mobilization also went to plan. That, along with some frantic diplomatic activity and a healthy common sense on all sides, ensured that a new war with Egypt was averted – at least for a further half-dozen years, until 1967. By then, the lesson of Rotem would be learned: our need to find a realiable way to tap into the battle plans of the hostile Arab states around us. And through another wholly unexpected turn of events starting just a few weeks after the Rotem Crisis, I would turn out to play a personal role in making that happen.

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Under army regulations, training recruits got a five-day leave every few months during *tironut*. My first one came a bit later than usual, due to Rotem. But in April 1960, shortly before the Passover holiday, I headed back to Mishmar Hasharon. Despite my minor triumph of desert navigation, I still had every reason to believe I'd be spending the next couple of years in an APC unit in the Negev, and can't pretend I was looking forward to it. Still, the idea of returning home in my army uniform, at least a bit stronger and bulkier than before, did give me a sense of pride.

It was on my third day back, when I was in the dining hall with a half-dozen schoolmates-turned-soldiers, that Avraham Ramon sat down and joined us. He was a *yeled chutz*, one of the "boys from outside" who had joined our class when we were taken out of the regional high school. He, too, was now in the army. As we were finishing lunch, he asked me: "How's *tironut*?"

"Tough," I said. "Boring."

Smiling, he said: "How would you feel about joining a *sayeret*?"

The question took me by surprise. In Hebrew, *sayeret* meant "reconnaissance unit". It was the name given to special units that carried out missions behind enemy lines, or under particularly exacting conditions. In the early 1960s, there were only two of note. One was *Sayeret Golani*, attached to the Golani Brigade near the northern border. The truly elite one was *Sayeret Tzanhanim*, the paratroopers' sayeret. It had been built from Company A of Battalion 890, where Yigal had served in the 1950s.

"Which *sayeret*?" I asked.

"It's called *Sayeret Matkal*," he replied.

I'd never heard of it. When I asked what it did, he said: "I'm not allowed to say. But are you interested?" The air of mystery made it seem only more enticing. And no matter what it did, it had to be a step up from what lay ahead of me in the Negev. "Yeah. Sure," I replied.

I heard nothing further in the days after I got back to Beersheva. But at the end of the month, I was ordered to report to a small hut in an army base near Tel Aviv. It belonged to *Maka Esser*, the personnel department of military intelligence. I was greeted by two men in their late 20s. One of them, shorter even than me, introduced himself as Sami Nachmias. The other was tall and slim and said in a surprisingly quiet voice: "I'm Shmil Ben-Zvi." They were two names which I, like most Israeli teenagers at the time, knew well. Ben-Zvi

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had been an officer in Arik Sharon's original Unit 101, and Nachmias was one of the earliest recruits to Company A. They shook my hand and motioned me into a Jeep. As we drove out of the base, they peppered me with questions about almost anything except the army: the kibbutz, school, sports. Then, Ben-Zvi pulled the Jeep to the side of the road, turned around to face me and asked: "Is it true you can pick locks?"

Yes, I said. "Do you want me to show you?" He said that wouldn't be necessary.

"Is it true you can navigate? Read maps?" Nachmias asked. I said yes.

They drove me back to the base in silence. "OK," Nachmias said. "You'll probably hear from us."

I didn't. But as basic training was winding down, I got a further order: to report to an address in Tzahala, a neighborhood in north Tel Aviv where a lot of military officers lived. It was a small house with a metal gate outside. I was met at the door by a man about 30 in shorts and a T-shirt who introduced himself as Avraham Arnan. He led me inside. He unfurled a map of Jerusalem and the surrounding hills. He pointed to a spot on the southwest of the city. He drew a wide, curving line through the hills to a second point. "You know how to read a map?" he asked. When I nodded, he said: "I want you to describe to me – just as if you were walking on this line – exactly what you see, as you make your way to the place I marked." I used the elevation lines on the map as a guide, and the positioning of the hills and woodland and villages on the map, and began describing how each stage would look. When I was finished, his only response was the hint of a smile. When he spoke, it wasn't about the map. It was, again, about picking locks. "How did you learn?" he asked. I explained how I'd cut into the locks, figured out how they worked and made a set of tools to open them. "Thank you," he said. "You can return to your unit."

Though he hadn't said so, I got a feeling this was the Sayeret Matkal equivalent of a final job interview. When I got back to Beersheva, I dug around as discreetly as possible for details about Avraham Arnan. I learned he had served in 1948 in the hills around Jerusalem, so he would have known first-hand the terrain he asked me to describe. That, I guessed, explained the half-smile. But I was entering my last week of *tironut*. I still had no idea whether I'd be spending the next couple of years inside an APC – or in a sayeret whose function was a mystery, beyond the fact it seemed less interested in whether my boots were shined than whether I could pick a lock.

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The day before the end of basic training, I was told to return to *Maka Esser*. A Jeep was waiting. A soldier was at the wheel. He mumbled hello and drove me to a sprawling military base about 15 minutes away, not too far from the international airport in Lod. It was built by the British in the Second World War for the RAF. After 1948, the main part had been converted into Israel's officer-training school. But at the far end, set back from a criss-cross of runways, was a pair of domed concrete shelters which had been used by the British for munitions storage. Five tents. Two field toilets. And a single-story brick structure with a tin roof. It contained offices for Avraham Arnan, a couple of other officers and a secretary, a kitchenette and a room for storing weapons. This was the home of Sayeret Matkal, although the first thing I was told was that no one, outside a handful of senior officers in military headquarters, knew we existed.

* * *

The heart and soul of Sayeret Matkal was Avraham Arnan. Even from my brief first encounter with him in his living room in Tzahala, I was struck by his physical presence, with almost movie-star looks and a face made even more intriguing by the fact he had different-colored eyes, one brown and one a piercing green. But what really set him apart, as I got to know him and come under his spell in the sayeret, was his playful, almost bohemian disregard for the normal strictures and structures, rules and regulations, of the armed forces. What mattered to him was what actually needed to get done, and how best to accomplish it despite all the bureaucratic obstacles, and he made me and his other teenage recruits feel we were equal partners with him in getting there.

Years later, he confided that if his life had not led him into the military, he would have probably chosen something in the arts or culture, maybe directing films. But he had volunteered for the Haganah at age 17, a year before the 1948 war. As the losses mounted in Jerusalem, he found himself in the Palmach's crack Harel Brigade, under the command of a future Israeli chief-of-staff, Dado Elazar.

His vision for Sayeret Matkal became Israel's answer to the dangers identified by Rotem. But it had its origins in his experiences in the years after 1948, when he joined a military intelligence group running a loose network of Arab agents across Israel's northern border. They provided occasional bits of

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information. But in talking with his wartime friends, he realized this kind of low-level intelligence could never address the *real* need for Israel: to ensure we had early warning if Syria or Lebanon, Jordan or Egypt, were preparing to go to war against us.

He began toying with the idea of training a small force of Israeli soldiers to go on cross-border intelligence missions. The initial response from the *kirya* – military headquarters in Tel Aviv – was so frustrating that anyone else would have given up. None of the generals saw any reason to believe his scheme would work. But the real obstacle was their continuing trauma over what had happened the last time Israeli soldiers crossed the border on an intelligence mission. It had happened in 1954, and it ended in a failure even more serious than Rotem. The target was the Golan Heights, inside Syria. The special technology unit attached to military intelligence had developed a bugging device designed to be placed on a telephone pole on the Golan. The task of installing it was given to the most decorated, and respected, commando unit in the army: Company A in Sharon's paratroop battalion, led by its commander, Meir Har-Zion.

On a spring night in 1954, Har-Zion led his team onto the Golan. They rigged the bugging unit to the telephone pole, buried the bulky transmitter and made their way back. And it worked. Israeli intelligence could listen in to military communications on the Heights. The hitch as that the batteries had to be replaced every few weeks. Several more times, Meir and his men sneaked back into Syria to keep the bug working. But as commander of Company A, Meir was a key part of Israel's anti-fedayeen operations. The last thing Moshe Dayan wanted to risk was seeing him captured while trying to replace a few batteries. So he shifted the task to a regular unit from the Golani Brigade.

In December 1954, a handover mission was organized. Three men from Company A, including one of Meir's sergeants, joined three from the Golani Brigade. But they didn't even hold a joint exercise before setting off. There was also a lack of clarity about who was in charge. Though the Golani commander was nominally the senior officer, only the Company A men had any first-hand experience of this kind of mission. A half-mile onto the Heights, they were intercepted by a Syrian soldiers. If this had been a Company A operation, the response would have been automatic. They would have wheeled, opened fire and attacked. But when the Syrians ordered the Golanis to drop their weapons, one of them did, and the Company A men followed suit. They were all taken to Damascus, held in solitary confinement, beaten and tortured.

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One of the captured Golani soldiers was a 19-year-old named Uri Ilan, the son of a member of the Israeli Knesset whom Ben-Gurion and the whole of the government knew well. The soldiers' captivity dragged on until they were finally returned to Israel in March 1956. By then, however, Uri Ilan had hanged himself. He managed to hide a note into his uniform. It was found when the body was being prepared for burial. It read: *Lo bagadeti. Nekamah.* "I did not betray anything. Revenge."

Ever since the Uri Ilan mission, there had been a *de facto* ban on cross-border intelligence operations by Israeli soldiers. Ben-Gurion and his military commanders knew, of course, the importance of getting early warning of an enemy attack. But they decided the price of possible failure was simply too high.

Sayeret Matkal was born three years later. Avraham was still part of the unit running low-level agents in Syria and Lebanon, but his commander reluctantly agreed to allow him to set up his new intelligence group. His initial "headquarters" was a sparsely furnished Tel Aviv apartment. The first people he brought in were veterans of the Palmach's Arab Platoon, pre-state fighters who trained themselves to pass as Arabs and gather intelligence, or stage raids, behind enemy lines. Next, he invited friends who had served in Unit 101 and Company A. Finally, he enlisted a core of them to help train recruits to his new sayeret. He hoped the involvement of these commando veterans would also give the unit credibility inside the *kirya*. One of them, Micha Kapusta, had been part of 101, as had Itzhak Gibli, who had been a teenage Palmachnik in 1948. A third was another Company A officer named Aharon Eshel, known as Errol, in part for his undeniably Errol Flynn-like swagger, but also an acronym of his Hebrew name. But the crowing addition to the group had the distinction of having led the last *successful* Israeli bugging mission on the Golan, in addition to being the most respected commando in Israel, a man who Dayan would later call the country's greatest soldier. It was Meir Har-Zion himself.

* * *

I was part of the second group of recruits to Sayeret Matkal, in the early summer of 1960. The unit had been given its own base barely a year earlier. Bu it had yet to carry out a single mission, and there was no sign of that happening. Avraham couldn't be sure when, or if, the generals in the *kirya* might give him

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the go-ahead. Still, he was convinced that if we could demonstrate a toughness, commitment and competence which offered an obvious addition to Israel's intelligence capability, even they would recognize the folly of not using it.

He made every one of us feel a part of making this possible. I was one of ten new recruits, bringing the size of the sayeret to twenty. We were almost all teenagers. In fact, the oldest of our officers was 21. Most of the men were Sephardi Jews. For a unit like ours, with the aim of undertaking secret missions in Arab countries, Avraham believed that a background in Arabic culture and language was an important asset. I was the sayeret's only lock-picker. But all of us had been recruited in the much same way that I was. It was how the top Palmach units had been formed, and the way Sharon assembled Unit 101: friends recommending friends, in my case, my old *yeled chutz* schoolmate from the kibbutz.

We trained in the whole range of commando skills. We used not only Uzis, but Soviet-made Kalashnikovs and Gurionov machine guns. We worked with detonators and explosives. We staged raids on Israeli airfields. We conducted exercises using rubber dinghies to practice attacking from the sea. But mostly we *walked*. For hundreds of miles, almost always at night the length and breadth of the country. We would study a map of each area, committing every town or village, hilltop or dry creek bed, to memory before we set off. I can still remember what Meir Har-Zion told us: to be truly prepared, you needed to spend "an hour for an hour" – an equal time mastering the lay of the land to the amount you'd need to carry out an operation. It was a gruelling regime – designed to push us to the very limits of endurance. On one series of exercises, we were limited to a single canteen of water as we trekked deep into the Negev Desert. It was gruelling, designed to push us to the very limits of endurance. I remember the first time Errol set eyes on me after I joined the unit. He turned to Avraham, laughed, and said: "Are we taking high school kids now?" But before long, I was a "high school kid" no longer.

Meir Har-Zion rarely took a direct part in our exercises. On his final Company A mission, a month before the 1956 war, he had been shot in his throat and arm. A medic saved his life by performing a tracheotomy. But his speech was affected, and he still had almost no use of his right arm. Errol, Micha Kapusta and Yitzhak Gibli were more actively involved with us. They were there not only to help train us, but to instill a commando *attitude*, a spirit of confidence bordering on bravado.

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Kapusta was our guide on our punishing five-day treks through the Negev. Though Avraham would see us off at the start, he stayed back at the base. In a couple of the exercises, we relied on carrier pigeons to keep in touch with the base, until Kapusta began killing them for dinner. Once, on a searingly hot desert afternoon, hours from the nearest hospital, he spotted a poisonous snake. He used pieces of wood to pry its head up from the sand, grabbed its neck and strangled it.

We also studied some Arabic, though most of the Sephardi recruits already spoke the language. My tutor was a Cairo-born Jew named Amin. In part because he enjoyed mathematics and played the violin, we hit it off immediately. He was also deaf in one ear. Languages have never been my forte. Even in Hebrew, I have a slight lisp. That made mastering Arabic even harder. Still, Amin would frequently compliment me on my accent, at which point the others in the class would point out that I was lucky he was hard of hearing.

A year in, we were given a classroom briefing on what to do if we fell into enemy hands. The gist was to tell them only our name, rank and serial number. But we had a special session with Gibli, who told us about what captivity was really like. He had been shot and wounded during a retaliation operation in 1954 and was captured by the Jordanians. Until his release, he was kept in solitary confinement and tortured. The details of his imprisonment, the beatings and the cigarette burns, were lurid. Partly because we were developing a bit of commando self-confidence – but mostly to hide the discomfort of wondering how each of us would react to being in enemy hands – we heckled him over an account that seemed to get more heroic with each retelling. He wisely ignored us. He told us that survival would be down not just to physical strength. It required strength of mind, the kind of subtlety required to give your captors something to keep them at bay and to establish some form of human bond, to but withhold anything of genuine value.

A few weeks later, the whole sayeret held a four-day exercise in the Galilee. On the second night, at about four in the morning, we shook off our backpacks and settled in for a few hours' sleep. The first thing I heard was shouting in Arabic. I saw a guy hovering over me, his face covered. He handcuffed me, pulled a burlap sack over my head, yanked me to me feet and led me off. We were piled into the back of a truck. From the whispered comments around me, I assumed all twenty of us had been taken. We drove for nearly four hours. Twice, I got an slap across the face, more painful because of the burlap. I kept

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telling myself this *had* to be part of our training. If it was for real, we'd have been more badly beaten, or killed. Still, I couldn't be completely sure.

The truck lurched to a stop. We were led into a building, down a hallway and into a large room. The walls were bare except for a series of iron rings. Our captors tore the sacks from our heads for a few moments, and tied our wrists to the manacles. For the first six or seven hours we were kept together, arms shackled and raised. Then they took us away one by one. I was the last to be led out. I was taken to a room so small there was not even space for a cot. It wasn't until the last shaft of light disappeared from the slit-like window near the top of wall that the first interrogator showed up. He unlocked the door, entered and unfolded a metal chair. He wanted answers: what unit was I from, what did our unit do, who were our commanders, what were our orders, and what was our designated role in the event of war.

I told him my name, rank and serial number. After each question, I repeated them, or shook my head in silence. "You *will* answer, sooner or later," he shouted in heavily Arabic-accented Hebrew, hitting me across the face. "All of you will." For four days and nights, other interrogators shouted out the same questions. I was slapped dozens of times. Punched in the stomach. One of the captors uncuffed me and bent my arm behind my back, wrenching it upward. Though I was determined not to cry out, I grunted in pain. Over and over, I told myself: "This is *not* for real. They can hurt me. But they have limits. They can twist my arm. They can hurt me. But there's no way they can *break* my arm."

I was not allowed to sleep. I was never left alone for more than a half-hour. If I was crouching on the stone floor, I would be yanked to my feet and punched or slapped. Twice a day, I was taken from my cell to a primitive toilet and given a minute to relieve myself. There were only two changes to the routine. On a few occasions, five or six of us were brought back into the large room and told we wouldn't be let go until we had given them *more* of what they wanted – the implication being that some of us had already talked. And once or twice, the interrogators sent in a good cop. "I can *help* you," he told me. "But you have to give me *something*."

But when it was over, none of us had talked. We didn't fool ourselves into thinking that meant we could hold up in genuine captivity. There, they *could* break your arm. They could burn your chest with cigarettes, rip out a fingernail or a tooth. They could kill you. The main value had been to give us some sense of what we might face. We might still be afraid, but at least it would no longer be fear of the unknown.

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Challenging though our training was, I found every bit of it enthralling and, with each new test passed, somehow empowering and exhilirating. This was all the more remarkable because we had still yet to carry out a single operation. If anyone other than Avraham had been in charge, I think the unit might have unraveled. The fact that it didn't was mostly due to of the *ethos* he created, the feeling that we were a special breed with a critically important common purpose, and that sooner or later we would be called on to do special things. When we were in uniform, it was camouflage dress. When we were on the base, we mostly wore sandals and shorts. We called each other by our first names, even the officers.

In its first few years, the sayeret sometimes felt less like an army unit than a college fraternity. Every spring, we organized a feast in a cavernous hangar on the edge of our compound. It was called *Chag ha Pri*, the Feast of the Fruit. For days ahead of the event, we would mount night raids on kibbutzim, "liberating" crates of every kind of fruit imaginable, and chicken and lamb if we got lucky. The only rule was that none of us would steal from our own kibbutzim. Among the guests at the Feast of the Fruit was an unsuspecting selection of senior officers whom Avraham knew. A few of them got into the spirit, like Dado Elazar, his Palmach commander from 1948. The Palmach had held similar foodfests, with delicacies grabbed from nearby kibbutzim. Dado was by this time commander of Israel's armored corps. Since our sayeret was always short of gasoline for our exercises, he would divert surplus supplies to us. But other guests were less impressed with the pyramids of oranges and avocados and mangoes and watermelons. I could almost hear a voice screaming inside them: these are *Israeli soldiers*. They're *stealing* this stuff.

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It was not until the autumn of 1961, nearly eighteen months after I arrived, that it seemed we might actually be given a real mission. This was largely due to a change at the top of the military. For much of the 1950s, when Dayan was chief-of-staff, his right-hand-man was a Haganah veteran named Meir Amit. In 1961, the term of Dayan's successor as chief of staff, Haim Laskov, was coming to an end and Amit was in the mix to get the top job. He was already Head of Operations. In practical terms, that made him the number-two man in the armed forces. But the job went to Tzvi Tzur, Laskov's deputy. Amit decided to accept

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the post of Head of Military Intelligence. He knew the importance of intelligence, and the potential cost of Israel being taken by surprise in a future war, having been part of the top military leadership during Rotem. He was energetic, bright, and exuded an infectious sense of self-confidence and authority. He also had clout at headquarters. If *he* decided the time had come to revive cross-border intelligence operations, there was every chance it would happen.

Still, it was an agonizingly slow process. By the time my period of military service was drawing to an end, it hadn't happened. I did not seriously think of leaving. Though my two years in Sayeret Matkal had been the most physically demanding of my life, they were also the most fulfilling. I did not want to forfeit the chance of being part of its finally becoming an operational unit. So I committed to at least a few more years in the military. I joined my closest friend among the recruits, Uri Zakay, for six months in officers' school as we waited, or hoped, for approval to actually use the skills and qualities we had acquired in the sayeret.

And in the summer of 1962, shortly after I returned to the unit from officers' school as a second-lieutenant, the green light finally came.

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Chapter Four

At first, it was only "approval in principle". It's impossible to overstate the trepidation with which Israel's military brass, and Ben-Gurion himself, approached the decision finally to send Sayeret Matkal into action. It was not just the fact that we were a unit uttterly untested in the field. The stakes in the mission we were contemplating were enormous. For the first time since Uri Ilan's deseperate act of suicide in a Damascus jail cell, Israeli soldiers would be crossing into Arab territory on an intelligence mission. Amid continuing tensions with the increasingly militant rulers of Egypt and Syria, there seemed little doubt that at some stage we would again have to fight to defend our security, perhaps even our existence as a state. The Rotem debacle had highlighted the danger of a surprise attack, potentially leaving us in a scramble to call up reserve units as Syrian or Egyptian tanks advanced on our borders. But the memory of Uri Ilan remained a haunting reminder of the risks of failure.

My role, again, came down partly to accident. The man initially chosen to lead the operation was someone I'd liked from my first days in the sayeret. Ya'akov Tal, known as Tubul, was a year older than me. He came from Tiberias in the north of Israel. As a teenager, he'd worked for extra pocket money alongside shepherds in the hills above the Sea of Galilee, picking up a near-fluent command of Arabic. He was self-confident without a trace of arrogance, with a natural talent for connecting with his soldiers. In my case, there was a further bond: a shared fascination with math and sciences.

But Tubul had applied to the leading technology institute in Israel, the Technion near Haifa. As he began training his four-man team to cross onto Syria's Golan Heights, he received word that he'd been accepted. The academic year wouldn't begin until September, and it had been assumed at first that the operation would happen before then. But even though Meir Amit was pressing the rest of the military brass for a final go-ahead, it still hadn't arrived by early August. Avraham decided he needed a fall-back plan. He called Tubul and me into his office. He said he wanted me to join the team's training as Tubul's deputy, and to be ready to step in as commander if that proved necessary. When we next heard from Amit, a week later, it became clear the mission would not happen in time for Tubul to lead it.

We would be setting out from the northeast corner of Israel, a patch of parkland near a kibbutz called Dan, only a mile or so from where Uri Ilan's group had begun its mission. This time, however, the target was more

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ambitious. We intended to bug the communications line running east from Banias, the Syrians' base in the north of the Golan, toward Quneitra, their main headquarters. That meant taking a longer route, beginning with a climb onto a plateau about 200 feet high and crossing the Banias River toward the Syrian base.

We had nearly three weeks for our final preparations. After two years of sayeret training, I was confident that, physically, we would be up to the task. But even without the obvious jitters emanating from the *kirya*, I could not help but be aware of the possibility, and the cost, of failure. Every evening, I would stake out time to go through everything that might conceivably go wrong. Years later, when I went to do my graduate studies at Stanford, I was exposed to words of wisdom from a non-kibbutznik – Benjamin Franklin – which probably best summed up what drove my planning for the sayeret's first operation, and the others that would follow. "Failing to prepare," he wrote, "is to preparing for failure."

Running into Syrian soldiers was, of course, top of the list of potential pitfalls. But land mines were also a danger. I got a map of the area from military intelligence which, in theory at least, showed the location of mines all along the edge of the Golan. But it had been compiled over a period of nearly two decades on the basis of information from shepherds, smugglers and the occasional Arab agent. Whenever they reported seeing the telltale combination of fencing and yellow danger triangles, the place was marked. Once it was marked, no one in intelligence headquarters dared erase it. The result was that the map now showed an almost unbroken stretch of mines. And within the amount of time that we had to get ready, there was no way of knowing which of the minefields was still there.

The timing was chosen by the cycle of the moon. We wanted to cross into Syria in as near to total darkness as possible. That meant the final days of September. Unlike Tubul, who had been commanding the team from the moment they had joined the sayeret, I'd been working with them for only a couple of months. My deputy for the operation, Avi Telem, was also a newcomer. But he was smart, steady and he had served in the Golani Brigade, so he knew the terrain along the border.

Avraham could not hide his own nervousness as the operation drew nearer. A week before we were due to set off, he asked whether we were planning a further, full-scale exercise. When I said the final run-through was set for the following night, in the Negev, he told me he wanted Meir Har-Zion to attend.

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During the exercise, Meir said nothing at all. I couldn't help wondering whether, despite our nearly daily exercises, and my nightly stock-taking, I'd somehow missed an obvious detail in our planning. When we got back to the sayeret base, Avraham was waiting for us. "Well?" he asked Meir. "They don't need me," he said. "They know what they're doing." It was not just a source of reassurance for me, but a huge relief for Avraham.

The team I'd inherited from Tubul included three gifted soldiers with different backgrounds, and different skills. Motti Nagar was born in Cairo. He was short but solidly built, smart, level-headed and almost always smiling. Kuti Sharabi grew up in a Yemeni family in an impoverished neighborhood in Tel Aviv. He had a self-deprecating sense of humor, a quick mind and sometimes even quicker tongue, but an extraordinary ability to focus on the task at hand. The third member was a kibbutznik. His name was Moshe Elimelech. We called him Moshiko. Utterly self-contained, a man who spoke only when absolutely necessary, he also brought two different qualities to the mission. One was going to be indispensable: an almost squirrel-like ability to climb trees. Or telephone poles. The other, of which I was a bit more leery, was a total, deeply irrational, absence of fear.

Though none of us needed a further reminder of the weight being attached to our mission, the night before we headed north, Avraham got a call from the chief-of- staff's office. Tzvi Tzur wanted to see me the next morning for a personal briefing. I tried to get Avraham to say no. I pointed out that if we didn't get going by ten o'clock at the latest, we'd risk throwing everything off schedule. But "no" was not an option. After some further back-and-forth, it was agreed that I would meet the commander of Israel's armed forces at nine the next morning at a gas station north of Tel Aviv and join him for the 20-minute drive along the coastal road to a speaking engagement he had in Netanya.

I saw Avraham again before I set off. "We are beginning an extremely critical 24 hours for our unit, the intelligence corps, in fact for the armed forces as a whole," he told me. "I don't know what might happen. No one does. Just remember two things. First, out there, in the field, *you* are the *ramatkal"* – the chief of staff. He told me that only I and my team could judge and respond to what we encountered once the operation started. "And second, this mission *has to be accomplished*."

I left see the real *ramatkal*. Before we began the drive to Netanya, he asked me to unfold the map I'd brought with me and talk him through, step by step, how we planned to get onto the Golan, plant the bugging device, and get back

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again. The more I talked, however, the more I sensed that the details weren't what General Tzur really wanted to know. I think what he actually wanted to gauge was whether *I* felt confident. He wanted to reassure himself he wasn't taking any more than the obvious risks in sending us, in Uri Ilan's footsteps, back into Syria. Fortunately, he didn't ask whether I was sure we'd succeed. If he had, I would have said, yes, we were prepared. But there was no way we could be certain. Still, he must have got what he wanted. When we reached the edge of Netanya, he shook my hand, wished me luck and went on his way.

The rest of the team was waiting at the crossroads for me to join them. Two teams, in fact: mine, with whom I'd be crossing into Syria in less than 10 hours' time, and our hillutz, or back-up. A hillutz was always a part of sayeret operations. The back-up group would stay on the Israeli side of the border. If we got into trouble, they'd come in after us.

Even after my briefing for the chief of staff, we had one last stop to make on the way north. It was at the headquarters of the army's northern command. It was in a Tegart fortress, one of dozens built by the British around the country, with watchtowers on each corner of the outer walls. The northern commander was an equally forbidding figure. Avraham Yoffe had served in the British artillery in the Second World War and the Golani Brigade in 1948. He used to joke with other officers that while they looked like a bunch of kids, he was the only one with the true bearing of a general.

He must have been busy when we arrived, because we ended up hanging around in the courtyard for nearly 20 minutes. Just as I was beginning to worry that the timetable for what really mattered – our climb up onto the Golan – was being put at risk, I noticed that off to the side was a beautifully polished jeep. I assumed it belonged to General Yoffe, who was known to be an avid hunter and would later become the head of Israel's National Parks Authority. It had a padlocked metal grill on the back which held two jerrycans of gasoline. Yori Cohen, the commander of the back-up team, and I spotted the fuel containers at the same time. We couldn't help smiling. Yes, we were about to embark on an operation which, assuming we didn't fail, would finally give Israel real-time intelligence from across our border for the first time since the 1950s. But we were still Sayeret Matkal, still chronically short of gasoline for our field exercises. And I still hadn't forgotten how to pick a lock. As Yori stood guard, I broke into the grill and removed the jerrycans, one for each of us, and closed it again. Then, after briefing the general, we headed to our setting-off point. Yoffe himself left to join Avraham Arnan and Meir Amit's intelligence deputy,

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Ahraleh Yariv, in the command post for our mission, atop a hill on the Israeli side of the northern border.

The sun set at around seven, but we waited for darkness. It was nearly eight when we set out. Twenty minutes later, we crossed the border. I led the way, with Motti Nagar, Moshiko, Kuti Sharabi and, finally, Avi Telem behind. We carried the bugging equipment and our tools in our backpacks. Avi and I had a pair of binoculars. Mine were bulkier, but offered a slightly better view in the darkness. Each of us had an Uzi and a pair of grenades. All our planning had been aimed at getting on to the Golan, installing the bug and getting out again. If all went well, no one would even know we'd been there. But we had practiced what to do if things went wrong. If challenged or ambushed by a Syrian patrol, we would operate by old Company A rules. We would open fire.

The climb onto the plateau wasn't too tough, not nearly as hard as our sayeret training treks. When we reached the top, there was no obvious sign of any Syrians. Still, we had to move slowly. Even with my binoculars, I could see barely 30 yards into the moonless night, and I had to scan the route ahead, back and forth, to make sure there were none of the fences or warning signs to keep the Syrians' own soldiers, or unsuspecting shepherds, from a minefield. Soon, however, we found an obviously well-used footpath which I figured was very likely to be safe.

When we had walked a few minutes, we found ourselves going through a tangle of bushes and reeds, some of them up to two feet high, still dry and crackly from the summer. Aside from the risk of tripping, I knew the noise we were making might attract attention. I told the rest of the team to hang back 20 yards behind me. I moved forward to make sure the route was clear before signaling them to follow. I had been slightly nervous on the climb up, not so much because I expected trouble but because there was no way of knowing *what* to expect. Much as I tried to put the concerns of the generals from my mind, I also knew that this was no ordinary mission. But almost immediately, the nerves had gone, and I was now focused only on getting us through the next minute, the next 20 or 30 yards of the Golan.

But as soon as we'd made it across the plateau, we ran into trouble. We needed to cross the Banias River. On our map, I'd picked out what looked to be a shallow ford. But the water was much higher than we expected. After spending 30 minutes scouting the bank for 150 yards in either direction, we settled on what seemed to be the shallowest part. Yet we hadn't anticipated the need to cross a river in full flow. Worse, we'd never trained to do it. Not had we

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brought any special equipment. Unless we could figure out a way to cross – and quickly – we would be putting the timetable for the whole operation at risk.

The only remotely useful tool I could find was two 25-foot lengths of parachute wire. We spliced them together. I took the lead end and waded in. I sunk up to above my chest, but managed to get across. With Avi Telem on the other bank holding his end of the wire, the others used it to help them cross, so they stayed a bit drier. They also kept the intercept equipment dry. Finally, Avi followed. But both he and I were now soaking wet. We were also behind schedule. We had covered less than half of the three-mile route to the telephone pole. Even if we did manage to install the bugging device, the delay meant we might be spotted on our way back to Israel. We were under strict orders to turn back by 1:15 in the morning even if that meant not getting the intercept in place. And it was already past midnight.

We began climbing into the heart of the Heights, planning to go around the southern edge of the Syrian base at Banias. The vegetation was sparser but we still ran the risk of making noise from the stones and larger shards of rock as we weaved our way up. Within 10 minutes, I could see the vague outline of the army camp: several large buildings for several hundred Syrian troops, ringed by trenches with security outposts and a barbed-wire fence on the perimeter.

For a half-hour or so, we moved forward in a kind of rubber-band formation. I would advance as quietly as I could, listen for signs of Syrian troops, scan the area ahead with my binoculars and wave the others to follow. But as I prepared to move forward again, I suddenly felt a tug on my shoulder. It was Moshiko, and the very fact of his speaking was proof of his alarm. "Ehud,"we've got to go faster," he said. "We won't get there in time." I said I understood. But I told him to wait for the others to catch up and stay behind with them as I scouted the way ahead. Still, by the time the outer fence of the base came into view, the others had picked up their pace. They were only 15 feet behind me.

It was then I heard the sound of movement. I motioned the others down. At first, I thought it was a wild animal. But then I noticed, 20 feet in front of us and a bit off to our right on a slight rise, a group of three Syrian soldiers. They were lying on rocky scrubland 40 yards outside the fence. One was tossing and turning. Another was snoring. I maneuvered my Uzi into firing position just in case. We waited for a minute. Then two. But it seemed clear they really were sleeping.

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Then, from directly behind me, came another sound: the hiss of Avi's bulky two-way radio. I was worried we'd end up waking the Syrians. But just as I was figuring out how to make sure we got past them before that happened, Avi drew up beside me.

"Ehud," he whispered. "It's 1:15. The command post ordered us to turn back."

"Turn off the radio," I said, my hand on his elbow, reassuringly I hoped, as I led him and the others back a full 100 feet from the Syrians. We took a wider route around the camp. We moved much more quickly on the final mile to the road that led toward Quneitra. We were now well clear of the camp, and I felt it was unlikely we'd run into a patrol. I was also confident we'd have an easier return trip. I knew what had held us up on the way in: finding a path on the plateau clear of mines, figuring out how to cross the river, and the general unfamiliarity of the terrain. None of those applied now. I felt we could get the bugging job done and still be back before dawn. As we got nearer the road, Avi asked me a couple of more times whether he should turn the radio back on. "No," I kept telling him. "It's OK. I'll tell you when."

It was about two in the morning when we reached the road. We found a telephone pole set back on the edge of a field. Moshiko hoisted himself onto Kuti Sharabi's shoulders, clambered up the pole and installed the bugging device. The entire operation took him less than 10 minutes. We moved more quickly on the way back. By around 3:30, we had crossed the river. "You can turn on the radio now," I told Avi, who was obviously relieved. He handed it to me. Using our agreed code words, I reported our location, and added the phrase for "mission accomplished."

When we began our final descent, it was starting to get light. I assumed we were near enough to the border to make it unlikely we'd be shot at. Still, there was a danger we'd be spotted by a patrol, so I was relieved when we reached the mound of boulders, more than ten feet high, that served as a tank barrier outside Kibbutz Dan. When we stepped behind it, I saw that not only Avraham, but Meir Amit as well, were waiting. The Head of Military Intelligence said nothing. He didn't have to. He just shook my hand, beaming. Avraham grabbed each of us, one by one, in a bear hug.

Then, drawing me aside, Avraham said that I had only narrowly missed landing in deep trouble. I assumed my transgression was shutting off the radio and disobeying the order to return. That was just part of the problem, however.

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Despite General Yoffe's angry protests in the command post, Avraham had told him what he'd told me back at the base: that once an operation like this was underway, only the commander on the spot could make life-or-death decisions. I was "the *ramatkal* in the field." But Yoffe had also discovered that his jerrycans of gasoline were missing. He insisted that if and when I returned safely from the Golan, I be handed over to the military police.

I don't know what I would have told the general if he'd asked me directly whether I broke into his jeep. But in the mix of celebration and relief that the Syrian operation had succeeded, I got away with what amounted to a plea-bargain. I promised both Meir Amit and Avraham – at least one of whom believed me – that it would not happen again.

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Chapter Five

Almost no one in Israel knew what we had done. But the next morning, a package arrived at the Sayeret Matkal base from one of the few people who did. We opened it in Avraham's office. It was a *nearly* full carton of champagne: real, French champagne, since it would be years before Israel's embryonic wine industry produced anything similar. Inside was a note from the chief of staff. "For the success of the operation," General Tzur had written. "Minus two bottles… to teach Ehud Brog not to shut off his field radio."

I assumed that his reprimand was tongue-in-cheek, for the same reason I'd escaped being locked up on General Yoffe's orders as a gasoline thief. Had we been captured on the Golan, the very future of the sayeret as an operational intelligence unit would have been put at risk. Tzur, and Ben-Gurion as well, would have faced a reopening of all the old wounds from the Uri Ilan mission. But not only had we managed to get in and out of Syria in one piece. We had taken at least a first step toward erasing the blind spot in our intelligence capabilities shown up so dramatically by Rotem. A few days later, I received a letter from the chief of staff informing me that I was to receive my first *tzalash*, or operational decoration, in recognition of "a mission which contributed to the security of the state of Israel."

My own feelings were more mixed. I was proud of what I, and my team, had accomplished. On a personal level, too, I felt I'd reached an important landmark on my unlikely journey from the winter morning when I'd arrived as physically frail, awkward kibbutz teenager at APC boot camp in the Negev; through my years of sayeret training under the strict, sometimes sardonic, but always supportive gaze of Israel's most storied commandos; to, now, having begun to make a real contribution to Avraham's vision of a new kind of Israeli military unit. But while Avraham, General Tzur and our other military and intelligence chiefs celebrated our mission, I felt not so much triumph as relief. I didn't kid myself: I knew that the operation could just as easily have gone wrong. In fact, it very nearly did, through errors or omissions I had made. I made that point, in general terms, when we joined Avraham and the rest of the sayeret in a formal debriefing. But that very night, just as I had in the days before we set off, I wrote down in detail some of the oversights I knew I'd have to correct if we were to succeed in further missions.

Why hadn't I chosen a route that took us further away from the Syrian base at Banias? How had I let us arrive so unprepared, untrained and unequipped for

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crossing the swollen river? Why hadn't I taken the time to check the current several miles downriver inside Israel? And couldn't we have moved more quickly on the way in, even with the delay in crossing the river?

I was aware of, and grateful for, the confidence Avraham had shown in me. He had taken a chance in choosing me to lead the sayeret's first, critical operation. He must surely have had doubts about whether I could handle the task. Years later, I asked him about it. He told me that he'd been relying on intuition. Yes, he realized I'd had no experience of a real cross-border mission. But that was true of everyone else in the unit as well. He was convinced that the tools needed for success were self-confidence, attention to detail and an ability to think and act in response to what happened on the ground – all qualities which he was confident that I possessed.

Now that we had provided Israel access to communications in the north of the Golan, there was a demand for us to do the same in other parts of the Heights. I was involved in nearly all of the missions we were asked to undertake in the months that followed, either as commander of the main force or the hillutz. I was also soon training a new team of recruits for future operations. But perhaps the most important sign of Avraham's confidence was to involve me in early efforts to broaden Sayeret Matkal's experience and reach beyond pure intelligence missions – to create a true special forces unit that could fight as well.

Early in 1963, we hosted a visit to the unit by Colonel Albert Merglen, a veteran of France's colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria, and commander of the airborne commando force known as the 11th *Demi-brigade Parchutistes de Choc*. As the colonel looked on, I led a sayeret team on a live-fire raid in a training area not far from Lod Airport. We attacked a position protected by trenches and concrete barriers and stormed a two-story building. Eager to impress Mergelen, Avraham even insisted on our wearing French-style berets in place of helmets. I assume it was the attack more than the berets that did the trick. But a couple of months later, Merglen proposed a series of exchanges. The first would involve an officer from Sayeret Matkal officer spending eight weeks on a counter-guerrilla commanders' course in the parachutistes' training headquarters.

Avraham picked me to go. The French base was in a 17th-century fortress near Mont Louis, in the Pyrenees along the Spanish border. I'd never been outside Israel, at least legally. I had no passport. I didn't own a suit or a tie. But within days, I was kitted and fitted. I boarded an El Al flight to Paris and, on a

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storm-tossed Caravelle, flew to Perpignan in southeastern France. There were eighteen "shock parachutists" on the course. I had just turned twenty-one. Not only were most of them at least a decade older. They were the epitome of toughness. The guy who taught us how to set booby-traps had parachuted behind German lines in the Second World War. All of the men had fought in Indochina and Algeria. One had operated behind Vietminh lines, surviving for a year-and-a-half on nuts, berries, tree bark and snakes. With the benefit of my sayeret training, I was at least their equal in fitness. I had also not spent years consuming prodigious amounts of alcohol and smoking *Gitanes*. But I'd never experienced anything nearly as demanding as some of the training we were put through.

With backpacks crammed with Alpine military gear and lead weights as well, we hiked on to the peaks overlooking the fortress. They were covered with snow and ice from about 6,500 feet upward. We trudged for hours, shifting to snowshoes with cleats for the ice. We were taught how to dig caves in the snow and to use ice axes to keep from tumbling down the steeper inclines. We scaled cliff faces, without safety cables or nets. Our training inside the fortress always included a break for lunch. Since the parachutistes de choc were, after all, French, it was a Paris-restaurant-standard meal with copious quantities of wine. I didn't drink at the time, but could hardly abstain altogether. The first exercise after lunch was pistol marksmanship. The instructors kept well clear when it was my turn.

Yet however impressed, even at times awestruck, I was by the toughness of the French commandos, and the obvious closeness they had built during combat, I began to sense a darker side in them as well. They didn't talk much. Even if they had, my few words of French would not have been much help in deciphering what made them tick. But every few nights, I would accompany them when they walked into the small village down the road for a movie, or a few drinks, and the locals would literally cross the street to avoid us. Later, I discovered that every one of my French comrades had been involved in the OAS, the far-right anti-De Gaulle opposition in the French army in the late 1950s. In Algeria, they had mounted free-lance attacks on the insurgents, and on civilians as well. Though Algeria had been granted independence the year before, these men were unreconciled to it. In fact, a few months after my time in Mont Louis, the *Demi-brigade* was dismantled, when several of its top officers were found to be involved in an assassination plot against President De Gaulle.

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After my return in June 1963, Avraham asked me to share my experiences with the other sayeret officers. I began with the positives. I singled out the sense of self-confidence, allied with individual strength and teamwork, that the French commandos had developed from exposure to almost incredible extremes of danger. I believed that their success depended not on eliminating risk. We all knew that was impossible. It was about professionalism developed over a period of years by men who had served together in the toughest of circumstances. But I also mentioned their darker side, which seemed to me a reminder of the danger of the mis*application* of the very qualities which made them a formidable military force. "The ethos of a unit like theirs, and like ours, is essential to making us strong," I said. "But what I saw in France was an entire ecosystem that these guys had created, extremely patriotic in their own minds, reinforced by one another. But dangerous for society as a whole."

* * *

It would be nearly a decade before Sayeret Matkal became not just a military intelligence unit, but a fighting force, and I would turn out to have a central role in making that happen. But there was an almost equally daunting challenge we were called on to tackle first – a critical one, if Israel was going to be truly prepared in the case of a further war. For while our bugging missions on the Golan had reduced our vulnerability to a surprise attack in the north, the real challenge of Rotem had yet to be addressed. It was Egypt – with its hundreds of battle tanks, and hundreds of thousands of men under arms – that was by far our most powerful Arab enemy. President Nasser wasted no opportunity to flaunt his determination to fight, defeat and ultimately erase the state of Israel. But we still had no reliable, real-time intelligence on his forces.

Fixing that, if such an operation was even possible, would make our bugging operations on the Golan look like mere boy-scout missions. We could not simply walk into Egypt with our backpacks, find a telephone pole on one of the few roads crossing the vast expanse of desert, and attach a bugging device. The idea was to tap into the main military communications cable in the Sinai. That meant using a vastly more powerful, and far bulkier, intercept apparatus, weighing more than half a ton. Even getting it into Egypt would be a problem. We certainly couldn't carry it our backpacks, or tow it across the sand. Even if we figured a way to get it there, we would still have to dig up the Egyptian

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cable, install the machinery, cover our tracks and get back into Israel again undetected. Even if we managed to avoid getting captured, without completely camouflaging what we'd done, the Egyptians would discover what we had done, almost certainly tipping off Syria as well to our bugging operations on the Golan Heights.

The difficulties with a Sinai operation weren't just theoretical. Almost a year before leading the first mission on the Golan, I'd actually been involved in preliminary planning, and fairly detailed training, for such a mission in the Sinai. We'd ended up abandoning the idea as obviously unworkable.

But Meir Amit, not just our unit's overall commander in the *kirya* but Chief of Operations during Rotem, recognized that getting intelligence access to Egypt was central to Israeli security. He was intent on reviving the plan to tap into Nasser's communications in the Sinai. So was Avraham Arnan. He enlisted the backing of an old friend, Uri Yarom, who was now commander of the Israeli Air Force and was eager to put our fleet of recently acquired Sikorsky S-58 helicopters to operational use. When Avraham called me in to tell me what he had in mind, he began by saying it would be "by far the greatest challenge we've contemplated" – typically disarming candor, but also a challenge which I'm pretty sure he knew would only increase my determination to at least try. The flight in would be difficult enough. Israel had never before tried such a heliborne mission. But he told me that wasn't my problem. "That will be Uri's job." The really testing part would be to carry out an mission, at night, deep inside Egypt, cover our tracks and get out again in one piece. "Still, I'm sure that we can succeed," he said. "And I want you and your team to do it."

Even now, more than half-a-century later, some of the details of how we planned to tap into the Egyptians' communications remain classified. But once I'd chosen my team of sayeret soldiers for the mission, we trained for nearly nine months. We drafted in geologists to identify areas of the Negev similar to the terrain we'd find in the Sinai. We developed a series of methods to prevent Egyptian soldiers or scouts from discovering that we'd been there – assuming, of course, we managed to get in, attach the intercept, and return safely. It was a relentless process of trial… and error.

One of the many reasons we'd abandoned the plan a couple of years earlier was that, in a nighttime exercise to see whether we could avoid detection by Israel's own crack desert scouts, we'd failed utterly. Now, after many weeks of training in the Negev, we did, finally, succeed – in a test running for four

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straight nights which replicated, as nearly as we could, what we intended to do across the border in the Sinai. It was as if we'd never been there at all.

Yet there were the errors, setbacks and frustrations as well. Many months into our planning, we conducted a series of run-throughs in which we simulated attaching the intercept to Israel's telephone network in the south, not far from the camp where I'd done my *tironut*. Though it all seemed to go as planned, the next morning in rained heavily. Within hours, the phone company was getting reports from all around southern Israel of phones malfunctioning. Even allowing for the fact it rained less in the Sinai, we had to address the risk. I went to see the people in Meir Amit's technology unit, and they began developing a waterproofing system for the equipment.

The main problem with the equipment, however, was its sheer weight. The helicopter could get us, and it, into Egypt. But we couldn't fly directly to the cable site in the Sinai. We might just as well tell the Egyptians we were on our way. At around 1,100 pounds, it was much too heavy for us to carry. And if we were going to go ahead with the mission, time was running short. A date for the operation had been set by the *kirya*: February 1964. I was not alone in believing that, unless we cracked the problem of getting the equipment to the cable site, the operation was impossible.

The solution came from a staff officer in military intelligence. Meir Amit visited our base once a month to hear how the preparations were going. With the date getting closer, he brought along his entire staff. When I raised my concern about the weight problem, a colonel from his personnel section said: "Why not build a lightweight rickshaw, small enough to get in the door of the helicopter, but which can carry all or most of the equipment once you're on the ground?" Within days, they had a prototype, made of airline-standard tubing and designed to be pulled by two men. We held an exercise in the Negev. But it was almost impossible for two men to pull through the sand. It also left deep zig-zag imprints in the sand, which would surely raise the suspicions of the Egyptians.

But prototype number-two was a four-wheel, chrome alloy cart. The technology experts had made the axles telescopic, so the vehicle would get through the door of the chopper but could be expanded to the width of an Egyptian army Jeep. They had borrowed nose wheels from a training jet. To complete their oeuvre, they glued on real tire tread from one of the Egyptian Jeeps we had captured in the 1956 war.

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We were as ready as we were ever going to be. We got the final go-ahead from in mid-February. Our backpacks were crammed full with the whole array of equipment we'd designed, commandeered or purchased for the mission – including a metal detector we got from a hobby shop in Pennsylvania. All the cargo except our personal gear, our weapons and our communications equipment was loaded onto the cart. A command post was set up in a few wooden huts on Mount Keren in the Negev, complete with special antennas to receive the intercept transmissions if we succeeded. Not since the first Golan operation had the attention of the *kirya* been so keen, or the stakes so high. In addition to Meir Amit, and of course Avraham, also flying down to Mount Keren would be General Tzur's successor as armed forces chief of staff – a gruff Palmach veteran whom I'd met very briefly at the end of my officer's course but who I would come to know well, and work closely with, in the years ahead: Yitzhak Rabin.

* * *

The helicopter lifted off at about six-thirty at night. Compared to special operations nowadays, the mission still had a somewhat improvised feel about it. Certainly, that was true of the equipment we were ferrying in, and the tools we'd devised to make sure we could get it installed and working. But the men in my team were soldiers I'd trained from the day they arrived in the sayeret. Achihud Madar was unfailingly surefooted, whether finding his way alone at night on unfamiliar ground or in a firefight inside a building. He also had natural dexterity. He and another of the soldiers who was also gifted with his hands, Nissim Jou'ari, would be performing the most technically delicate part of the operation on the cable. The third member was Oded Rabinovitch. Tall, thin and quiet, he was absolutely reliable in whatever part of an operation he was given to execute. And as my deputy commander, I'd chosen a sayeret officer named Kobi Meron, who'd been with me on a number of Golan missions. Over six feet tall, he was probably the strongest man in the unit, quick-thinking and utterly unflappable.

When we landed, we telescoped out the axles on the cart. The roar of the departing chopper was replaced by silence. Under the soft light of hundreds of stars, I led the way deeper into the desert. It took nearly an hour to reach the road leading to the cable site. Though traffic was light, I posted Oded and

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Nissim as lookouts. Kobi and I began digging a trench. The top layer of sand was easy to remove. But then, just a few inches down, our shovels struck something hard. Maybe it was a sheet of rock. Maybe sand packed tight over the millennia. But it resisted all our attempts to break through.

We had to find a way to get far enough beneath the surface to install the equipment. I called back Oded and Nissim from lookout duty. All four of us attacked the subsoil with every tool in our backpacks that could conceivably help. It took nearly three hours in all. But we finally managed to carve out a trench that seemed as if it might just do the job. It wasn't as deep or as wide as we'd planned. But we were approaching a point where we would have to give up. We couldn't risk any more time digging, and still leave time to attach the intercept unit, cover our tracks and make the rendezvous with the helicopter to take us back into Israel.

Achihud and Nissim cramped themselves into the hole and got to work, like surgeons in an operating theater, silent except for the faint hum of the intercept equipment. Within a little less than an hour, they'd finished the main part of the work. During our training exercises, we'd factored in a fall-back plan, a way of ensuring we got the unit installed but without additional equipment to extend its battery life. Since we were still behind schedule, I was tempted to stop while we were ahead. But having come this far, and knowing the potential risks of a further mission to refresh the power unit and replace the batteries, I told them to keep going, and also to take the extra few minutes needed to make sure the equipment was functioning.

We had to be out of Egypt by first light, and we were now left with more than an hour's less time than we had reckoned on to make it back to the rendezvous point. There was another problem, too, which I at first sensed more than saw. A bank of fog was closing in. It had come in patches at first, but was getting denser. We had the same radio we had taken on to the Golan. We'd worked out codewords for each part of the operation but otherwise agreed to break silence only if absolutely necessary. Now, I had no choice. If the fog continued to thicken, it would block any chance of the helicopter getting in. I radioed the command post and said as calmly as I could: "The milk is coming." It wasn't elegant. But "milk" was our codeword for fog. The chopper would now try to bring us out within 30 minutes.

Moving more quickly now that the cart was nearly empty, we made our way eastward. As conditions worsened, I radioed again with a short series of numbers: directions for a new pickup point. Even that seemed like it might not

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work. The fog now enveloped us completely. I brought the team to a stop. I stayed with the cart while the other four outlined a landing area with kerosene flares in the hope that the pilot would see us. It was another five minutes when we heard the thump of chopper blades. Though we couldn't see more than a few feet, I suddenly saw the outline of the landing gear and then the underbelly. But the helicopter did not seem in control. It was drifting towards where I was standing with the cart. It was just seconds away from hitting me when its nose wrenched upward. It landed with a judder a dozen yards away. Later, I learned the navigator had realized the craft was drifting and, just before impact, shouted a warning to the pilot.

We piled in, secured the cart and took off. Within a minute, the murky blanket of fog was below us. As we swooped back into Israel, I could see the first pink of sunrise. By the time we touched down at Tel Nof air force base, southeast of Tel Aviv, the command post in the Negev was receiving the first intercepts.

A few days later, one of the sayeret soldiers gave me a first-hand insight into the mood in the command post in the final stages of the operation. Avsha Horan's role had been to act as security guard for the top brass in Mount Keren. He occasionally took a peek inside. He described to me the atmosphere when I radioed my "milk is coming" message: solemn faces, hushed conversations between Avraham and Meir Amit. And off to the side, the recently elevated chief-of-staff, Rabin, chain-smoking and biting his nails. Finally, the audible sighs of relief when the pilot radioed in with his final message from the chopper: "Out of the fog. Heading home."

* * *

With the rest of the team, I was invited to see Yitzhak Rabin ten days later. We were being given a further tzalash. This was the first time I'd met him since leaving officers' school two years earlier, when, with a few terse words, the then-deputy chief of staff congratulated me and several other cadets who graduated with top honors. I had felt a bit overwhelmed in his presence. Now, I was struck by how shy he seemed. He greeted each of us with a tentative handshake, and seemed uncomfortable in making eye contact. Yet once he began asking me about the Sinai operation itself, it was as if he was transformed. He was hungry for every detail, anxious to know the way we'd had

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to adapt on the ground. And obviously pleased that we'd found a way to make the operation work.

The Sinai mission marked a transition not just for me, but for others in Sayeret Matkal as well. Avraham Aranan finally left the unit he'd imagined, created and built. He became the head of the technology unit in military intelligence. His deputy, Dovik Tamari, succeeded him, serving the first in what would become two-year stints for each of his successors as the sayeret's commander. I, too, was given a wider role. Though I was still just a young lieutenant, and too junior for the job, Dovik made me his *de facto* deputy, with responsibility for operational oversight of our missions. I returned to the Sinai a year later, not in that capacity but because of my on-the-ground experience, to accompany a sayeret team which installed an intercept on a second Egyptian communications cable.

Though the tzalash was gratifying, what gave me more satisfaction, and pride, was the importance of the Sinai operations themselves. I was confident that if we *did* have to go to war again, the equipment we installed, along with the bugs on the Golan, would give us an essential edge. But in truth, I didn't actually believe there would be another war. Sure, the threat was still there. Egypt, in particular, still seemed determined to find a way to hobble, and if possible eliminate, Israel. But especially since the 1956 war, the *fedayeen* attacks, and cross-border skirmishes, had been subsiding. Not long after the second Sinai intercept mission, I was chatting with other officers on the sayeret base and remember turning to one of them and saying I was sure that by the time I was married and had a teenage child, we'd be able to take a skiing holiday in Lebanon. We didn't have peace yet. That might take time. But I felt that things were getting more normal.

I began thinking what that would mean not just for Sayeret Matkal or Israel, but for my own future. By the autumn of 1964, I'd reached a decision: to end my active service in the unit that had been central to my life since leaving the kibbutz. Dovik did persuade me to delay, for nearly a year. But at the end of the summer of 1965, I left Sayeret Matkal. In fact, I left the army altogether. I went to study mathematics and physics at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. I would remain involved in the sayeret as a reservist. But I couldn't see devoting my adult life to military service in a country which, fortunately, seemed on a trajectory toward peace. I had spent five years in an extraordinary unit. It had been more fascinating and fulfilling than I could have dreamed of when I'd

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finished my tironut. Now I looked forward to pursuing a different path with equal eagerness and energy.

There was also something else which colored my thinking. For the first time in my life, I had fallen in love.

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Chapter Six

The French have an expression for love at first sight: coup de foudre. A thunderbolt. That was how it felt when I'd set eyes on nineteen-year-old Nili Sonkin in mid-February 1963.

It was my first visit to the kirya in Tel Aviv. I'd been told to report to the administrative section, to register my formal change of status from a mere draftee to a staff officer, something I'd managed to overlook amid the demands of our first sayeret operations on the Golan. Since I didn't know which office to go to, I asked a girl sitting at a desk near the entrance. She looked up with a wide smile. When she directed me to the second floor, it wasn't just her voice that struck me: multi-timbered, almost like a musical composition. It was her eyes. Bright, radiant, green. Full of playful, unapologetic self-confidence.

In the weeks that followed, I invented a series of excuses to return to the kirya. I introduced myself to her, with as much composure as I could muster, and on each further visit chatted to her a bit more. I told her about growing up in Mishmar Hasharon, about math and music, about Israel, and how, as a soldier in the past few years, I'd walked almost every inch of the land – in short, about everything except our still-secret sayeret and our nighttime forays across the border. She, too, opened up about her home and her family and her friends. Though there was another girl I'd been going out with – the younger sister of my old kibbutz co-conspirator, Moshe – she was more a friend than a girlfriend. I'd never before felt anything like the connection I sensed with Nili, nor anything like the race in my heartbeat as I set out to see her.

I also found myself gripped by an unexpected, and unfamiliar, lack of self-assurance. I was now 22, three years older than Nili. I had the inbred confidence of a kibbutznik, the quiet sense of specialness which, at least for another decade or so, would give the children of the kibbutzim a disproportionate place in Israel's government and army, media and the arts. The same confidence which had convinced me as a raw recruit back in boot camp that I could lead a supply convoy to the edge of the Sinai. Since then, I'd begun to make a mark in Sayeret Matkal as well, leading its first clandestine operation and receiving a citation from the chief-of-staff. Yet with Nili, I couldn't help feeling unmoored, totally out of my depth. She was part of a different Israel. She was a *Tel Avivit*, born and raised in the largest and brashest city in our young state, a place which was everything the kibbutz was not. She had graduated from Alliance, a high school

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in north Tel Aviv set up with French backing and an accent on French language and culture. Unlike the girls on the kibbutz – proud of their plain, utilitarian clothes and sensible shoes – she wore make-up and perfume and, when she was out of uniform, bright print dresses. She never tried to make me feel out of place. Still, it was sometimes hard not to wonder whether she saw me as a country bumpkin – a nice, interesting, bright county bumpkin, perhaps, but still an interloper or a curiosity in her world.

It wasn't until April, the day before I was due to leave for the French commando fortress in Mont Louis, that I plucked up the courage to ask her out. I needn't have worried. She smiled. In fact, she proposed that since I was about to leave the country, she should be the one doing the asking. She invited me to dinner that evening at the apartment she shared with her parents and younger sister, about a half-mile from the *kirya,* a few blocks back from the Mediterranean. Dinner was less awkward than I feared, but I still felt nervous, until the dishes were cleared and Nili and I went out to chat on the apartment balcony and, just before I left, to share a first kiss.

We wrote each other almost every day while I was away in France. Once I got back, we met whenever I wasn't preparing for a sayeret operation. This was the first girl I'd known whom I could talk to, and listen to, on almost any subject with a feeling that it was natural and somehow meant to be. But in the second half of 1963, I was working almost non-stop on preparing for a sayeret operation. I still saw Nili when I could, sometimes at her apartment, but also occasionally going out to a movie, a meal or a concert in Tel Aviv. Yet what I most wanted was an acknowledgment that we were not just dating: a commitment that we intended the relationship to last. I didn't say this to Nili. Years later, she would say this was down to pride. In fact, I was afraid she would say no. And in the periods when we were apart, I couldn't help asking myself why she hadn't raised the question of a deeper commitment.

Even more frustrating, by the time I entered Hebrew University in September 1965, our relationship was again being conducted by mail. After her military service, she took a two-year posting at our embassy in Paris. I could understand the attraction, not just because of her taste for all things French. She was working with the Mossad to help Moroccan Jews skirt an official emigration ban and get to Israel. Still, it meant that charting our future together, if we had one, was going to have to wait.

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The intellectual experience at university everything I hoped. The challenge was finding a way to juggle my studies with my military reserve duty. In other units, most reservists could schedule their one month per year when classes weren't in session. To be of use to Sayeret Matkal, I'd have to report when I was most needed, and four weeks was unlikely to be enough. Near the end of my first term, from late 1965 into the new year, I was called to participate in our latest mission into the Sinai. The next winter, and through early 1967, I was called up for another mission and was away for nearly two months.

That operation was prompted by the fact the Egyptians had begun laying a new communications cable, parallel to the one where we'd put our intercepts.

With the diggers getting closer to where I'd led the first Sinai mission, the *kirya* was worried that they might unearth the apparatus we'd installed. In theory, at least, we'd planned for that. The bugging unit which we buried included a booby-trap explosive device. Still, nearly four years on, we couldn't be absolutely sure it would work. So the decision was taken to send the sayeret back on a further night crossing into the Sinai, defuse the explosives, and bring the whole thing back to Israel. Since I was the one who'd installed it, I was given the job of removing it.

The officer in overall command of the mission was Nechemia Cohen. He was a good friend, and one of the finest officers in the unit. Before I left for university, I'd mentored him so that he could take over my role as the effective number-two officer in the sayeret, in charge of all our core operational activities. He, too, was now about to leave, though not to for university. He was becoming deputy commander of a paratroop company, under another former Sayeret Matkal, named Yechiel Amsalem.

I was meant to defuse the booby-trap remotely: with a 12-foot-long metal tool designed by the technology unit. I was fairly confident I'd manage. But when Chief-of-Staff Rabin heard about the operation, he summoned me, along with Eliezer Gonn, the scientist working with us on the plan to defuse the booby-trap. Rabin was with a half-dozen other officers when we arrived. Gonn had brought along a mock-up of the explosive device, which he proceeded to place on Rabin's office table. But as I took out the extension tool and started to explain how I was going to defuse the device, Rabin turned to Gonn and asked: "Could it blow up spontaneously?"

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"Yes, it could," he said.

"What?" Rabin barked.

Gonn replied matter-of-factly: "It is a physical device. It obeys the laws of physics. When, for instance, there's a thunderstorm in Turkey, a flash of lightning could discharge at precisely the frequency needed, or one of its lower harmonies, with enough energy to activate the fuse in the detonator."

I was far junior to everyone else in the room. But as a physics student, I was probably the only one who could fully follow the argument he was making. Looking at Rabin's expression, it was clear that he was about to cancel the operation on the spot. "Excuse me, sir," I said. "Could I ask Doctor Gonn another question?"

I pointed at an unopened bottle of orange soda on Rabin's desk. "Tell me," I asked the physicist, "is it possible that the fluid in that bottle is spontaneously leaking through the glass even as I'm speaking?"

"Sure," Gonn said. "It might take years before even a fraction of a centimeter of the soda goes missing. But glass is like a 'frozen' liquid, and liquid water, or the molecules, are seeping into, and through, the more viscous 'liquid' of the glass. It's just physics."

Rabin looked at me, then at Gonn. But he had clearly got the message. "The operation is confirmed," he said, in the deep, gravelly voice I would become much more familiar with in the years ahead. "Good luck."

The device didn't explode, but I couldn't defuse it either. I did manage to get the remote metal tool locked on the bolt on the booby trap. But it wouldn't budge – even when I waved back Nechamia and the others and took out an ordinary wrench. Though this was the first of my sayeret missions that ended in failure, that wasn't what worried me as we boarded our helicopter back into Israel a couple of hours before dawn. It was the real possibility that the Egyptians would inadvertently discover that we'd been intercepting their communications. Dovik Tamari, as sayeret commander, was especially upset. This was one of the last operations during his period in command of the unit. He was about to hand over to a veteran paratroop officer, Uzi Yairi.

Yet our aborted Sinai mission turned out not to matter. What saved our eavesdropping network was the very thing which I was confident would not happen when I left for university: another Arab-Israeli war.

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Tension began building in the north in the spring of 1967, initially set off by Syrian efforts to divert water from the upper reaches of the Jordan River, an important water source for Israel was well. In a series of exchanges, Syrian troops on the Golan fired on Israeli tractors in the demilitarized zone below, and began shelling our argicultural settlements in the Galilee, while we responded with tank fire and then air power, scrambling our jets and shooting down six Syrian MiG-21s.

The first indication that we might be headed toward war came as I returned to university for the spring term, and trouble began brewing in the south. Ben-Gurion had by now retired as prime minister. His successor was the undeniably thoughtful, if far less charismatic, Levi Eshkol. During Israel's Independence Day parade on May 15, he received word that Egypt had moved thousands of troops into the Sinai, nearer to the border with Israel. Then, with the Soviets warned Nasser of what they said were Israeli plans for a preemptive strike against Syria, he went further expelling the United Nations force put in place after the 1956 war. On May 23, he closed the Straits of Tiran, Israel's trading gateway to the Red Sea and the source of virtually all our oil imports.

I was told to report to Sayeret Matkal the following day, as part of the first group of reservists called up. When I reached the base, Uzi Yairi, who was now in charge of the unit, organized us into four teams. He put me in command of one of them. We were told to prepare ourselves to helicopter into the Sinai, attack a series of Egyptian air bases and put the runways out of commission. My team's target was the base at Gebel Libni, not far from where I'd placed, and recently failed to defuse, our first intelligence intercept.

With each passing day, war looked more likely, and there was no confidence we would win without a costly struggle. In 1948, Arab attacks had killed about 170 people in Tel Aviv. Now, word got out that a park in the center of the city had been set aside to allow for the burial of as many as 5,000. With Israel's military commanders pressing Eshkol to take the initiative and launch a preemptive strike, he delivered a radio address at the end of May, intended to reassure the country the situation was under control. But due to last-minute, handwritten changes to his typescript, he faltered while reading it. He sounded

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anything but under control. Within days, he bowed to political pressure and brought back Moshe Dayan, now a member of the Knesset, as Defense Minister.

I still vividly remember a visitor to the sayeret the day after Eshkol's address. Colonel Eli Zeira was head of the "collection department" of the intelligence corps, the rough equivalent of America's National Security Agency. Formally, Sayeret Matkal was part of his department. He called together all the officers. He said that there had so far been three periods in the Zionist project. The first was from the early settlements in Palestine at the end of the 19th century until the establishment of Israel in 1948. The second, from 1948 until the 1956 War. The third from 1956 until now. Then he said: "There will soon be a war. Three Arab countries will take part. Within a week, we will defeat all of them. And a new chapter in the history of Zionism will begin."

The Six-Day War began on June 5, 1967. As Eli Zeira so confidently predicted, not just Egypt and Syria, but Jordan, too, joined forces against us. And it was indeed all over within a week. The final outcome – Israel's victory – was sealed by noon on the first day, with wave after wave of pre-emptive bombing sorties destroying the entire air force of all three Arab countries. But the fighting which followed was brutal in places: especially around Jerusalem, but also in the south at the outset of the war, and later on the Golan Heights.

The first effect back in Israel of our air force attacks was to make our sayeret helicopter missions into the Sinai suddenly superfluous. In fact, it left the entire unit at loose ends – especially veterans or reservists like me who had been part of our nearly decade-long development into Israel's sole, dedicated cross-border infiltration force. At this point, we were still just an intelligence unit, not an elite commando force like Britain's SAS, Avraham Aranan's ultimate vision for the sayeret. The aim of our bugging missions into Syria and Egypt was *not* to fight. It was to get in and get out, unseen and undetected. But we were not only equipped to fight if necessary. From the unit's earliest days under the sway of Meir Har-Zion, Kapusta and Gibli and Errol and the other grizzled vets from Unit 101 and Company A, we had been steeped in the spirit of commandos. Our training was the most rigorous in the Israeli armed forces, involving not just a punishing endurance régime but learning to assemble and disassemble, fire and detonate, everything from handguns to machine guns, makeshift explosives to grenades and landmines.

The frustration we felt on the first morning of the war was not because we were itching to fight, for the hell of it. One hallmark of the sayeret's ethos, especially once the unit did start to evolve into a full-fledged commando unit,

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was always the principle of targeted force, the idea that we would take out targets, or defeat enemies, out of *military necessity*. But even on the first day of the war, it was clear that it would be by far the most consequential conflict in our country's history. There was no mission for Sayeret Matkal, nor, it seemed, any prospect of our playing any significant part.

The fact that my own role was slightly less peripheral was due to Avraham Arnan. He phoned me almost as soon as we'd got news of the Israeli air victory, and told me he had been told to take a few men from the sayeret across the southern border. Our assignment was to complete our failed attempt to defuse the booby-trap on the intercept in the Sinai. I quickly drafted in two others from the unit. One was Danny Michaelson, a friend from Hebrew University, where we had been lab partners. The other was Rafi Friedman, our paramedic, who had been with me on several of our missions on the Golan.

Avraham arrived at the base around noon. I got a Jeep and we set off. We crossed into Egypt around four o'clock in the afternoon and headed for the field headquarters of Israel Tal. Known as Talik, he was the commander of Israel's armored corps, and Avraham knew him well. His wartime division consisted of the country's premier tank unit, the Seventh Armored Brigade, and a reserve brigade. We accompanied them the next day to an abandoned Egyptian camp not far from El Arish, in the northern Sinai. At least, we'd assumed it was abandoned. As Talik and Avraham were talking in his command post, we heard a sudden burst of gunfire, which seemed to come from just a few dozen yards outside. As everyone inside the command post looked around, Avraham turned to me and said: "Ehud, don't you think we ought to deal with it?" Then, to Talik: "Make sure none of your guys shoots him."

I got Danny and Rafi. We made our way toward an underground bunker, which seemed the most likely source of the gunfire. Hugging the wall as I led the way down a series of concrete steps, I clicked off the safety on my Uzi just in case. But with the main Egyptian forces in obvious retreat, I figured that whoever was doing the shooting would have to be shellshocked, or insanely brave, to put up a fight. There were eight men crouched inside, soldiers and several staff officers cradling Kalashnikovs, and an Egyptian army general. In what was obviously at least serviceable Arabic, I told them all to raise their hands. I made a brief attempt to interrogate the general, but quickly reached the limits of my linguistic proficiency. So we marched them away and handed them over to Talik's intelligence officers.

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This interlude instantly conferred on us the desert equivalent of street cred. The next morning, Talik agreed we could accompany the Seventh Brigade as it moved deeper into the Sinai, and peel off when we got closer to Gebel Libni to complete our "sayeret mission." Given the early course of the fighting, and our forces' rapid advances in the Sinai, I couldn't help wondering whether there was any real need to defuse, much less remove, the bugging machinery. But the very fact that the *kirya*, in the early hours of the war, had still wanted us to try was a reflection of the deep sense of apprehension in Israel in the weeks before the war. Even now, it appeared, there was a concern that the Egyptians might reclaim the parts of the Sinai which we had captured.

When the armored column got close to Gebel Libni, I pulled our Jeep aside and headed for the stretch of communications cable where we'd planted the intercept. For several hours, I tried to accomplish in broad daylight what I'd failed to do in the desert darkness four months earlier. But it was no use. I finally told Avraham we'd be better off just blowing it up. I attached an explosive charge and set a two-minute delay. We watched from a couple of hundred yards away as the whole assembly disintegrated. Then we rejoined the Seventh Brigade.

Before sunset on the third day of the war, we reached the Egyptian air base at Bir Gafgafa in the heart of the Sinai. Even had the war ended then, we would have been in control of a large chunk of the desert buffer zone which Ben-Gurion had hoped to retain after the 1956 war. But now, more quickly than even the most optimistic planners in the *kirya* could have anticipated, Talik was poised to move on – toward the Suez Canal, and the main towns and cities of Egypt. As the Seventh Brigade billeted down in Bir Gafgafa, Talik sent his reserve brigade westward, in the direction of the canal.

We went with them. The battalion was more mobile than a pure tank force, but also more vulnerable: lightly armored French AMX-13s and a collection of the halftracks which I dimly, unfondly, remembered from my *tironut*. A few of the AMXs led the way, then a line of halftracks, and more tanks at the rear. I nosed our Jeep into the middle, behind the battalion commander, a lieutenant-colonel named Ze'ev Eitan. There were scattered groups of Egyptian soldiers on either side of us, and they aimed an occasional burst of fire in our direction. But there seemed little point in shooting back. We didn't need to fight, and it was clear that the Egyptians didn't really want to.

Shortly before dark, Lieutenant-Colonel Eitan brought our column to halt. The road we were on cut through tall sandunes on either side. We knew there

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were still Egyptian soldiers around us, though I doubt any of us expected trouble. Still, there were well-established rules for setting up a defensible position when an armored force halts for the night. As Eitan briefed his officers, I stood a few feet off to the side and listened. Suddenly, the commander of his AMX company interrupted. "Sir," he said, "why are we staying here – right on the main road? There are Egyptians still out there. Behind us, for sure. And any force ahead of us will run straight into us. Why not a few hundred yards off to the side, in a place that gives us a view of any enemy movement, or allows us to ambush an approaching force?" I could see that he was right. I expected Eitan to agree and alter the arrangements. But he didn't. I think that, having ordered his men to encamp on the road 20 minutes earlier, he was reluctant to get his tanks and halftracks moving again. No doubt, some of the exhausted crews were already asleep.

I parked our Jeep a few yards off the road. We organized a series of watches: Avraham, then Rafi and Danny, with me taking the pre-dawn stretch. A few hours later, Rafi nudged me awake. "I heard something," he said, pointing west toward the Suez Canal. "It was faint. But I think so." I told him to keep listening. For a while, everything seemed fine. Then, Danny woke me up. He said he was sure he heard a faint tremor, as if from tanks or APCs. I put my ear to the ground. I heard it too. I told him to go to Eitan's command halftrack, insist he be woken up, and tell him. When he got back, Danny said: "I told him."

"And?"

"Don't know," he replied. "He said I could go." I tried to grab a bit more sleep before my watch. But barely 15 minutes later, Danny jostled me awake again. "I'm *sure* now," he said. "Whatever it is, it's closer." I went off to find Eitan. But before I got there, a column of Egyptian T-55 tanks suddenly appeared on the road, 50 yards from the front of our column. I'm sure they were every bit as surprised as we were to be face-to-face with enemy armor. But they knew what to do. They opened fire.

Had we been deployed a few hundred yards off the road, we'd have seen them coming. If the battalion commander had acted on Danny's warning, we'd have had an extra 20 minutes to prepare. But the shells jolted our crews awake. Within 30 seconds, they were returning fire. But our tanks barely dented the heavily armored T- 55s. Nearly every one of theirs seemed to score a direct hit. Within minutes, a number of our halftracks, and one of our tanks, were in flames.

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Now that we were in a fight –the single fiercest battle in Israel's advance across the Sinai – Lieutenant-Colonel Eitan reacted swiftly. Standing tall amid the shellfire and the flames, he radioed for supporting fire, only to be told that none of our artillery batteries was within range. Realizing we couldn't penetrate the front armor of the Egyptian tanks, he ordered a platoon from the rear to leave the road and fire on the Egyptians' from their flank. When one T-55 was hit and started to burn, he ordered the rest of us to collect the dead and wounded and retreat toward Bir Gafgafa.

As we pulled back, we encountered a company of Centurion tanks from the Seventh Brigade, sent in to relieve us. We pulled off the road to let them pass. The battle ended up raging for another hour. By the time it was over, the Egyptian tank unit was nearly destroyed. But almost two dozen of Eitan's reservists had been killed. A few days later, I learned that the commander of the Centurions had also been killed. His name was Shamai Kaplan. Though I didn't know him personally, he was married to one of my kibbutz "sisters" from Mishmar Hasharon.

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The pace of the war, its intensity, and the transformative capture of territory across our 1948 borders had accelerated dramatically since we'd joined the reserve battalion's ill-fated advance toward the canal. Back at Bir Gafgafa, we learned that Israeli troops had broken through in fierce fighting with the Jordanians and taken the whole of east Jerusalem, including the Old City and the site of the remains of the ancient temple. The news sent a shiver down my spine. I was still only 25, a kibbutznik raised on the assertively secular creed of Gordinian Zionism. But I was old enough to remember the war of 1948, the bitter struggle for the ancient city in which Judaism had been born, the packages of food we had sent to try to help break the siege there, and the division of Jerusalem at the end of the war, leaving us with only its newer, western half. And while I may not have read the Torah in the same way as a religiously observant Jew, the meaning of Jerusalem was no less powerful for me. It was part of our people's history, of who we were, where we'd come from and how we had ended up in the place where I'd been born, where I'd grown up, and which I'd spent the early part of my adult life defending. This was no less true of the biblical sites of Judaea and Samaria – the West Bank of the Jordan river.

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Places like Bet El, Shiloh, or Hebron. They represented the historic wellspring not just of the state we'd created, but of Jewish civilization, our heritage, our moral and ethical foundation. As I drove back to Tel Aviv with Avraham and the others on the morning of fourth day of the war, we heard Israeli ground forces were consolidating their hold there as well.

After dropping Avraham at the kirya, we drove back to the sayeret base, but it was nearly empty. The main fighting was now with Syrian armored units on the Golan Heights, and most of the men in the unit had gone north in the hope of joining what seemed likely to be the final stage of the war. Although the precise outcome was not yet clear, there was a dawning certainty, almost surreal, that

Israel was gaining control of all the areas across our 1948 borders from which the Arab states around us had shelled Israeli farming settlements, or facilitated fedayeen attacks and ambushes against our citizens – the very border areas where I'd led intelligence operations in Sayeret Matkal.

I, too, drove north. Not far from Kibbutz Dan, the staging point for our first Golan operation, I linked up with a group of other sayeret reservists. Israeli tanks had already broken the main resistance of the Syrians, but fighting was continuing in a few parts of the Golan. In the western corner of the Heights which bordered Lebanon, several villages still lay beyond the Israeli advance. We got an order to see if we could take them. It took barely an hour, against no more resistance than I'd met in "capturing" the Egyptians in the Sinai bunker. By the time we had made our way back across the Golan to the now-abandoned Syrian headquarters in Quneitra, it was sunset. The war was drawing to a close.

I gave my Jeep to a couple of paratroopers and hot-wired a more comfortable mode of transport back home: a big, black Mercedes which had obviously belonged to a senior Syrian officer. If only because of the license plates, I avoided the main road back into Israel. I found a dirt track running between Syrian positions on the southern edge of the Golan and descended toward the fruit groves of Kibbutz Ha'on, near the Sea of Galilee. I then headed for Givataim in north Tel Aviv, to a place I knew well. It was the home of Menachem Digli. He had been Avraham Arnan's deputy in the sayeret when I left for my stint in officers' school. Before I returned to the unit, he had a motorcycle accident, badly damaging his leg. He'd been temporarily reassigned to a post in intelligence. I figured a Syrian Mercedes would make a nice gift. Not wanting to wake him, I left it in front of his house. Sadly, he never got to use it. The next day a couple of military policemen knocked on his door and

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asked what he knew about the car outside. "Nothing," he said. "It's not mine." They took it away.

As insistently as I, and others in Sayeret Matkal, had wanted to play our part on the battlefields of the Six-Day War – in the Sinai, on the Golan, in the bitter battle to capture Jerusalem, or amid the olive-green hills and valleys of the West Bank – we had to accept that, at most, we'd been freelance support troops. Or mere spectators. But while it would be many years before this was openly acknowedlged, we did play an important part in the outcome. Because Dayan had been called back as Defense Minister only days before the war, he had wisely decided not to alter the plan for the preemptive air strikes. But he did adjust our ground advance. Just as with Eshkol's knowledge of the initial Egyptian advance in the Sinai before the war, Dayan's judgements were informed by detailed, real-time intelligence on where enemy tanks and troops were located, what they were doing, and what how and when they were planning to advance.

As speculation mounted after the war about how Israel seemed to know so much the Arab forces, Meir Amit's successor as Head of Military Intelligence, Ahrahle Yariv, even engaged in some misdirection. He was anxious to avoid jeopardizing future sayeret bugging operations. In a speech on how the war had been won, he included a reference to a "high-ranking spy" in the Egyptian army who, he implied, had leaked critical information. The "spy" was the series of intercepts we'd attached to the Egyptians' main military communications network in the Sinai, and to the telephone poles on the Golan Heights.

On a deeply personal level, too, the war left its mark on Sayeret Matkal. Though the fighting had been brief, people *did* die. Thousands of Egyptians, Syrians and Jordanians. And about 650 Israelis. Some of were not just people we knew. They included close friends. Nechemia Cohen, the officer I'd joined in our failed attempt to defuse the booby-trap in the Sinai before the war, entered Gaza on the first day in his new role as deputy commander of Amsalem's paratroop unit. Amsalem was killed early on, so Nechemia took command. He was shot and killed fifteen minutes later. To this day, he and I share the distinction of being the most decorated soldiers in Israel's history. Had he lived, I have no doubt that it is an honor he would have held alone.

This was the first close friend from the unit we'd lost. We did not mourn him openly. For young soldiers of my generation, especially but not only those raised with the additional kibbutz ethos of stolid self-control, there was an embedded sense that such individual displays of emotion were an indulgence, and luxury

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even, which the country we were building could not afford. In the early years of the state, the model Israel mother or father were those who stood silent and strong as a soldier's coffin was lowered into the ground.

Nechemia's death hurt, of course. I was friends not just with him, but his older brother, Eliezer. Known by his army nickname, Cheetah, he was in charge of the air force's main helicopter squadron. He had flown both me and Nechemia on sayeret missions into the Sinai. Several days after the war was over, before returning to university, I drove up to Jerusalem to see his family. Cheetah was at the door when I arrived. Neither of us spoke. But as we embraced, I could feel my eyes dampen, and there were tears in his eyes as well.

"Our squadron was the one that got the call to bring out the casualties," he said. "They ordered the pilot who brought out Nechemia not to tell me he was dead… until the war was over."

"He was a wonderful man," I said. "There was no one better."

* * *

When I returned to Hebrew University, the country felt completely different. It was not just the sudden realization that, in military terms, Israel had eliminated any realistic threat to its existence, important though that was. The more profound change was physical. The country in which I'd grown up was a place which felt not just small, but pinched, especially in its "narrow waist" near Mishmar Hasharon. Pre-1967 Israel was about three-quarters the size of the state of New Hampshire. Now, within the space of less than a week, the territory Israel controlled had more than tripled. It included the whole Sinai Desert, up to the edge of the Suez Canal. The entire Golan. The ancient lands of Judaea and Samaria: the West Bank. And the reunited capital city of Jerusalem.

Suddenly, we had a sense that we could *breathe*. Wander, explore. Few of my classmates were religiously observant. But none of us could help feel the sense of connection as we walked through the Old City of Jerusalem, or parts of the West Bank whose place-names resonated from the Bible. I felt especially moved when I first visited the Old City with my friends, stopping and chatting and buying things at the colorful market stalls. And, religious or not, when I stood in front of the surviving Western Wall of the ancient Jewish temple.

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The personal interactions we had with Palestinians in the weeks after the war were without obvious tension, much less hostility. They were often friendly. Looking back, I'm sure that was one reason – along with simple human nature, a desire to enjoy Israel's new sense of both security and size – that none of us was inclined to look too deeply, or too far ahead, and contemplate the implications for our country's future. I was aware, of course, that the politeness we exchanged with the Palestinians of Jerusalem or the West Bank were superficial: a few words across a market stall or a restaurant counter. I did not pretend to myself that our Arab neighbors were now suddenly inclined to be our friends.

But I did feel that, having come face-to-face with our overwhelming military supremacy, the Arab states would, over time, grant Israel simple acceptance. From there, I believed that we could begin the process of building genuine, lasting, human relationships and, eventually, peace.

There was a brief period after the war when Eshkol cautioned his ministers about the implications of holding on to the vast new area we had conquered. The government formally agreed to treat most of it, with the exception of Jerusalem, as a "deposit" to be traded for the opening of peace talks. Yet within weeks, the emphasis in the Israeli political debate shifted to which parts we would keep: the Sinai and the Golan almost certainly, as well as the Jordan Valley and a number of areas of past Jewish settlement on the West Bank. The drift away from any serious talk of trading land for peace was accelerated by the Arab states' response to the war. Perhaps that, too, was simply a matter of human nature, a reluctance on their part to accept defeat. But they appeared no more ready than before to contemplate peace. Throughout the summer, there were clashes along our new "border" with Egypt: the Suez Canal. In September, all the Arab states adopted a platform which became known as the "three no's". They rejected not just the idea of peace, but peace talks, or recognition of the State of Israel. And in October, Egyptian missile boats attacked and sunk Israel's largest warship, the destroyer Eilat, killing nearly 50 people on board.

Without this renewed violence, perhaps, we in Israel might have been able to consider more deeply the future implications of our victory in the Six-Day War. The gains on the battlefield, of course, were clear to everyone. We were no longer a small, constricted country beset by a sense of vulnerability. We were not only much bigger, but also stronger than the combined armies of the Arab states. Still, very few people asked themselves at the time what *kind* of Israel this implied. We failed to grasp the potential complications in holding on to all

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the land, and of controlling the daily lives, however benignly, of the hundreds of thousands of Arabs who lived there. Nor, crucially, did we ponder the limitations of military strength, alone, in addressing these questions. We – and I, too, at the time – were too caught up in a sense of post-war relief, celebration and, as the months of ostensible normalcy in this new Israel, complacency as well.

But within only a few years, we would face a dramatically different series of challenges. First, a campaign of Palestinian terror. Then, another full-scale war, which began with a surprise attack by Arab armies which we had assumed would not dare to fight us again.

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Chapter Seven

If you'd visited Tel Aviv in July 1967, you would have sensed a new spirit of confidence, not cockiness exactly, but a sort of spring in the collective step. This was not just due to the Six-Day War. It was because the city, if not yet the rest of the country, had shed the economic austerity of Israel's first two decades and was beginning to experience at least some of the consumer comforts which Western Europe, or America, took for granted. But we were still a decade away from the first shopping malls, or the upscale cafés and restaurants which nowadays give places like Dizengoff Street, a few blocks back from the seafront, the feel of London or Paris on a summer's day. Television had been introduced only a year before the war. C*olor* TV was still nearly a decade away. I can't say I was surprised to learn, when the archives were opened a few years ago, that a committee of moral arbiters in our Ministry of Education vetoed plans for the Beatles to perform in the city. "No intrinsic artistic value," they pronounced. "And their concerts provoke mass hysteria."

Even in Tel Aviv, and certainly the rest of Israel, a kind of cultural austerity still prevailed, an emphasis on modesty and self-restraint. It was a legacy of 1948, a reflection of the years of shared sacrifice, physical labor, and the life-and-death struggles which I, like most Israelis at the time, had experienced within our own lifetimes. That may help explain why I can remember no one remarking on an aspect of my character which, once I rose to public prominence, would attract attention, frequent comment, and sometimes criticism as well: the fact that I seemed so *self-contained*, reluctant to engage emotionally with people beyond a circle of close friends or confidants. My lack of smalltalk, and the kind of gladhanding and schmoozing that are the currency of political life. At the time of the 1967 war, I was not yet a public figure. Yet to the extent those around me would have taken note – family, university classmates, sayeret comrades, or officers in the *kirya* – my slight emotional aloofness, my focus on simply getting things done, and the way I internalized setbacks, even tragedies like the death of Nechemia Cohen, was not exceptional. It was, in many ways, simply Israeli.

Yet as Israel, Israeli society and my place in them changed, it would be suggested to me more than once – not always kindly, when it was from critics or rivals – that I had a "touch of Aspbergers" in me, a reference to those on the more benign reaches of the autism spectrum with a special facility for math,

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abstract ideas, the theoretical sciences and, often, music as well. I would always smile in response, suggesting that such diagnoses were probably best left to the professionals. I couldn't pretend, however, that emotional engagement with new acquaintances, even with people I knew and liked but were not close friends, was something that came naturally. And it is also true that from my first experience of the world of numbers as a child on the kibbutz, and as I tackled ever more elaborate pieces on the piano, I did become aware of what might be called the upside of "a touch of Aspergers" – if that, indeed, is what it is. I was conscious of the ease with which my brain translated the complexities into pictures in my mind. And the joy, at times, with which it allowed me to play around with, and develop, what I saw.

By the summer of 1967, I had experienced that feeling again, in my first real encounter with theoretical physics at Hebrew University. After the Six-Day War, I began seriously contemplating a future as a research scientist, or perhaps eventually a professor of physics. Two months after the war, I enrolled in a summer program at the Weizmann Institute, Israel's preeminent postgraduate research facility. Surrounded by some of the country's, even the world's, leading scientists, and by post-doctoral students determined to follow in their footsteps, was intellectually enthralling. But it turned out to have another effect on me as well. As I thought more and more about the prospect of joining their fraternity once I'd completed my undergraduate degree, I also heard them describe the way in which pure science sometimes got submerged in simple routine, or, more discouragingly, in the politics and positioning and backbiting of the academic world.

I think what finally changed my mind, however, was a feeling, nurtured on the kibbutz but solidified by that many nights I'd spent leading sayeret operations across our borders, that I would find my true purpose in life trying to make some special contribution to the future course of Israel. I did not for a moment contemplate politics at that point. Instead, I thought of going back into the military. I realized that in order to make a significant mark, if indeed I could, would require me to serve in the regular army, not just an extraordinary unit like Sayeret Matkal. But I did hope that, at some stage, I'd be given the opportunity to finish my time in the sayeret as its commander, carrying on Avraham's vision and, ideally, building and expanding on it as well. At least if that part proved possible, I felt that, by comparison, a career in academia would be somehow blinkered, and surely less fulfilling personally. My sayeret experience had also taught me something else as well: that protecting Israel's security was not just a matter of muscle, or firepower, indispensible though they

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sometime were. It called for mental application, an ability to assess risks, to find answers under enormous pressure when, inevitably, things went wrong. It required not just brawn, but brains.

A week before I began my final year at Hebrew University, I went to see Eli Zeira, the senior intelligence officer who'd so brashly predicted the course of the Six-Day War, in hopes of sounding out my prospects of picking up my military career where I'd left off. Despite a yawning gap in rank and age – Eli was nearly fifteen years older – I felt I could be open with him. Not only did I know him from Sayeret Matkal, which came under his purview in the *kirya.* He was a scientist *manqué* and was eager, as soon as I arrived in his office, to hear about my physics studies. When I did manage to turn the conversation to the army, I told him I was thinking of returning after I graduated. Yet before finally deciding, I wanted his honest opinion about my chances, at some point, of being given command of the sayeret. He began with a series of caveats. The choice of future leaders of the sayeret was not be his to make. When the current commander, Uzi Yairi, ended his term in roughly 18 months' time, I'd still be too young to have a realistic chance. "Maybe even next time around," he said. And in any case, I would first need to get some experience in the regular army. "But then," he concluded, "my opinion is that you have a very good chance of becoming commander of the unit." That was more than enough. I figured that whether it actually happened would now ultimately be down to me.

My last year at university was the closest thing I would have to a normal student existence. I was called away only once. But it was for a battle which would turn out to have a lasting impact on the course of our conflict with the Arabs, and on the prospects of eventually finding a way to make peace. It was Israel's largest military action since the war, across our new *de facto* border with Jordan. And it was directed at a new enemy: a fledgling army of Palestinian fedayeen, called Fatah. It was led by a man that I, like almost all Israelis, had never heard of at the time: Yasir Arafat. Born in Egypt, as a 19-year-old he had fought against the establishment of Israel in the 1948 war. Although Fatah had nominally existed for nearly a decade, it was only now emerging as a political force, in large part because of the Arab armies' humiliating defeat in the Six-Day War. A Palestinian political leadership already existed, in the shape of the Palestine Liberation Ogranization. But it was based in Cairo. Its chairman was, for all practical purposes, an adjunct of President Nasser's leadership role in the Arab world. Though Arafat had not yet explicitly challenged this state of affairs, his, and Fatah's, rise after the war carried a powerful, message for the existing Arab presidents and prime ministers: their brash promises of victory before the

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1967 war had turned out to be hollow words. It was time for a new generation, and a new, more direct, form of confrontation with the "Zionist enemy."

Arafat had set up camp with nearly a thousand men just across the Jordan River, in a town called Karameh. From early 1968, they had been launching hit-and-run raids, not just on the West Bank but into the Negev. Eshkol's cabinet was initially divided on whether to attack his base in Jordan, in both an act of retaliation and a signal to King Hussein that if his army didn't rein in Arafat's men, Israel would take whatever action necessary. But the decisive moment came on the eighteenth of March. A school bus near Eilat, in the far south of Israel, hit a Fatah landmine, killing the driver and a teacher, and injuring 10 of the children.

I was called up the night before the Israeli attack, as part of a small Sayeret Matkal contingent which was supposed to play a support role. An enormous pincer operation was mounted around the Fatah camp and Karameh itself: including a full infantry brigade, the Seventh Armored Brigade and the paratroopers' sayeret. But the resistance they met, both from Fatah and Jordanian troops, was much fiercer than expected. One of the paratroop commandos, Mookie Betzer, who would go on to join Sayeret Matkal, told me how they landed by helicopter and immediately came under a hail of AK-47 fire. Within minutes, several of his men had been killed. Mookie was wounded. The tanks of the Seventh Brigade advanced from the south. Battling the Jordanian army, they took losses as well. Amnon Lipkin, who would also later become a friend and colleague, in both the army and Israeli politics, was in command of a unit of lightly armored French tanks called AMLs. They, too, were hopelessly outgunned.

Our sayeret assignment was to block the southern entrance to Karameh as the Israeli armored force advanced. But we got bogged down in mud as we made our way from the Jordan River. By the time we arrived, hundreds of Arafat's men had already fled the area. Arafat, too, had escaped, on the back of a motorcycle.

By the time the fighting was over, some two hundred Fatah fighters had been killed. But nearly 30 Israeli soldiers lost their lives as well, and more than twice that number were wounded. Politically, the outcome was even murkier. Most of Israel was still basking in our victory in the Six-Day War. Now, we had deployed many of the same units, only to fight to what looked like a costly draw. Arafat and Fatah could claim – and soon did – that they had stood and fought, and inflicted losses on the victors of 1967.

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In retrospect, given all the interruptions, I'm a little surprised that I managed to get through my university studies. My classmates helped. They were incredibly generous in going through with me what I'd missed, and sharing their notes, whenever I returned for an extended stint of reserve duty. I've seen interviews with university friends saying I was one of the top students in our class. But that is more generous than true. It would be fairer to say I was a good student.Working hard in the final year, I did finish in the upper quarter of the class, and several of my math and science professors strongly urged me to go on to graduate school.

But my mind was made up on returning to the army. And as I balanced my studies with plans for the future during my final months, I still hadn't given up hope that Nili would be there with me. When she returned from Paris, we had started seeing each other again. Whenever I could, I would take the bus down to Tel Aviv and spend the weekend with her. Everything I'd loved about her since that first meeting in the *kirya*, everything I valued in our relationship, was still there. Yet so, too, were the doubts: whether she was ready to commit herself to sharing our lives together; and whether a kibbutznik like me could ever truly fit in to her *Tel Avivi* world. Shortly before Karameh, she'd invited me to a Friday-night party with a group of her friends. It was the first time she was including me, as part of a couple, in her social circle. But almost from the moment we got there, I felt out of place. For her, it was just another party, one of dozens she must have been to since she was a teenager. But I immediately felt out of place. I didn't drink. I couldn't dance. I couldn't help feeling like a wallflower, or an alien presence.

Now, I decided there was no point in waiting and wondering. I borrowed a Jeep from an army friend, with the idea that Nili and I could spend three or four days together, driving south from Jerusalem into the Negev and the Judean desert: to be alone, to talk, to see whether we actually had a future. I wrote her a note, took the bus to Tel Aviv while she was at work, and dropped it through the letterbox. "I am going on this trip, into the desert," it said. "I'd love it if you could come with me. I think it's important for us."

I never heard back. I felt crushed, though I tried hard to tell myself it was better to know where we stood. Years later, she told me the envelope had ended

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up under a pile of mail. She hadn't seen it until a week afterwards. She said that of course she would have come with me. She felt angry with herself, and with me too, for not simply having phoned. But since I didn't contact her in the weeks that followed, she figured this was just another one of our times apart. Or "stupid pride". A few months later, I heard she was engaged to be married, to a young man she'd known since their high school days at the Alliance.

I had first met Nava Cohen, the woman I would go on to marry, the previous year. It was through another Cohen, though they were not related: Nechemia, my sayeret friend who was killed in the 1967 war. He invited me to Tel Aviv for a party in the spring, on the Jewish holiday of Purim, and introduced us. Nava was just nineteen, five years younger than me. I was struck not just by the fact she was attractive, but by her poise, warm-heartedness, and her obvious intelligence. But she had her boyfriend with her, and I still saw myself and Nili as life partners. Now, she was beginning her studies at Hebrew University as well, and, in a way, it was again Nechemia

Cohen who brought us together. Since his death, those of us who knew him from the sayeret had been looking for a fitting way to remember and to honor him. We finally decided to set up a living memorial in his name: a Moadon Sayarim, a center to train young people from all over Jerusalem in scouting and navigation. We spent six months getting it up and running, and Nava pitched in with the work.

It wasn't until a few months after I heard of Nili's engagement that I finally asked her on a date. We were in the university library, which had a space where you could listen to tapes through headphones. I would go to hear classical music. Nava was studying English literature, and I'd sometimes see her there, engrossed in recordings of Shakespeare with the text of Hamlet or Macbeth in front of her. Since I wasn't shackled by the need to follow the alacks and alasses, I read the newspaper as the music washed over me. I turned to the movie section. I circled three films, drew a question mark in the margin and passed it to her. She looked puzzled for a second. Then she smiled and put a checkmark next to one of them.

While we came from different backgrounds, the gap was narrower than it had been with Nili. Her parental home was in Tiberias. Her parents were from old Sephardi families, with a centuries-long history in Palestine, and were also solid Ben-Gurion Labor supporters. Her father had fought in the British army in the Second World War. He now ran the branch of Bank Leumi in Tiberias. Her mother ran a shop in what was then the city's best hotel, the Ginton.

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We were married there, in the spring of 1969. My parents and brothers came with two busloads of friends from the kibbutz. Avraham Arnan was there, of course. But Ahraleh Yariv and Eli Zeira, two of the military intelligence heroes of the Six-Day War, also drove up for the wedding, which touched both Nava and me, not to mention her family and our guests. Years later, as I rose higher in the ranks of the military, I would sometimes be invited to weddings by officers under my command. Remembering how much we appreciated Ahraleh's and Eli Zeira's gesture. I always said yes.

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It was only weeks after our wedding that I formally returned to Sayeret Matkal. Both Nava and I were aware of the additional pressures my military commitments might place on our family life. But she understood why I'd chosen to go back, and was supportive. As for me, I was, if anything, more certain that I'd made the right decision. Israel was clearly facing a whole new set of challenges to its security. Given the decisiveness, and speed, of our victory in 1967, there seemed no immediate danger of Egypt's risking another full-scale war. In Israel, where Golda Meir had become Prime Minister after Eshkol's death from a heart attack, there was also little appetite for returning to the battlefield. Yet the post-war skirmishes with the Egyptians along the Suez Canal had escalated into far more than that: what would become known as the War of Attrition. Nor could there be any doubt, after Karameh, that Fatah's influence, militancy and determination would only grow, not least because even more radical factions within the PLO were ready to step into the breach if Arafat faltered. Israel needed to find an answer for all these threats.

Uzi Yairi's term as Sayeret Matkal commander had by now ended, but his successor was someone I knew well. Menachem Digli was the officer on whom I'd bestowed my stolen Syrian Mercedes at the end of the war. His leg was now recovered from the motorcycle accident, and I returned to the sayeret at his deputy. He delegated full responsibility to me for operational issues. I believed that the new kind of challenges we were confronting, particularly the prospect of intensified attacks from the new generation of Palestinian *fedayeen*, meant that the sayeret would sooner or later have to broaden its reach, moving beyond the kind of intelligence operations we'd done before the 1967 war to become the SAS-like special forces unit Avraham ultimately envisaged. But that was not

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going to happen soon, if only because the intelligence missions now required were going to be a lot tougher. Israel now had control of the entire Sinai and the Golan. To tap into enemy communications, we would have to push deeper inside Egypt and Syria.

Soon after my return, we began planning the sayeret's most ambitious mission so far: targeting the main communications system between Suez City, at the southern end of the canal, and Egyptian military headquarters in Cairo. We were obviously going to have to go in by helicopter. But we faced not just the risk of being spotted on the way in. The buildup of Egyptian forces along the canal now included Soviet-made anti-aircraft missile batteries. We might easily get shot down.

The mission struck the generals in the kirya as so risky as to border on the insane. But I was confident that we could make it work. I began talking to the few senior air force officers who seemed more receptive, as well as to officers in the helicopter units. Not only had I flown into the Sinai on earlier missions. I now also had a physics degree. Together, we developed a plan – using the desert terrain, and drawing on the helicopters' maneuverability – to calculate a flight route that could avoid detection by Egyptian radar. As an extra fail-sale, I proposed using three helicopters, and three sayeret teams. Two would fly slightly higher, with the express aim of getting spotted, but still evading missile fire. They would land far away from the real target of the operation. The main team, with me in command, would also stage a pair of diversionary attacks: planting explosives on a high-voltage electricity cable, and on the main oil pipeline from Suez City to Cairo.

Still, for many weeks, the answer from the *kirya* was no. The man who had succeeded Rabin as chief-of-staff after the war, Chaim Bar-Lev, dismissed it as "a plan built on chicken legs." In the end, what got us the green light was a further escalation, on both sides, in the War of Attrition. In January 1970, Israeli warplanes began a series of deep-penetration bombing raids, for the first time striking targets dozens of miles, in some case hundreds of miles, back from the canal. The Israeli bombing campaign reduced the chance we'd get shot down and provided cover for our operation.

Our helicopters took off after sunset, nearly skimming the water and peeling off in separate directions on the far shore. The other two aircraft headed 120 miles to the south. I led the main team of ten men. We set down a few miles south of the road from Suez City to Cairo. We unloaded a pair of Jeeps, drove off, and within an hour had placed our time-delay explosives on the electricity

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tower and the pipeline. But when we reached the site of the underground communications cable, the mission literally ran into the ground. We dug for more than two hours, but still hadn't found the cable, and our mail-order metal detector stubbornly refused to chirp out any sign of it.

Just when I'd decided to call the helicopter back in to get us, it finally peeped a faint signal. I still wasn't convinced, but as we manipulated it back and forth, it got louder. Still, my instinct was to abort. We'd placed the explosives on the electricity tower and the pipeline. That would at least divert attention from our real mission, which meant we could return in a few months and have another attempt. After all, the part of the operation that had been causing the most concern in the *kirya* – our ability to get deep inside Egypt undetected – had succeeded. We were nearly three hours behind schedule. Unless we worked a lot more quickly than planned, by the time we installed the communications intercept and covered our tracks, it would be daybreak.

Digli and several other sayeret officers were following the mission from their command post in the Sinai, part of the intelligence base our military engineers had built after the war into a 2,400-feet-high mountain called Gebel Um-Hashiba, 20 miles back from the Suez Canal. When I radioed in to tell him I'd decided to abandon the operation, I could hear the surprise in his voice, and what seemed reluctance as well. "If that's your judgement…" he said. But before I could reply that, yes, I felt withdrawal was the wisest course, I heard him speaking to someone whose voice I also recognized: Avsha Horan. He was the soldier on guard duty in the command post for our first intercept operation in the Sinai, the one who'd told me of how Rabin was chain-smoking and biting his nails when it appeared we might be in trouble. Now, he was a sayeret officer. Digli came back on the radio. "We can see more from here," he said. Then, pausing, he added: "Avsha says he thinks you can still do it."

I had grown to respect Avsha's judgement. And while Digli hadn't explained what "more" they saw from the command post, I assumed that, since they were also following the other helicopter teams further south, they were concerned that the Egyptians had figured out at least that Israeli units were involved. Both he and I knew that it ultimately had to be my call. Whatever happened, I'd be responsible. Yet I realized that discussing it further would change nothing, and time was now what mattered most. "We'll do it," I told him, and signed off.

We'd planned for the cable work to take something like five hours, which I knew we couldn't afford. With all of us pitching in, sweat drenching our "Egyptian" uniforms, we managed to finish in slightly less than four. But we

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were still behind schedule. Dawn was 25 minutes away. I radioed the helicopter pilot with a new pickup point, closer to where we'd installed the equipment though still far enough, I hoped, to avoid giving away what we'd done. Still, we barely made it. The sun was rising as the chopper began weaving among the dunes and wadis on the flight back to Israel. Looking back, we could see flames leaping up from the oil pipeline in the dim, dawn light.

There could be no doubt the prize was worth it. By the time we returned, the receiving equipment at Um-Hashiba was, for the first time, picking up real-time communications at the highest level of the Egyptian military. With the War of Attrition showing every sign of getting even fiercer, it was a criticial intelligence advantage. When we landed, not only Digli, but Ahrale Yariv were there to meet us. Digli, smiling broadly, handed me a small cloth insignia. "You've earned it," he said, adding that Bar-Lev himself had endorsed my promotion from captain to major.

* * *

With the Cairo-Suez mission, and a series of other operations I helped run nearer to the canal, there now seemed every possibility that I would be chosen to succeed Digli as commander when his term expired. But that was still more than a year away, in the spring of 1971. With his agreement, I decided to use the time to do what Eli Zeira had advised me before I made my decision to return: to get experience in the regular army. The War of Attrition had created a demand for qualified officers who could command tank units, since they were playing a key role against the Egyptians along the canal. Along with about a dozen other middle-ranking officers who had volunteered to move into the armored corps, I embarked on a course covering every facet of tank warfare: how each system on an individual tank worked, how to pilot one, load in the shells, and then calibrate its main gun, aim and fire. We studied communications protocols, even tank maintenance. We were taught how to command an armored platoon – a group of three tanks – and then an armored company of eleven tanks and APCs. Finally, in July 1970, we were given command of actual companies, with the aim of deploying us against the Egyptians.

My company was part of Brigade 401, in the Sinai. It was one of the several armored forces that were rotated, every three months, into action on the front

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line. In a stroke of good fortune, the brigade commander was Dovik Tamari, Avraham Arnan's first successor as commander of the sayeret. While we waited our forward deployment, due in September, he included me in his discussions with his senior officers on tactics and planning. This inevitably included the core of our existing strategy: a line of fixed fortifications which we had built on our side of the canal after the war. They were known as the Bar-Lev Line, because the chief of staff ultimately had to sign off on them. But the main impetus had come from Avraham Adan. A former Palmachnik, known as Bren, he was the overall head of the armored corps.

There were strong critics of the Bar-Lev line, but few more vocal than Arik Sharon. The very qualities that had made him the perfect choice to lead Unit 101 and its successor commando units – a natural instinct to favor bold, preemptive attacks, allied with an absolute confidence in his own judgment and little time for those who challenged it – had stalled his rise up the military ladder for a few years. But now he was head of Israel's southern command. He was convinced that in the event of another full-scale war with Egypt, the Bar-Lev line would be worse than useless. We'd find ourselves forced to defend a string of fortifications that could serve no real purpose in repelling a concerted Egyptian attempt to retake the Sinai. Arik's preferred strategy was to let the Egyptian troops cross the canal and then confront them on terms where Israeli forces had a proven advantage: a mobile battle in the open desert.

When the debate came up in our brigade strategy discussions, I said I believed Arik was right. From our recent sayeret missions, I said there was no way the Bar-Lev fortifications could protect us. I knew how easy it had been for us to operate unseen between Egyptian positions across the canal, and they were only a few hundred yards apart. On some parts of the Bar-Lev line, there were six or seven miles between outposts. A whole Egyptian brigade could pass through.

Very few in the *kirya*, however, seemed ready to recalibrate our strategy against the Egyptians. Only later, when the damage had already been done, would it become clear that the navy was alone in acting on lessons learned from the fighting since the 1967 war. Having lost its largest warship to a more mobile Egyptian missile boat at the outset of the War of Attrition, it began focusing on deploying mobile missile boats of its own. But the air force was showing no sign of dealing with the implications of the Egyptians' increased anti-aircraft capability – even though we'd begun losing planes and pilots to the new surface-to-air missile batteries Nasser had received from the Soviets. And I

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could see that a similar myopia, or denial, was affecting the armored corps. On patrol along the canal, I would sometimes see the hulk of an Israeli tank which had been destroyed by Soviet-made AT-3s. Known as Saggers, they were portable, allowing a single soldier to fire wire-guided missiles. Their range was nearly a mile-and-a-half, which was more than the main guns on our tanks. Yet no one appeared to have addressed the question of what would happen if the Egyptians used Saggers on an even greater scale in a future war.

I remained in the Sinai through early 1971, but never led my tank company on combat operations. By the time we were due for our deployment, the War of Attrition was suddenly over. Neither we nor the Egyptians wanted a return to full-scale war. With Washington taking the lead, a cease-fire was agreed. Both sides claimed victory. But both were exhausted. Certainly, most Israelis had ceased to see a compelling reason for the 1,000 days of fighting. We had lost about 900 dead: more than in the Six-Day War.

But in one respect, the Egyptians won. Under the terms of the truce, their anti-aircraft batteries were barred from a roughly 30-mile strip along the canal. Within days of the truce, however, Nasser began moving his SAM batteries forward. Before long, there were nearly 100 missile sites in the "prohibited" zone, giving the Egyptians control of 20 miles or more of the airspace on our side of the canal. Golda was incensed. So was Bar-Lev. But there was no way, and no will, to reopen the fighting and force Nasser to move the missiles back.

The cease-fire took effect at midnight on August 7, 1970. I've never had trouble recalling the date, because of a phone call almost exactly 24 hours later. It was from my mother-in-law, to tell me Nava had gone into labor with our first child. Since I was due for deployment on the front line, we had agreed weeks earlier that the best thing would be for her to have the baby in Tiberias, so her parents could be with her. Now, I got a Jeep and raced north. I reached Tiberias the next morning. I opened the door to the hospital room and saw Nava, obviously tired but beaming, cradling our daughter Michal in her arms.

I managed to stay with them for several days before returning to the Sinai. With Nava and Michal soon settled back into our apartment in the north Tel Aviv neighborhood of Ramat Aviv, I made weekend visits home whenever I could. Still, I saw nowhere near as much of our daughter's first few months as most fathers. As Nava and I would discover even more jarringly over the next few years, that was an inescapable part of being an army officer.

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But at least my next posting was closer to home. It was only 20 minutes from our apartment, on a former RAF base not far from Lod airport. On the First of April 1971, I was promoted from major to lieutenant-colonel, and given the assignment which, more than any other, I'd hoped for when I returned to the army.

I became the commander of Sayeret Matkal.

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Chapter Eight

It was the same jumble of buildings in the same corner of the base where I'd reported a decade earlier, as a 19-year-old fresh from *tironut*, when the sayeret was still a gleam in Avraham Arnan's eye. Now, I was about to become the first of his successors to have been chosen from within the unit itself. As I called together the officers that first morning, I couldn't be sure whether I would make a success of my two years in command. But I did know what I hoped that I, and we, would accomplish: to complete Avraham's vision. To forge a true special-forces unit, at a time when the threats facing Israel seemed increasingly to demand one.

Avraham's initial hopes and expectations for the unit had been more than met. Sayeret Matkal had played the key role in erasing the traumas of Uri Ilan and Rotem, and restoring the morale and effectiveness of Israeli military intelligence. Time and again, operations which we *said* we could do – dismissed as too dangerous, or impossible, by others – proved achievable. Yet as I now told the team leaders and our other officers, this was no longer enough.

Our intelligence operations still mattered. In fact, we would have to "push further" across Arab borders, deeper into enemy communications systems. Our intercepts had given Israel an important edge in the Six-Day War. I assumed – though naively, it would turn out – that they would be put to use in any future war. But if the sayeret was to retain its unique role, we had to become a *fighting* force as well. One reason, I didn't even have to mention: we all remembered our frustration in 1967, when we'd been little more than bit players in the most important conflict since the establishment of the state. But for me, the main argument for change was what had happened *since* the 1967 war: the fact that Israel was facing a new range of security challenges which other army units, trained to engage and defeat enemy troops on the battlefield, were not equipped to meet.

In the War of Attrition, we might not have lost a single inch of territory. But we *had* lost tanks and planes. Israeli soldiers and pilots were being held prisoner in Egypt and Syria. Arafat's Fatah and the other armed Palestinian groups might not present a *conventional* threat. Yet while I'd been with my tank company in the Sinai, they were fighting a full-scale civil war against King Hussein's army in Jordan. The catalyst: a multiple hijacking in September 1970, a sign that they were turning to *non-conventional* warfare, and to acts of terror.

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"We're not starting from scratch," I assured the sayeret officers, and I could see some of them nodding in agreement. We had a proven record of success, under Avraham and the four other commanders before me. We would be able to rely on the qualities that had proved our doubters wrong in our first intelligence missions. "We have to stay true to the *spirit* of Sayeret Matkal," I said. Every one of the officers knew what I meant: teamwork, the way we valued brains and creativity, more than formal lines of authority. The rigor we applied to training for, preparing for, and executing each mission. And, no less importantly, to criticizing, and trying to fix, everything that had gone wrong on an operation, or we'd failed to anticipate.

Though I expected to be leading many of the operations myself, I knew that we'd succeed or fail on the strengths of the officers around me. I was incredibly fortunate on that score. Some, I already knew well from my time as Digli's deputy. Smart, self-confident, *self-starting* officers like Amiram Levin, the stocky kibbutznik from the north with whom I'd worked most closely and most often as deputy. Avshalom Horan – Avsha – who'd convinced me to risk completing the mission on the road from Suez to Cairo. Giora Zorea, who, like me, had come up through the unit and was one of our most experienced team leaders. And Danny Yatom. Born not far from Mishmar Hasharon, but a city boy, from Netanya, he was smart, level-headed and a sure-handed organizer, and with whom I'd somehow clicked from time he arrived in the sayeret. I made him my deputy for my first year in command.

There were two others as well, both related to Moshe Dayan, but with a self-assurance all their own: Uzi Dayan, the son of Moshe's brother, who had been killed in the 1948 war when Uzi was only months old; and Mookie Betzer, who was married to Uzi's cousin. I'm not sure which of the two joined the sayeret first. Mookie, I believe. But their family ties, far from extraordinary, were part of how Sayeret Matkal had developed from the start. It had been friends bringing friends. But also, not infrequently, a cousin bringing a cousin, or a brother bringing a brother.

This was the case with two other officers, whom I knew less well at first but who would become key members of my team. In their case, it was the younger one who joined first. Binyamin Netanyahu – Bibi, as everyone called him – had been a member of Amiram Levin's team when I was Digli's deputy. He'd also been a part of one of our several – thankfully harmless – failures along the canal at the beginning of the War of Attrition. The plan was to cross in rubber boats held together by nylon cord, with the assistance of *Shayetet 13*, Israel's

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equivalent of the American navy SEALs. But Bibi's dinghy got tangled up, and he found himself in the canal, being tugged down by the current. Only the SEALs, and Bibi's mix of calm and endurance, averted disaster.

When I returned as commander, Bibi had gone through officers' school and was given a team of his own, making him one of half-a-dozen core, operational officers with whom I worked from the planning stages of every mission, through the training and the operation itself. Especially with Bibi, since he was newest to the role. He was smart, tough and, even by sayeret standards, supremely self-confident. It also was clear that he understood my determination to build the unit into a military strike force – which was one reason why he urged me to bring in his older brother. Bibi was 22 at the time. His brother – Yonatan, or Yoni – was 25. He had led a company of paratroopers in the 1967 war, before going off to university. He'd taken a bullet in the elbow while helping to rescue one of his soldiers behind Syrian lines on the Golan. "He wants to return to the army, and he's exactly the kind of officer you want," Bibi said.

I brought Yoni in for a chat. Over the next several years, I would get to know him much better, becoming not just friends but neighbors, when he bought a flat a few floors up from ours. But even in this first meeting, I found him a contrast to his younger brother. Bibi was practical, detail-oriented. Yoni was a more complex character. He was interested in history, and philosophy. He wrote poetry. He would sometimes feel the need to get off by himself, and just think. He was a man of action, too. Taller and trimmer than Bibi, with a thick thatch of dark hair swept back from a craggy face, he was the Central Casting image of a soldier. He also had real, battlefield experience. Not only did I invite him to join Sayeret Matkal. I put him in charge of our training teams. When Danny Yatom left the following year to train as an armored officer, I made Yoni my deputy.

However different in some ways, the Netanyahu brothers were close. They seemed almost driven, to excel and to succeed. As I got to know them both, I sensed that the drive did not come merely from within. It came from their upbringing, their family background, and in particular their father. Ben-Zion Miliekowsky, as he then was, studied at Hebrew University at the same time as my father, in the early 1930s, and was an impassioned supporter of Ben-Gurion's main right-wing Zionist rival, Ze'ev Jabotinsky. My father remembered him gathering bemused groups of students during breaks from classes, standing on an upturned wooden box, and proclaiming that the Arabs would *never* willingly accept a Jewish state. Long before the 1948 war, and

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nearly four decades before our capture of the West Bank in 1967, he insisted that we needed to create a Jewish state in all of biblical Israel: from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River.

It was through Bibi and Yoni that I got to know their father. After 1948, he had led a frustrating existence. A specialist in medieval Jewish history, he could not find a place on the faculty at Hebrew University. He was convinced, perhaps with some reason, that his outspoken advocacy for Jabotinsky's Zionism in a country defined by Ben-Gurion's had frozen him out. He left to pursue his academic career in America, where both Yoni and Bibi spent much of their youth. He always remained bitter about what he felt were unfair, politically inspired, roadblocks to his academic advancement in Jerusalem.

Though he would eventually return to Israel, he was teaching at Cornell when his sons became officers under my command in Sayeret Matkal. So there was a *physical* distance between father and sons. But what struck me was how large the father loomed in both of their lives. There was an almost adolescent admiration, bordering on worship. I remember once remarking to Nava that it was as if, despite all their physical self-confidence, Bibi and Yoni were tethered to their father by some mental umbilical cord. They seemed weighted down by a struggle to live up to his expectations, to right the "wrongs" done to him, and achieve the advancement and success which the young State of Israel had denied him. In a poignant postscript, decades later when Bibi first was elected Prime Minister, Ben-Zion was asked by a journalist for his reaction. "He would make a very good Minister of *Hasbarah*," he replied, a Hebrew word which translates as something between public relations and propaganda. "Or Foreign Minister." But how about *Prime Minister*, the reporter pressed. Ben-Zion replied: "Time will tell."

* * *

Even as we mounted intercept operations deeper into Egypt and Syria, I made sure that we trained as if we were already the broader strike force I hoped Sayeret Matkal would become. We mapped out plans for commando operations against the new kind of security challenges the country faced. We worked in detail on how we'd carry them out. We prepared rigorously to make sure we'd be ready. Yet no matter how proficient we got, there was no guarantee it would actually happen. A bit like Avraham in the unit's infancy, I had to deal with the

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frustration of trying to convince the generals in the *kirya* to give us the go-ahead. Some of them agreed Israel needed a specially trained commando force. But not everyone felt Sayeret Matkal could, or should, take on that role. Rafael "Raful" Eitan was perhaps the most strident. He had fought with the Palmach in 1948. He was an officer in Unit 101 and a commander of the parachutists' Battalion 890. He was now *katzhar*, in overall charge of all infantry and paratroop forces. He insisted that such work required a *real* sayeret, by which he meant the paratroopers.

Yet the need for a special-forces unit was becoming increasingly hard to ignore. By the summer of 1971, a couple of months after I became sayeret commander, King Hussein's army had defeated the insurgency of Fatah and a pair of even more militant partners, the Democratic Front and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. That meant a quieter eastern frontier. But the Palestinian groups rebased across our northern border in Lebanon. When Jordanian Prime Minister Wafsi al-Tal was assassinated, it proved to be the start of a series of killings and terror attacks by a new group within Fatah, called Black September. There was at least some potentially encouraging news from Egypt. When Nasser died in September 1970, he was succeeded by a less flamboyantly militant vice-president, Anwar Sadat. Yet in both Egypt and Syria, a number of our air force pilots were still being held prisoner.

I felt an especially strong motivation to help bring the pilots home. They had risked their lives for us. It seemed to me we owed them the same. One of the men being held in Syria, Pini Nachmani, had a personal connection to many of us in the unit. He had worked with us on sayeret missions. I came up with a plan that, while undeniably risky, seemed to me to have every chance of success. It was to abduct a number of Syrians from an officers' club on the western edge of Damascus. We would land in transport helicopters a few miles away and unload a pair of armored cars captured in 1967. But Raful's view prevailed. I could not get the approval of the *kirya*. I did take heart from Avraham Arnan's support. He was now Golda Meir's counter-terrorism adviser. Also from the fact that Chaim Bar-Lev's successor as chief of staff was an old friend of the sayeret: Dado Elazar, Avraham's Palmach comrade from 1948. Yet winning over the remaining doubters in the *kirya* was obviously going to take time.

As so often during my years in uniform, however, Sayeret Matkal's birth as a special-forces unit came by force of circumstance: not in an officers' club near Damascus, but a few miles away from our base, on a runway at Lod Airport.

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* * *

I was sitting down to dinner with Nava a little before seven on May 8, 1972 when the phone rang. We'd just fed Michael, who was almost two, full of energy, and showed no sign of wanting to go to bed. "It's Manno," said the voice on the line. Brigadier General Emanuel "Manno" Shaked was Dado's chief of operations. "A plane has been hijacked," he said. "It's heading for Lod. It will land in about 30 minutes. They've got hostages. Get to the airport. Dado and Dayan are on their way."

I called Danny Yatom and told him to get whoever was at the sayeret base to Lod as soon as possible. But most of the men were on training exercises, including one team with Yoni deep in the Negev Desert. He immediately began calling them back. When I got to the airport, I found Dayan and Dado huddling in a room below the control tower, unfurnished except for a small table in the corner. Talik was there with them. He was now head of all military operations in the *kirya*. Rechavam Ze'evi as well, the head of the central command area, which included Tel Aviv. So was Ahrahle Yariv, who had succeeded Meir Amit as head of military intelligence, and nodded glumly as I joined them.

The plane had landed. A Sabena Boeing 707 bound from Brussels to Tel Aviv, it had been hijacked after a stopover in Vienna. All we knew at this point was that the hijackers were Palestinians and that there were about a hundred passengers on board. Dado said that, while we figured out how to respond, we had to make sure, at all costs, the plane didn't take off again. It would presumably go to an Arab country, where we'd be powerless to act. Though only a handful of my men had arrived, I took the only officer who had, Shai Agmon, and an El Al engineer to see whether we could disable the hijacked jet. It was parked well off from the main terminal area. With the El Al man leading the way, we approached from the rear, crouching low, hoping the hijackers wouldn't spot us. The engines were still running, but at least the deafening noise kept anyone from hearing us as we ducked under the fuselage and the engineer removed a stabilizing pin from the front wheel. It was an eerie feeling, envisaging the captive crew and passengers, and the terrorists, a few feet above our heads but knowing we were powerless to do anything more to help.

Manno had called me not because I'd won my argument to expand the role of the sayeret. It was the luck of the draw. With the growing threat of terrorism, the *kirya* had drawn up a list of installations which might be targeted. Next to

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each, they'd put the name of the military unit to be called up in an emergency. We'd been allocated Lod Airport, because our base was just 15 minutes away. Still, as I accompanied the engineer back to the control tower, I tried to work out in my mind whether we could plan, prepare and train quickly enough to mount an operation to free the plane later that night.

More than a dozen members of the unit had now arrived, and more were joining us every half-hour or so. I arranged for El Al to give us a hangar and a 707 identical to the Sabena plane. Shai, Danny Yatom and I took two airline technicians with us for a closer look at the Boeing. We studied up on it as quickly as we could, beginning with the cockpit and the front door, which we saw was too high to reach without a large ladder. But making our way back, we realized the wings were low enough to climb on to. When, with the help of Danny, I clambered onto one of them, I managed to get one of the emergency doors to open by banging hard on the top end with my open fist. I asked the technicians whether we could expect the Sabena doors to give way as well. Yes, he said, but he cautioned me that on some airlines, there were passenger seats next to at least one of the two doors above each wing.

Walking up into the cabin, I tried to work out how we might attack the hijackers before they were able to harm the passengers, or us. The risks were obvious. But I felt we had to be ready to act. With the rest of the sayeret still making its way to Lod, I put Danny in charge of briefing the new arrivals, familiarizing them with the 707 and preparing for the possibility of an assault operation. I also told him to get hold of a couple of dozen small, 22-caliber, Beretta pistols. I couldn't see how we'd manage to make our way onto the plane with Uzis. We knew we'd have to get up to speed quickly on using the Berettas. None of us had trained on them. But many of the air marshals on board El Al flights were Sayeret Matkal reservists, and they did use Berettas. I told Danny to check for any sayeret marshals arriving on El Al flights and get them to join us.

As I headed back to see Dado, we were nowhere close to a detailed plan on how to confront the hijackers. Nor did we have any orders. The people who would give them – Dado, Dayan and ultimately Prime Minister Meir – were still deciding how to respond. But when I reached the control tower, at about 9:30pm, the order came, if not to mount an operation, at least to make sure the sayeret was ready. "Talk to Talik," Dado told me. "See what the options are to take over the plane if that's the decision." I sat down with Talik and ran through what I'd learned from my brief look at the hijacked plane and the work we'd

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been doing on the Israeli 707. I told him I'd need another two hours to make sure my men had practiced climbing up on the wings and forcing open the doors, and another hour for preparations and briefings for the teams who would be participating in the operation. "By about half an hour after midnight, we'll be ready to deploy," I said, though from his stoic, nearly silent response I couldn't be sure whether he was in favor of an assault. "By 0100, we'll be ready to act."

Both of us went back to see Dado. He seemed encouraged, especially when I said we'd be ready to move by one in the morning. He told me the pilot of the plane had been in contact with the control tower. He was an RAF veteran and, though the terrorists seemed unaware of this, he was also Jewish. The hijackers were demanding more than 300 Arab prisoners be released and flown to Cairo. "And they seem quite nervous."

Returning to the hangar, I sent Shai Agmon with four soldiers to set up a lookout and sniper post about 70 yards to the side of the Sabena jet. I told him not to open fire unless they were sure there had been shooting inside the plane and could positively identify an armed hijacker. By now, we had three dozen soldiers and officers, including Uzi Dayan and his full team. I took all those who were already briefed and divided them into four groups, each with an officer and five soldiers and assigned to deal with one of the wing doors. I left the others to continue training.

When midnight came, I was far from certain we could meet the 12:30 am deployment target I'd given Talik. Incoming flights had stopped for the night, and we still hadn't managed to bring in any air marshals. I believed they would give us a crucial advantage. They knew Berettas. They also knew the inside of a 707. But I was worried about losing Dado's trust in a sayeret operation if we failed to meet the timeline. From Shai's lookout post to the side of the plane, I learned that the front cabin door of the plane was open. He said he'd seen a couple of hijackers walking by it, silhouetted by the dim cabin light. But otherwise, there was no sign of activity inside. I called Talik and told him I was taking my assault teams to the area behind the plane. About a half-hour later, I confirmed we were ready to begin the operation. Although the plane's engines were off now, our approach had been masked by the drone of the generator brought in to supply power to the cabin. We were lying face-down on the tarmac, directly behind the tail of the plane but well back. Two rows of 12 men, plus me and a soldier in charge of the communications. We'd brought along four small ladders to help us onto the wings. "We want to exploit the darkness, and the sound of the generator, to cover us," I said in my final briefing before

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we'd left the hangar. "If they realize we're there, we get into the cabin as quickly as possible, any way we can. The first five seconds will ne critical. Act decisively," I told the men. "Assume that everyone else will be doing the same. Trust your instincts. You are *trained* for this."

But more than an hour passed as we waited for the green light to storm the plane. My main concern wasn't that the hijackers would see us. There seemed little reason to believe one of them would suddenly decide to take a walk in the middle of the night. But sunrise was around five in the morning, and there was no way I could see mounting our assault in broad daylight. If we didn't get the go-ahead soon, the chance would be lost. I called Talik several times, making the point that if we *were* going to do it, we needed to use darkness as an ally. The sayeret was a breed of night animals. Other people, even terrorists, would be less alert and effective at night. But he kept saying he needed more time.

Finally, an hour before sunrise, he called back. "The big boss is on his way," he said. I left the others and crept back to meet the Defense Minister, a good eighty yards from the plane. Dayan greeted me with a whispered hello. In a way, his arrival reminded me of my first operation in the sayeret when, before heading north to the Golan, I'd been summoned to brief Tzvi Tzur, the chief of staff. Tzur had seemed less interested in the details than in confirming that *I* was confident the mission would work. Dayan, of course, had as much operational knowledge and experience as anyone in Israel. Yet it seemed to me that he, too, wanted to satisfy himself that I honestly felt we were in a position to succeed. Especially, though he never so much as hinted at this, because two of the officers I would be taking in with me, Uzi and Mookie Betzer, were members of his family.

"How do you plan to do it?" he asked. I explained how we would get into the plane simultaneously, in four teams, and confront the hijackers. I said I was confident we'd succeed, especially since darkness gave us an element of surprise, and the terrorists were bound to be tiring. "We can do it," I said. "Better now than in daytime." Dayan merely nodded. He stood there, silent, for another few moments. "I'll let you know," he said, then shook my hand and returned to the control tower. But fifteen minutes later he sent his reply, via Talik. It was brief and explicit: "Not tonight."

For the first but not the last time in uniform, I felt the frustration of finding my preparation and judgement trumped, without explanation, by a decision from above. When I got back to the control tower, I made no attempt to hide my view we should have moved against the hijackers while we had the chance. But

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Dado sat me down and filled me in on what was obviously a changing situation. He said the terrorists had allowed the pilot, Reginald Levy, to come see Dayan and press their demands. He had brought with him a slab of light-yellow material to demonstrate the seriousness of the risk of saying no. When tested, it turned out to be exactly what the hijackers said it was: plastic explosive.

The pilot said there were four terrorists: two men with pistols and two women with explosives and grenades. There were 95 passengers and seven crew. He'd also confirmed that none of the exits above the wings was blocked by a passenger seat. He'd returned to the plane without any clear answer from Dayan on the prisoner release. But before leaving, he revealed that his own wife was among the passengers. He asked Dayan to promise that Israel would help care for their daughter if the hijack ended tragically.

By the next morning, that was looking more and more likely. Though the hijackers were still in contact with the tower, the only visible movement was the arrival of a representative of the Red Cross. The lead hijacker, who called himself Captain Rifa'at, was making increasingly forceful demands for the prisoner release. Our negotiating team did its best to buy time by giving the appearance we were considering the demand. It was Dayan who came up with the idea of going further. He told Rechavam Ze'evi, as the head of the central command area, to begin rounding up hundreds of young Israeli reserve soldiers. He wanted them dressed them in prison uniforms, and then bused to the airport, within sight of the hijacked jet. Dayan also arranged for another Boeing 707, ostensibly to take the "freed prisoners" on to Cairo.

"What then?" Ze'evi asked Dayan. "We're not really going to put them on a plane and take off!"

It was after he'd had no real reply that he in effect answered his own question, inadvertently leading us to the idea of attempting a daytime attack after all. Talking to Dado and me, he said: "Since we're going to such lengths to deceive them, why not just add another layer? Why can't Ehud's people take the role of the airport mechanics?" Looking at each other, Dado and I realized it was a stroke of brilliance. Dado went to share the plan with Dayan, confident that he would be no less enthusiastic, which he was. I remained with Ze'evi and his deputy to work out the details. We agreed they would take care of the pantomime with the prisoners, as well arranging for El Al to get us the ladder trucks that airline maintenance crews used, which would allow us access to the Sabena jet's front and rear doors as well. That left me free to concentrate on preparation and training.

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We had just a few hours to adapt the original plan. Although we'd trained in close-quarters fighting for my plan to attack the officers' club near Damascus, we'd never had to use that skill in a live mission. Nor had we ever used the Berettas. While we'd disguised ourselves as enemy soldiers or military police on our intelligence operations, this would be the first time we were taking on the persona of civilian engineers, with the need to fool armed terrorists on the lookout for any sign of danger or betrayal. And for the first time in *any* of our major operations, we would be operating in daytime.

Now that nearly all our soldiers and officers had arrived, I began arranging the final line-up of attack teams. We would need six rather than four, since the new plan would give us access to the front and rear doors. Danny now also told me that a couple of the El Al technicians had shown him a way of climbing up from inside the nose wheel into the cockpit. One of the toughest and strongest of our soldiers, Uri Koren, had tried it successfully on the El Al 707. I told Danny, Uri and another officer that they would be assigned to attack through the front door and the nose wheel. I put Uzi Dayan in charge of the tail door. The emergency doors above the wings, however, still gave us the quickest way in. I planned to command the operation from the left of the aircraft, because both the front and tail doors also faced that way. I entrusted Bibi Netanyahu and his team with breaking in through the main wing door on the far side of the plane.

By noon, we got a further boost. With the resumption of incoming flights, we began collecting air marshals. One in particular raised my confidence. I knew Mordechai Rachamim well from the sayeret. He was a Yemeni Jew from Elyakhin, the moshav near Mishmar Hasharon where Baddura and the other Yemeni workers lived. He was tall, strong and athletic, naturally agile and quick to respond in situations of danger. He was also no ordinary air marshal. In 1969, he'd been posted on an El Al flight from Amsterdam to Tel Aviv. On a stopover in Zurich, four gunmen from Fatah's main radical rival in the PLO, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, leapt out of a car, opened fire with AK-47s and began throwing grenades. The PFLP assault injured four of the crew and killed the co-pilot. Armed with his Beretta, Mordechai rushed to the cockpit window and returned fire. Seeing the attackers were too far away, he slid down the emergency chute. Once on the tarmac, he shot one of the terrorists in the head and kept the rest of them at bay.

As additional air marshals arrived, I slotted each of them into an assault team in place of one of our sayeret soldiers. The next to arrive was Marco Ashkenazi, a Cairo-born veteran with whom I'd worked on a mission inside Egypt. I put

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Mordechai on the main left-side wing door, critical for the opening moments of the assault, and added Marco to Bibi's team on the other side of the aircraft.

It was then that Yoni arrived back from Negev. He insisted on being added to one of the assault teams. In one respect, that made sense. He had more battlefield experience than almost everyone in the unit. But there was an unwritten sayeret rule never to place two brothers together in the line of fire. "It's too late," I told him, with an arm on his shoulder. "Bibi has already been training his team." He went off to find Bibi. I thought there was little chance of Bibi standing down, but didn't feel I could stop Yoni from trying. Five minutes later, they came to talk to me. Bibi said: "Yoni wants to replace me. We want you to decide." I assumed both of them knew what I'd say. "Today, it's Bibi," I replied. "But Yoni, this is not our last operation. I will make sure you are there the next time."

The last marshal to join us was a tall, thin redhead we always called Zur. He'd had only 15 minutes to begin training when I got word that Dado – along with Ze'evi and Ahrahle Yariv – were on their way to see a run-through. As they filed into the hangar, I quickly explained the operational plan. I showed them how we would push in the wing doors in, and then ushered them inside the 707. Two minutes later, the emergency-door teams climbed on to the wings. When I gave the agreed two-finger whistle, they stormed the plane. "OK, gentlemen," Dado told the team leaders when it was over. "We've seen what we needed." Before returning to the control tower, however, he took me aside. "You know they have explosives, right?" he said. When I said yes, his tone softened. "You don't have much time, Ehud" he said. "Don't waste it. *BeHatzlakha*." Good luck.

We still had to outfit ourselves in mechanics' overalls, and swap the sayeret's paratroop-style red boots for black ones. I directed all the men to conceal the Berettas on a waist-belt inside their overalls. We got acquainted with our mechanics' toolboxes. Finally we organized our maintenance motorcade: four electronic buggies in front, towing four ladders, two short ones for the wings and taller ones for the front and rear doors. Waiting for the order to move, I said a final few words. Seeing the determination and nervous anticipation on the faces of the men around me, I began by reiterating that the first five seconds would be critical. "We all know that nothing ever happens exactly according to plan. Each and every one of us has to focus on speed, momentum and precision. No one can wait for anyone else to act. From the moment I give the signal, or if we come under fire, each team has to act as if

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they have to accomplish this all on their own. *All* of us must assume that. Keep cool. Stay focused. Rely on your instincts. We're ready for this mission. And we are going to achieve it."

One minute after four in the afternoon, we got the word to go. I was in the lead buggy, consciously trying to look like a civilian, not a soldier. It was about a mile-and-a-half to the aircraft. I glanced back at the others. Like me, many of them had been awake for 30 hours or more, in some cases nearly 48 hours. The air marshals had been plucked off long-haul flights on which relaxation, much less sleep, was not an option. As before any mission, I knew everyone would be thinking about what was about to happen. They also realized that if we failed, the passengers trapped inside the plane would be at the mercy of terrorists armed with AK-47s and explosives. But I was confident that any apprehension would be overtaken by adrenalin when as the assault began.

As we got closer, Shai Agmon radioed me. He said two or three people, not the terrorists, had come out of the plane. One seemed to be the Red Cross man. They were about 120 yards away from the aircraft. As soon as he'd signed off, I got word from the command post in the control tower that it was indeed the Red Cross representative, along with two of the flight crew. They'd been chosen by the terrorists to do security checks on the "maintenance" men.

I brought the convoy to a halt. The Red Cross man gave each of us a fairly cursory body search before waving us on. Then, he got to Bibi. Though I had somehow failed to notice, he had left on his red sayeret boots. In Israel, that was the equivalent of a neon sign saying: "I am a paratrooper." Although the Red Cross man noticed the boots, he at first made no comment. Then, rolling up the pants leg of Bibi's overalls, he saw his Beretta – not inside his waistbelt, but inside the boot. The next thing I heard was an angry spurt of French as the man called the control tower. For a moment, I feared the mission was over, with potentially fatal repercussions for the hostages. But whatever explanation the Red Cross man was given – presumably by Dayan himself, who would not have held back in conveying what was at stake – it dissuaded him from taking further action.

As we were returning to the buggies, the Red Cross man told me that "Captain Rifa'at" had ordered us to pull up to the generator on the side of the plane. Each of us would then have to walk forward and open the front of our overalls so he could make sure we weren't armed. I passed back four orders to the rest of the men. First, with no exceptions, move your pistol to the *back* of your belt. Second: I'll be the first to go through the inspection. Third: watch

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what I do and do the same. Finally, if our cover is broken, or if you hear gunfire, we all storm the plane.

I felt as I always did as an operation was about to begin. Along with the tension, I had a keen awareness of everything happening around me, almost as if I was watching things in slow motion, in high resolution. When our motorcade approached the generator, Rifa'at leaned out from the co-pilot's window. He was pointing a pistol at us. He seemed to be in his late 20s or early 30s. He had dark hair and a moustache and the hint of a stubbly beard. We stopped beside the generator. I got out and walked toward the cockpit, halting about 10 feet away. Looking up the hijacker, I made a conscious effort to appear curious rather than worried. His eyes seemed a mix of intense focus and tension. I opened the front of my overalls. Because of the heat, I was wearing nothing else on top. He nodded his head to signal he was satisfied. I refastened the overalls and moved off. One by one, the other men passed inspection. Then we went back and brought the two smaller ladders to the side of each wing, and the "mechanics" set down to work. I delayed bringing in the large ladders so as to minimize any risk of arousing the terrorists' suspicions.

The fact that at least so far they seemed to suspect nothing was in large part down to Dayan's misdirection plan. As we began working on the plane, the "Palestinian" prisoners were disembarking from buses about 300 yards away. As Rifa'at watched, several hundred men formed long rows. A few of them waved in his direction. The Boeing which was theoretically going to take them on to Cairo, to be followed by the Sabena jet minus the hostages, was being towed into position.

One by one, our assault teams were moving into place. All that remained was for me to give a short, sharp whistle and the attack would begin. Yet just as I was raising my fingers to my mouth, I saw Bibi coming toward me from under the fuselage. He motioned to me to wait. Zur, the last of our air marshals, had a problem. Having spent 10 hours in the air on the way back to Israel, before being immediately plugged into an assault team, he had something to attend to. "He has to take a shit," Bibi said. Can't it *wait*, I asked. No, was the answer. So I said OK, leading to the most surreal "operational" moment I would witness during all my years in the military.

The "prisoner release" was now in full flow. Dozens of military vehicles, and a small army of fire engines and ambulances, had also pulled to the far end of the runway, out of sight of the hijackers, in case our attack on the Sabena jet went wrong. Tel Aviv hospitals were on alert. And Zur was crouching and

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relieving himself. He nodded in gratitude when he'd finished, and returned to Bibi's team on the far wing. I gave him a full minute to be certain he was in place.

Then I whistled. From my initial position beside the plane, I saw Danny Yatom and his team begin to move one of the tall ladders toward the front door. Shifting my eyes toward the wing doors as the "crucial first five seconds" ticked by, I saw both the ones on my side of the plane were still shut. I climbed up on the wing. When I got to the smaller, rear door I saw the main one cave inward and Mordechai Rachamim rush in. But the soldier on the other door was trembling and frozen in place. I slapped him, hard, on the back. "Move!" I shouted. Instantly, he pushed the door in and rushed inside. I then noticed Uzi and his team had still not entered from the rear. I jumped from the wing and ran toward the ladder at the back, but by the time I got there, they had made it inside, and I followed them in.

Everything was over within 90 seconds. As I'd expected, the planning and training turned out to matter less than instinct and initiative. Within seconds, Uri Koren managed to get into the nose-wheel assembly. Though he couldn't dislodge a metal-mesh panel separating it from the cockpit, he spotted the outline of a man's foot above him, fired, and wounded Captain Rifa'at. The other members of Danny's team in front were less lucky. With the ladder, they had no trouble getting to the passenger door, but they struggled to force it open. When they did nudge it open a crack, one of the hijackers opened fire, slightly wounding one of the men and forcing them to abandon the attempt.

Mordechai went in shooting, but immediately drew fire and had to retreat. But Omer Wachman, another air marshal I'd posted on the far wing, was in a couple of seconds later. Coming face-to-face with one of the hijackers, he shot him in the head. That allowed Mordechai to get back inside. He quickly exchanged fire with the hobbled Captain Rifa'at, hitting the hijacker in the side. As Mordechai ducked down to reload his pistol, Rifa'at managed to lock himself inside one of the toilets near the cockpit. Mordechai ran after him. He fired through the bathroom door, then kicked it open and confirmed that he was dead. Rushing back toward the center of plane, he spotted the main woman hijacker, wearing a bulky explosive vest. Grabbing her hands, he reached inside the vest and yanked out the battery pack. With two of the hijackers already dead, Mordechai had now subdued the third. But knowing that there was still another woman unaccounted for, he handed her over to Bibi and Marco Ashkenazi. Bibi grabbed her by the back of her hair, but it turned out to be a

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wig, which came off in his hand. As she began screaming, Marco instinctively struck her across the face, but he used the hand in which he had his Beretta. The gun went off, and the bullet grazed Bibi in his upper arm.

When Uzi Dayan had finally got in through the rear door, he'd run up against a stocky, suntanned man blocking in his way, and fired – thankfully, only into his midsection. He turned out to be one of the passengers, a film-maker from Austria. Still, there was the other woman hijacker to deal with. Several of the passengers pointed to the floor just ahead of Uzi, where she lay curled up, holding a grenade with the pin out. Ordering her loudly, sternly, not to move, Uzi wrapped his hand over hers, extracted the grenade from her grasp finger by finger, replaced the pin, and had one of his men lead her out of the plane and down the stairs.

All the hijackers had been either killed or captured.

Tragically, in the initial crossfire, a 22-year-old passenger named Miriam Holtzberg, had been hit. Although the man whom Uzi had mistakenly shot recovered, she did not. Yet all of the remaining passengers and crew were now free and safe, alive and unharmed.

I felt a mix of emotions when it was over: pride, a sense of achievement against all the odds. And huge relief at having succeeded in ending the ordeal of the captives. Without my saying so, everyone in the unit understood that my inaugural comments as commander, about our need to become a *full* special-forces unit, were no longer a distant wish. Still, I knew this was only one step, and I wanted to make sure we kept our feet on the ground. The day after the Sabena rescue, Israeli newspapers devoted acres of newsprint to how the operation had succeeded. Since Sayeret Matkal's existence was still an official secret, the headline writers called us, variously, a "special" unit, a "select" unit and even in one case, because of our El Al coveralls, "angels in white." We did, briefly, celebrate back at the sayeret base. But as with every other operation, we went through a self-critical assessment of what we could have done better. How, if we had to do another hostage-rescue operation, could we make sure none of the passengers was harmed? How could we improve co-ordination among the assault teams? And minimize the risk of shooting *each other*. Why had I, as commander of the operation, had to wait for someone *else* to suggest the idea of disguising ourselves as aircraft technicians? And why had we failed to train with Berettas and other pistols as well as Uzis?

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They were not just academic issues. Even if we were never again called upon to free a hijacked airplane, I assumed we would face other operations which were equally urgent, without the weeks or even months of preparation we'd always insisted on in the past.

* * *

After the Sabena operation, I emphasized the need for us to be proactive. It wouldn't be up to us to decide which operations to do. But it *was* up to us to take the initiative in identifying and understanding specific threats and framing ways in which we could provide a response. Even before Sabena, barely two weeks had gone by when I didn't go to Eli Zeira, who was in charge of the operations department of military intelligence, with a mission which I felt confident we were ready to carry out. Several of the most complex centered on the new threat posed by Palestinian groups in Lebanon. Before the civil war in Jordan, King Hussein had accused Fatah, the PFLP and the equally militant Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine of trying to create "a state within a state" and deliberately weakening his government. Now, they were doing much the same in Lebanon. Their headquarters buildings in southern Beirut were spawning hijackings or terror attacks. From bases in southern Lebanon, the Palestinians were also firing Katyusha rockets into Israel.

One of the operations I planned targeted Arafat. From our intelligence intercepts, we knew that a day or two after a particularly intense clash with Israeli artillery units on the Lebanese border, he would tour the area and meet with his commanders. If we were going to go after him, however, we needed to know exactly when he was coming. Fortunately, the Lebanese authorities tracked Arafat's motorcade on these "review the troops" excursions, reporting how many cars were involved, which one he was in, and their progress. Thanks to previous sayeret missions, we could listen in. In order to ensure the operation would be on our terms, I proposed that a couple of days before we planned to move, Israeli artillery target a Fatah rocket site in an isolated area about ten miles from the border, where there was just a single road in from Beirut. I proposed landing several teams by helicopter the night before. We would lie in wait until the Lebanese army checkpoints reported that the Fatah convoy was on its way. Israeli helicopters and F-4 jets would then cut off the road on both sides, and we would ambush Arafat's vehicle.

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When I took the plan to Eli Zeira, he was reading an issue of the French newsmagazine *l'Express* and snacking on salted almonds from a dish on his desk. As I ran through the reason we'd come up with the plan – the bourgeoning power of Arafat and Fatah in Lebanon – he peered at me over his reading glasses and nodded. As I set out the details of the attack plan, he listened, with no obvious sign of approval or rejection. But after I'd finished, he dismissed it out of hand. He said that Arafat was no longer the battlefield commander whose forces had fought Israel in Karameh. "He's fat. He's political," he said. "He is not a target for this kind of operation."

After the Sabena hostage-rescue, Dado and the other senior officers in the *kirya* did seem more receptive to our trying to initiate operations, especially the plan to seize Syrian officers and trade them for the Israeli pilots. But such a mission required not just military or intelligence approval. Dayan, and possibly Golda as well, would have to sign off, and there was little immediate sign of that. But, once again, events on the ground would force the issue. Early on the morning of June 9, our intelligence intercepts gave us notice that the next day, a group of senior Syrian officers was going to make an inspection visit to the eastern part of the Lebanese border area with Israel. We would have to move quickly. Within the space of 12 hours, we'd need to plan the attack, organize, equip and brief the assault teams, make the three-and-a-half-hour drive north, and cross into Lebanon.

Still, I was determined to try, which marked the start of two of my most frustrating weeks as Sayeret Matkal commander. The place where we planned to abduct the Syrians was an area I knew personally: the sparsely settled strip of land where Lebanon, Syria and Israel met, not far from where I'd helped "capture" several Syrian villages on the final day of the 1967 war. With the convoy expected to pass through the next morning, we crossed the border a little before midnight on June 9. We lay in ambush in dense vegetation a few meters off a curve in the road, further reducing the time the Syrians would have to react once they saw us. I stationed two other sayeret teams a few hundred yards away in either direction, so they could cut off the road once we attacked.

But as the convoy was approaching, I was suddenly contacted by the sayeret officer we'd stationed in the command post back in Israel. He relayed a message from Motta Gur, the head of the northern command. Its intelligence unit said there was a Lebanese Army checkpoint a quarter-mile from the ambush site.

Motta himself was in the south, with Dado, watching a tank exercise. So I had no way of talking to him. I replied through the officer in the command post.

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"Tell Motta we know about it," I said. "We've planned for it. It's not a problem." I figured there were at most four or five Lebanese soldiers manning the checkpoint. The last thing they'd want to do is get involved in a firefight between us and the Syrians. But Motta's reply was unequivocal. The mission was off.

When we'd climbed through a bramble-filled ravine back into Israel, I left a message for Motta. I found it hard to disguise my frustration, and my anger, at being ordered to abort the attack, especially after my assurances that the Lebanese roadblock was not a problem. Yet when we got back to the sayeret base, I realized there was more to his veto than I'd thought. He and Dado had received intelligence saying the Syrians were likely to make a series of further inspection tours of the border area, so this would not be our last chance. The next day, we received word they'd be touring the western part of the border on June 13. On the Lebanese side, it was known as Ras Naqoura, on ours as Rosh Hanirkra, where the Mediterranean coastline rose dramatically to a ridge and, once into Israel, sloped steeply down again toward Haifa.

I took in two main assault teams, one led by Mookie, the other by Uzi Dayan. We hid in a tangle of bushes about halfway along the road which climbed up toward the border ridge. I stationed Bibi and his team at the bottom of the road, equipped with Uzis and rocket-propelled grenade launchers. We waited, knowing that we'd be able to see the convoy as it twisted its way up toward us. Again, I had no direct link to Motta. Yet both he and Dado were following the mission from a command post in northern Israel. We were in nearly real-time contact through a sayeret officer, named Amit Ben-Horn, right across the border.

A first vehicle appeared at around 10:30 in the morning. Bibi radioed us. It was a Lebanese army armored car with a single machine-gun. It drove past and halted 150 feet on, at the point where the road began to climb. The two guys inside took out a small table and a couple of chairs and began brewing up coffee on the side of the road. "All OK," I said when I radioed Amit to tell him. "Pre-deployment." The convoy arrived two hours later and began to climb. "We're taking it," I radioed Amit.

"Wait," he replied. And as I kept pressing him for the final go-ahead, another 30 seconds passed.

"Not approved," he finally barked back at me, clearly wanting to make sure I got the message.

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"What the hell is going on?" I replied, in a mix of a shout and a whisper, since I knew the convoy was getting closer. But within a minute, we spotted the lead Land Rover, which was soon past us on the way up to the ridge. It was followed by two large American cars, with the Syrian officers, and then a trailing security vehicle. It was too late. I was fuming. The convoy had passed within a couple of yards of us, moving slowly because of the incline. But, regaining my composure, I realized we'd get another opportunity, when the officers returned from their inspection visit. We now knew exactly how the convoy was deployed, and with any luck, the security men would be less alert by the end of the day. Even better, it would be beginning to get dark, perfect conditions for the ambush.

But as we were waiting, Amit radioed me with a question from from Dado and Motta. "Where's the armored car?" It's still there, at the bottom of the road, I told them. "But there's nothing it can do." Bibi and his team had it in their sights. I considered not telling Amit what happened a few minutes later: a Lebanese shepherd, with a half-dozen sheep, stumbled on us. One of Uzi's men, fluent in Arabic, tied the startled man's arms behind his back, scattered the sheep, and told him: "It's fine. Another hour or so, we'll be gone, and we'll let you go." It turned out to be less than an hour. Forty-five minutes. During which, not once but twice, Amit told us that Dado and Motta were worried: about the armored car and now about the shepherd. I assured him everything was fine. We'd do the operation. The guys in the armored car would be helpless. If all went well, they might not even know we'd intercepted the convoy. The shepherd, like us, was just waiting for it to be over so we could all go home. Minutes later, Amit called again. He told us the convoy was on its way down. But barely 60 seconds later, he said: "It's off. Don't do it. Dado told me to repeat it twice so you'd understand: do *not* do the operation."

When we got back to the command post, not only were Dado and Motta there. Since Motta was within days of leaving to become Israel's military attaché in Washington, they'd been joined by his successor as head of the northern command, Yitzhak Hofi. Three times, I suggested to Dado that we speak without my officers present. I did not feel it was right to have Uzi, Mookie and Bibi hear me the generals how I felt. But Dado insisted there was no reason for them to leave.

"This is a serious issue," I said, trying to keep my emotions in check. "What happened out there is unacceptable. An effective special-forces unit cannot operate this way. For the second time in a week, you've made us stop an

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operation. Both times, it was an operation that we, the ones who have to do it, knew could succeed. An operation on which the fate of three Israeli pilots depends. One of whom we know personally, and have *worked with*. Now, again, with no real reason, you've stopped us. I see this as a breach of trust." When neither Dado nor Motta replied, I went on: "I have to tell you openly. You can't possibly judge the situation on the ground. Only we can. And you're behaving as if you *know*. You *can't* know from here. There was no reason for us not to grab those officers. I don't want to reach a point when I have to start thinking about what to report back, or not report, just to make sure we're free to complete a mission that you *ordered*, after agreeing it was necessary for Israel."

No one said anything for a few moments. I could see that Uzi, Mookie and Bibi were shocked at having heard me speak in this way to three of the top commanders of the armed forces. But I meant every word. If Sayeret Matkal was to function as a special-forces unit, it needed to have the trust of those who'd authorized an operation in the first place. It was Dado who finally replied. Sort of. Trying to defuse the tension, he told us a joke from his Palmach days. "There are two bulls who come into a field full of cows. A young one and old one. The young one says to the old guy: let's run over there to the far end of the field, where the prettiest cow is, and we can fuck her. The old bull replies: "No need to rush. Let's go slowly, and fuck them all."

I guess we were meant to be the young bulls.

I doubt Dado knew whether we'd get a third chance at the Syrian officers, though I'm sure he hoped so. A week later, we got word there would be a final inspection visit, to the central sector of the border area. Ordinarily, I would have led the operation. Now, I made an exception. To Dado's obvious surprise, I decided to remain behind, in the command post. "A commander has to be in the best place to ensure a mission is successfully completed," I told him. "I've come to the conclusion the only way I can do that is to be here with you. Because the real bottleneck isn't out there in the field. It's here."

I placed Yoni, who had just become my deputy, in overall command of the two main teams: Uzi Dayan's and another led by one of our most impressive young officers, a kibbutznik named Danny Brunner. He reminded me a lot of Nechemia Cohen: he spoke little, and softly, but once an operation began was calm, clear minded and able to anticipate and avoid trouble before it materialized. Two other teams, one led by Mookie Betzer and the other by Shai Agmon, would act as blocking units, concealed half-a-mile on either side, once the main force intercepted the convoy. We chose a spot across from the Israeli

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moshav of Za'arit. We equipped Yoni's force with a pair of Land Rovers in Lebanese army colors and had them hide overnight in the moshav's orchards, a hundred yards from the road on the Lebanese side of the frontier. The next morning, when we got confirmation the convoy was on its way, they crossed and stationed themselves on the road, lifted the hood of one of the vehicles and made as if they were trying to repair engine trouble. Both the blocking forces were in half-tracks with heavy machine-guns in case the convoy chose to stand and fight.

What we didn't count on was a Lebanese driver, in a VW Beetle as I recall, puttering along the road shortly after Yoni's team crossed. The man waved at them. Quite rightly, Yoni let him drive on. Along with the other obvious reasons not to fire on a civilian VW, he didn't want to alert the Syrians and their hosts there was danger ahead. But the Lebanese motorist, as well as a group of nearby farmers, were suspicious enough to deliver a warning that there were a couple of stalled Land Rovers on the side of the road. The convoy halted shortly after passing Mookie's force, hidden in a field a few dozen yards away.

Had I not been in the command post, I'm pretty sure what would have happened next. The mission would have been called off. This time, I was the one in direct contact with all three teams. Even before I gave the order, Yoni had anticipated it. He and Uzi turned west to confront the convoy. In a brief initial exchange of gunfire, one of Uzi's men was wounded, not seriously, in the leg. But with Mookie's team firing from behind and Yoni's and Uzi's men in front, the convoy was trapped, and the Syrians captured.

The safest way back into Israel would have been the way the force had entered. But Yoni and Uzi realized the main imperative was to get the Syrians out as quickly as possible. At a not-inconsiderable cost to a pair of American limousines, Uzi drove each of them, with a total of five Syrian officers, through a boulder-strewn field across the border.

The Syrians included three senior members of the Operations Department of the General Staff, and two from Air Force intelligence. Israel made an immediate offer to swap them for our pilots, though how enthusiastically I'm not sure. With this kind of leverage on our side, it seemed unlikely the Syrians would do further harm to our pilots. *Our* intelligence officers were keen to get every bit of information they could before sending the Syrians home. It would be a year later before the exchange was done. Yoni received a well-deserved *tzalash* for his role in the mission.

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Barely two months after the ambush operation in south Lebanon, Black September seized and murdered members of the Israeli team at the 1972 Olympics in Munich.

As soon as the news broke on the morning of September 5, I phoned Ahrahle Yariv as head of military intelligence. "You need to send us," I said. I tried to persuade him that if it came down to an operation to free our hostages, Sayeret Matkal offered the best hope that it would not end in a bloodbath. We had the mind-set, the background, the training and now the experience. I also knew the *German* military had no special-forces unit. I'd have been even more worried if I had known that German law barred the army from operating in peacetime. That meant any use of force would be left to the police. Ahrahle told me it was too early to say what involvement, if any, Israel might have. He'd get back in touch with a decision when it came.

I called my officers together to begin planning. I decided to use the men who had been with me for the Sabena mission, including Mordechai Rachamim. We collated information from the stream of media reports from Munich and assembled a rough idea of the layout of the building the terrorists had attacked. As for the attackers, I said we had to assume there were at least half-a-dozen, that they had not just AK-47s but grenades or other explosives. And that like the Sabena hijackers, they would be prepared to die but hoping to live. All of that turned out to be true. None of it, however, could alter the reply I got from Ahrahle a couple of hours later. "We decided to send Zvika," he said. Zvika Zamir was the head of Mossad, and he would be going only as an observer. Any operation against the terrorists would still be in the hands of German units.

The German police's bungled attempt to end the ordeal was especially painful because it was so predictable. I believe that if we *had* been there, at least some of the eleven Israelis killed might not have lost their lives. The Germans launched an ambush at a NATO airfield outside Munich, when the terrorists and hostages were ostensibly on their way to board a flight for Cairo. We know now that there was no properly co-ordinated plan. Too few police were deployed for the operation. They were insufficiently armed, and they lacked relevant training or experience. The result: a bloodbath. As a final insult to the memory of the murdered Israelis, although the three surviving terrorists were jailed, the

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German government released them to meet the demands of the hijackers of a Lufthansa airliner the following month.

Added to Israeli public's shock over the massacre, there was anger at having to watch the murderers go free. In the weeks afterwards, I got occasional hints that a sustained Israeli response was underway, though I didn't know the details. I was not aware that it was Ahrahle, at the direction of Golda herself, who was co-ordinating it. Nor that a special Mossad team was at the center of the operation. Yet from news reports of a series of attacks on suspected leaders of Black September, I, and most Israelis, assumed we were determined to convey a message which the Germans had not: that terror killings of the sort perpetrated in Munich would not go unanswered.

It was not until late 1972 that I knew the full scale of the operation. We had no formal ties with the Mossad, but our intelligence work occasionally overlapped. In mid-December, the sayeret's intelligence liaison was approached with a "theoretical question" by a couple of guys from the Mossad. Did we have the capability to attack three separate flats in a pair of apartment buildings in Beirut. I sent back my preliminary answer a few days later. I said it was possible. But there was no way I could say for sure without more information. Would the people in the apartments be armed? Were there guards outside? Was there a caretaker or concierge? Was there only one way in to the buildings, or also rear entrances? Would we be able to get a plan of the interior of the apartments?

In another month, they came up with most of the answers. The buildings were fairly new, with glassed-in lobby areas and concierges. The Mossad men also gave us a fairly detailed layout of two of the three apartments. They did not know whether there were back entrances. They thought it was likely there were bodyguards, or at least some security detail posted outside. As for the people living in the apartments, all of them were likely to have at least small arms.

Over the next week or so, we raised a series of other questions. Mainly, I wanted to know whether they were sure the people we'd be looking for would be at home. The Mossad officers said they were working on that, but were confident of being able to confirm this before any operation happened. Though they didn't identify the people they were targeting, I had now learned, through Ahrahle and others, what had been pretty obvious since the Mossad's initial approach. They were Palestinian leaders with ties to Black September. "I think it's possible," I finally told them. "We'll put a plan in place. We can finalize the arrangements if you come back and say you want us to do it."

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Nothing happened for several months. By the early spring of 1973, with my two-year term as sayeret commander winding down, I assumed the operation had been vetoed. I could understand why. As we worked on our plan, it had become clear that getting into the heart of the Lebanese capital, hitting the apartments and getting out again without starting a minor war would be by far the most difficult mission we had attempted. I did not doubt that Sayeret Matkal offered the best chance of success. But it wouldn't be easy. I figured that whoever was making the decision had come to the same conclusion.

I was on a weekend away with Nava and Michal in the Red Sea resort of Eilat when things suddenly began to move. At around noon on Saturday, I got a call from Talik's deputy in the *kirya*. "Ehud," he said, "we need you back here as soon as possible." When I asked why, he said: "You remember how you were approached by someone with some questions, and you went back to them with a list of other questions for them to answer?"

I told Nava I'd been summoned to a meeting at the chief-of-staff's office – the kind of call of duty that both of us were now used to – and grabbed the first commercial flight north. It got the the *kirya* early in the evening, and joined a meeting that was already well underway. Dado was in his usual seat on the right-hand side of the table he used for staff discussions, flanked by Talik. Across from them was Manno Shaked, the officer who had phoned me to tell me about the Sabena hijacking and who had now succeeded Raful Eitan as *katzhar*, overall chief of the infantry and paratroopers. Beside him were the two Mossad officers with whom I'd had most of my dealings about Beirut. They were all staring at an aerial photo of the Lebanese capital, with an area marked in blue pen around a street called Rue Verdun.

I entered and took one of the remaining chairs. Gesturing toward the image of Beirut, Dado turned to me. "Do you know this place?" he asked. Yes, I said. I'd seen the photo. Nodding toward the Mossad men, I said: "These two officers showed it to me."

"Do you have an idea how to do this operation?" I told him that we didn't have a fully detailed operational plan. But I said we'd looked into the problems we'd face. "We believe we can do it." When he asked how, I outlined the approach we'd settled on: a small force, thirteen men, plus two from Mossad to act as drivers. We would need the Mossad men to go to Beirut ahead of us, and rent a pair of nice American cars, the kind typical tourists would use. We'd land on the waterfront, well south of the most built-up parts of the city coastline, and meet up with the rental cars. When we reached the apartment blocks, three

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groups of three men each would take care of the apartments. Four more would remain outside to deal with the concierges or security guards or any other interference, and to command and co-ordinate. We'd leave the same way we came in, by sea.

Dado nodded. I found out later that he'd asked the same question of Manno, who had proposed a classic regular-army raid. They would block the road with ten armed paratroopers on each end with the aim of holding off resistance, while another two dozen went in to the apartments and attacked. I could only assume Dado concluded that this almost certainly wouldn't work, at least not without major trouble. It would certainly forfeit any chance of surprise.

"The mission is yours," he said. "Manno will be in overall command, offshore. Because we're also planning to hit several other targets."

The reason for the urgent summons was that the Mossad had confirmed all three Palestinians would be in their apartments in 10 days' time. Everyone involved realized that – given its complexity, the obvious risks, and the inevitable unknowns – the operation could well go wrong. In fact, one reason for Dado's "other targets" was to ensure that if it did, there would be successes elsewhere to provide a credible justification for having sent Israeli forces into Beirut. As we received further intelligence, new obstacles had to be factored in. The main one was the presence of a *gendarmerie*, a Lebanese police post, at the bottom end of the street, only 500 feet or so from the apartments. And we would be operating in a crowded, up-market residential area. We could only hope that at the hour we struck, most people would be in bed. Or out partying. This was, after all, pre-civil war Beirut, the "Paris of the Middle East".

In the years since, an extraordinary array of stories has grown up around the sayeret's final and best-known mission during my term as commander, culminating in the dramatic version in Stephen Spielberg's movie *Munich*. I remember reading in one earlier book, otherwise surprisingly accurate, about our *five weeks* of intensive training. Even the full 10 days which I thought we'd been given would have been a bonus. In fact, we had half that as a full team, since our Mossad drivers, European-born Israelis, had to make their way through Paris to Beirut as tourists, rent the cars and scout out our route from the seashore to Rue Verdun.

There were four other operations planned alongside ours: three by paratroop units and one by the *Shayetet 13* SEALs, against a series of Fatah and Democratic Front installations. Though all of them, like ours, would need help

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from the SEALs in getting ashore, only one required direct co-ordination with us. This was an attack on a DFLP building a mile or so away in southern Beirut, led by Amnon Lipkin, the friend whose unit had faced one of the toughest battles at Karameh. Amnon's paratroop force would land with us and also pile into Mossad rental cars. Our attacks would begin at the same time, with the maximum prospect of retaining the advantage of surprise. When and if we both completed the operations and got away safely, we would meet up again on the seafront.

From our first meeting, the morning after Dado gave me the go-ahead, I realized I would have to make at least one change to the plan to rely on the core Sabena team. There was no way, after his exclusion from the hijack rescue mission, that I could refuse Yoni when he pressed to be included. I added him to Mookie Betzer's force. I put the other two attack teams under a pair of young officers named Amitai Nachmani and Zvika Gilad. Both were self-confident, natural leaders. Both had other qualities I also knew we'd need: focus, and calm. I would take charge on the street outside the targeted apartments, along with Amiram Levin. With us would be Dov Bar, a *Shayetet 13* officer, and our medic, Shmuel Katz.

In the hangar at the sayeret base, we made mock-ups of the layout of the apartments, using bedsheets for the walls and adjusting the dimensions as further bits of intelligence came in from Mossad. But the real work involved simulating the whole operation, from the moment of our landing on jet-black rubber dinghies piloted by the SEALs. We found a new building development in north Tel Aviv with a pair of apartment blocks under construction. For two nights, we ran through the whole thing: setting off in the dinghies from a missile boat off the Israeli coast before midnight, meeting up with our Mossad drivers on shore, making our way through the center of Tel Aviv to the apartment complexes and simulating the attack. I wanted to ensure we could pull off the whole thing without anyone raising an alarm. The one problem came during the second run-through. A policeman drove by as we were "attacking" the apartments. Dado managed to convince him that reporting us to his superiors would not be an especially good idea.

In our debriefing discussions after that exercise, Dado identified a major problem I'd overlooked. We would be entering Beirut dressed as civilians. Once we got to the top end of Rue Verdun, we planned to approach the apartments as if we were party-goers returning from a night on the town. "It doesn't look right," Dado said. "More than a dozen party people walking, all *men*?" Mookie

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came up with the solution, one that would have the unintended effect of elevating our mission further in Israeli lore. The three least burly-looking of us would go in as women: a boyish looking guy named Lonny Rafael, Amiram Levin, and me.

Still, there was another, potentially deeper concern that had yet to be addressed. In all sayeret missions, since the beginning, we knew we might end up having to fight, shoot and, if necessary, kill. Yet now we would be going in with the expectation of killing three specific men. We had black-and-white photos: Mohammed Youssef al-Najar, or Abu Youssef, an operations officer in Black September; Kamal Adwan, one of Arafat's top military planners; and Kamal Nasser, a member of his leadership circle and his spokesman. Nominally, it was understood we would seize them and bring them back to Israel if possible. I had us exercise how we'd do that. But none of us really believed that once our teams made it into the apartments, the Palestinians would surrender. We assumed we would have no option but to kill them.

The killing was not the main issue. After all, I had drawn up a plan a year earlier to target Arafat himself. Though no one in the sayeret took any pleasure in having to take a life, at the end of the day we were a part of the army. Black September, and Arafat's Fatah more broadly, were not only at war with the existence of Israel. They were behind a campaign of terror. Certainly there was no significant public opposition, after the horror of Munich, to going after those who were deemed to be part of the operational or political direction of Black September. Our uneasiness inside the unit, however, revolved around what I'd extolled as its "spirit" when I became commander. Beyond all the specific qualities we needed to succeed in our operations, our image of ourselves was as *thinking* soldiers. We might sometimes find it necessary to kill, but we were not *killers*.

As I explained to each of the men I'd be leading on the operation, the Mossad, Dado, and ultimately Golda had concluded that these three men were appropriate targets in the wake of Munich. As a battalion-level commander, I did not feel I was in a position to challenge their judgement, *unless* we had been ordered to carry out an attack that was clearly improper or immoral. In that case, I would have no hesitation in refusing. I said I viewed what we were being asked to do in Beirut not as an act of revenge, but a deterrent. It was a way of leaving no doubt in the minds of potential future terrorists that massacres like Munich carried a heavy price.

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The more difficult question for some in the unit was *how* we were delivering that message: breaking into apartments in the middle of the night. Yes, each of the men was almost sure to be armed. But these flats were their homes. Very likely, members of their families would be there. If the operation went as planned, it was hard to imagine how any of the men would have a chance of surviving. My answer was that ideally we would face them on a battlefield. Yet given the nature of Black September, that was not going to happen. Mossad was right to conclude this was the only way to isolate and attack them.

For Amitai Nachmani, who would be leading the attack on one of the apartments, my words were not enough. Twice, he came to see me. It was not that he didn't trust or respect me as his commander, he said. But before leading his team into Beirut, he needed to satisfy himself that the people we were attacking, and the way we were attacking them, had been properly thought through by the people giving the orders. I told him I understood. I did not tell him that I was actually proud of him for asking – which, although I'm sure he sensed it, was an omission I regretted when he lost his life in the Sinai Desert a few months later. But I did go see Dado. I told him what Amitai had said. He needed no convincing when I urged him to address the entire Beirut team and answer their questions at our final planning meeting. He did so, explaining how and why the decision to target these three Palestinians had been reached, to the satisfaction of Amitai and the others.

We set off by missile boat from Haifa on the afternoon of April ninth. To my relief, since I suffer from seasickness, the Mediterranean was calm as we headed west towards Cyprus, before circling back in the direction of the Lebanese coast after nightfall. I ran through the plan a final time with each member of the team and then joined Amiram and Lonny in transforming ourselves as best we could into credible dates for the evening. I'd vetoed dresses or high heels, in favor of flared slacks and flats. We used standard-issue army socks to pad out our bras. The Mossad had recruited a volunteer from a Tel Aviv beauty parlor to help us with our lipstick, blue eyeliner and eye shadow. The final touch was our wigs. Amiram and Lonny were blondes. I went as a stylish brunette.

I'm reluctant to take issue with the Spielberg version of events, if only because he had my part played by someone undeniably better looking than I was, even as a 31-year-old. But in *Munich*, we are shown zooming into a crowded harbor area on a line of motor boats, changing into drag only once we've sprinted ashore, opening fire on a dockside kiosk and shooting our way

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into town like something out of the wild west. Had any of that happened, we would have started a small-scale war, not to mention run the very real risk of not getting out alive.

In fact, we left the missile boat, Manno's offshore command post, in motor dinghies out of earshot of Beirut and cut the engines as we got closer to the shore. All of us, including the "women", were wrapped in ponchos to avoid showing up on Rue Verdun soaking wet. After getting out of the dinghies, we were carried ashore by the SEALs to make sure we stayed dry. All of us had loose-fitting jackets. The attack teams used them to conceal Uzis, explosive charges to blow the locks on the apartment doors if they couldn't be forced open, a hand grenade or two and flashlights for the dash up the stairs. One member of each team had a large plastic bag, with orders to take away any easily accessible documents for Mossad analysts back home. As the mother of the brood, I also had a large purse, in which I carried our radio to communicate with the team leaders and with Manno on the missile boat if necessary.

Our SEAL pilots steered us well away from the more built-up part of the seafront towards the Coral Beach, one of the private clubs on the southern end of the shoreline. Four rented station wagons were waiting, two of them for us and two for Amnon's squad. Amnon set off toward the DFLP target. We headed north towards the center of town. In the Spielberg film, my speaking role consisted of two words, my name, as I introduced myself to my driver. In fact, we had already met: during the run-through exercises in Tel Aviv. After we got into the cars, I asked him how his scouting of the route had gone. He said basically OK, but that he'd noticed a couple of cops patrolling near the top of Verdun on one of his drive-bys. I assured him it would be fine. There would be no reason for a policeman to suspect what we were up to, or who we were. Still, I could tell he was nervous. "What's wrong?" I asked. He hesitated before replying. "I've never been in a place where there's live fire," he said. I told him not to worry. He *still* wouldn't be. "You're going to be parked around the corner, until it's over. Then, it's just about getting home."

When we reached the top of Verdun, it was about ten minutes after one in the morning. Our cars pulled over. I took Mookie's arm as we began walking the 150 feet or so to the first of the apartment buildings. The others followed in knots of two or three. Both Mookie and I saw a policeman approaching on the sidewalk. "Ignore him," I whispered. We weaved a few inches to the side to let him pass. The buildings were as we'd expected, with their lobbies set back from a covered terrace in front. As the other teams made their way to the second

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building, I stayed with Mookie. His job, along with Yoni in his expanded team, was to deal with Abu Youssef, the Black September operations officer. The concierge must have been on a coffee break. The lobby was empty. The door was unlocked, so they sprinted toward the interior staircase and made their way up.

Adwan, the Fatah military man, and Kamal Nasser lived next door. Adwan, Amitai's target, was on the second floor. Nasser was on the third. As the teams raced into the other building, Amiram and I posted ourselves near one of the terrace pillars, occasionally exchanging a few words of what we hoped would pass as girl talk. The SEAL officer and Dr Katz were near the top end of the street as lookouts. We seemed seconds away from what had all the makings of the operation we'd rehearsed back in Tel Aviv. The one major problem I'd expected – security guards posted outside – hadn't materialized. We'd been told by the Mossad to look out for a grey Mercedes, but it wasn't there.

The next stage was for each team leader to press the transmit button three times on his radio. When I'd heard from all of them, I would send a signal back. Then, at the count of five, each of them was supposed to start the attack. Mookie's signal came first. Yet before either of the other two teams checked in, the trouble began. Suddenly, the door of a red Renault flew open almost directly across the street from where Amiram and I were standing. A tall, sturdy, dark-haired man climbed out. He looked across at us. He opened his leather jacket. He pulled out a pistol and started to approach us. "*Ein breirah*," I whispered to Amiram. "No choice." To this day, I remember the shock on the man's face as he watched us – a pair of 30something women – open our jackets and pull out Uzis. Fortunately for him, we'd had to make allowances for concealment in choosing our weapons. We'd left the Uzis' stabilizing shoulder braces behind. As our first shots hit, he had half-turned to run. Though wounded, he somehow got back in the car. We kept shooting but he managed to drag himself out of the far door and roll behind a waist-high wall on the other side of the street. One of our shots obviously hit the electrical innards of the Renault, because the car horn began blaring full-blast, as if someone had set off a modern-day car alarm. So much for the element of surprise.

I saw three sets of lights suddenly come on in the otherwise dark apartment buildings. They were in the flats that Mossad had identified. At least that part of the plan was intact. These were the Palestinians we were after, and it seemed they were at home. Seconds later, I heard an explosion. It was from Abu

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Youssef's apartment, the one Mookie and Yoni had been assigned. Then, bursts of gunfire from the other building.

A Land Rover was approaching from the *gendarmerie* at the bottom of the road. We waited until it was about 50 feet away. Amiram and I opened fire, then Dov and Shmuel Katz as well. The driver lost control and crashed into the side of the Renault. There were at least four policemen inside. They, too, rolled behind the wall on the far side of the street. Using the terrace columns for cover, we kept shooting. Within a minute or so, only a couple of the cops fired back.

Though the three Palestinians could not know the reason for the gunfire and the wailing of the car horn, they were now on their guard. When Mookie had blown open the door to Abu Youssef's flat – and he, Yoni and the other two members of his team ran into the apartment – he saw the Black September man peering out from the bedroom. Mookie raised his Uzi but the Palestinian ducked inside and shut the door. All four of them fired through through the door. When they went in, they found not only Abu Youssef but his wife, both dead. When Zvika's team burst in on Kamal Nasser, he, too, was ready. Crouching behind a desk, he raised an automatic pistol and fired, grazing one of the team on the leg. But in a burst of Uzi bullets, he, too, was killed.

I suspect that Amitai's face-to-face meeting with Dado may have saved his life. When he and his team cornered Kamal Adwan, he had an AK-47 raised and ready to fire. Without even a split second's unconscious hesitation, Amitai fired first. His only regret afterwards was that Adwan's wife and children saw it happen, and that when they'd blasted open the apartment door, the force blew open the door of a nearby flat, killing an elderly Italian woman. She had been one of the Mossad's sources of information on the Beirut apartments.

Mookie's team came down first. They joined us, crouching behind the columns, as sporadic shots continued from one of the policemen behind the wall across the street. When a second police Land Rover approached, I at first signaled the others to let it pass. But when it suddenly accelerated toward us, we opened fire. It swerved, crashing into the rear bumper of the other one.

The other teams were back down now. I shouted for Dov to have the drivers bring the station wagons from around the corner. When we began to pull away, a third police Land Rover appeared. It sped up behind us. Mookie tossed back a grenade. The last thing I saw as we made it to the end of the block and headed toward the seafront was the front end of the vehicle exploding. We dropped hollow, needle-sharp spikes out the window of the car as we left, so I knew that

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any other pursuing vehicle would be in no shape to follow for very long. But we still had to avoid trouble on our way back out. I knew it would be a risk to go back to the Coral Beach, so we took the shortest route to the sea, straight out to the Corniche, the city's main avenue along the Mediterranean. As we got closer, we could hear gunfire. Obviously, the police, and the Palestinian militias, realized *something* was not right. The advantage we had was that they would have no idea what had happened on Rue Verdun, who we were, or where we were going.

No sooner had we joined the Corniche than I saw another police Land Rover about 200 yards ahead of us. This one had a spotlight on the roof, panning both sides of the road. I told the driver to slow down. About 100 yards or so later, reaching the place where we'd arranged for the SEALs to meet us, he and the other station wagon pulled over to the side of the road. The Land Rover kept driving. We slid down a steep embankment nearly 30 feet to the sea. Two of the three assault teams had bags full of documents as well. We swam out to the dinghies. When we had hoisted ourselves in, we headed out at first by paddle, then under engine power, to the missile boat. The whole operation had taken about a half an hour, only 10 minutes on Rue Verdun.

I radioed Manno on the way to the missile boat. A half-dozen words: the agreed code phrase for "mission accomplished, targets achieved." I could hear relief in his voice when he replied. At first, I assumed that was because they hadn't heard from us during the operation. Our radio link to the missile boat had gone down when we entered the built-up area around the apartment blocks. *Genuinely*, despite Manno's suspicion that I'd cut the connection. Yet he had other reasons to exhale when he heard we had got out safely. Amnon's team had had a much tougher time. They met resistance from the moment they arrived at the DFLP building. Two of his men were killed, another wounded. They set off their explosive charges, but had to fight their way out. They only barely managed to escape, carrying their fallen comrades with them and linking up with another team of SEALs near the Coral Beach.

It was a little before six in the morning when I got home. I was careful not to wake Nava. I'd changed out of my slacks and flats and surrendered my wig on the missile boat. But I didn't have the energy to deal with my makeup. The next thing I remember was my wife standing by our bed as I stirred awake around noon the next day. She looked at my eye makeup and lipstick, shook her head, and smiled. She didn't need to ask where I'd been. Israel radio had been full of news about a major operation in Beirut.

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A few weeks later, my term as commander ended. The handover to my successor, Giora Zorea, turned out to be more elaborate than my arrival, though not at my instigation. With both Talik and Avraham in attendance, Dado presented me with my fifth *tzalash.* It was not for Beirut. Not for the operation against the Syrian officers, or the unprecedented access our intelligence missions were providing into Egypt's military communications. Dado said it was for all of the above. And not just for leading the unit of which I'd been a part almost from the start. It was for my part in bringing it to maturity. When I replied, I am sure everyone knew I was speaking from the heart in saying that my every moment with Sayeret Matkal had been a privilege. And that this latest commendation was an award for the achievements the whole sayeret.

Dado did me another good turn. As my stint as commander drew to an end, I knew what I hoped to do next in the army: to use my tank training to work my way up the command chain in the armored corps. But like past sayeret commanders, it was assumed I would first spend time at the US Marine Corps staff college in Quantico, Virginia. I had other ideas. I wanted to exercise other parts of my mind, by doing postgraduate work at a normal American university. Dado agreed.

I still had to get accepted. The first step was to take the post-graduate entry exam, the GRE. There were two parts to it. The first involved mathematics and abstract thinking, the second English language. If my fate had rested on my English grade, I'd have ended up at Quantico. I finished in the 28th percentile. But in the other part, I was in the 99.6th percentile. I applied to four universities: Harvard, Yale, MIT and Stanford. Amazingly, I got accepted by all of them. I chose Stanford, mainly because it allowed a far greater latitude in choosing my program of study. Also, the weather.

In early August 1973, Nava and I joined my parents and hers on a sunny afternoon in Mishmar Hasharon to celebrate Michal's third birthday and say goodbye. We were heading to Palo Alto, California, with every expectation of two years of intellectual stimulation, new friends, new experiences and something approximating a more normal family life. My "other" family, the Israeli army, also had reason to believe a period of new possibilities lay ahead. The threat of terror remained, of course. There had also been a brief bout of

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nerves over military maneuvers by Anwar Sadat a few weeks earlier. But that had come to nothing. In no small part due to the success of the raid on Rue Verdun, Israel's generals believed the balance of strength and security was on our side and that, at least for a while, Israel could breathe a bit more easily.

But we were all about to be proven spectacularly wrong.

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Chapter Nine

The phone rang in our apartment in Palo Alto at 4:30 in the morning. We had been in the US for barely six weeks. It was the Sixth of October 1973: Yom Kippur, the holiest date on the Jewish calendar. I was still a bit groggy from the night before. We had been out at a get-to-know-you event for some of the several dozen Israelis, and several hundred American Jewish students, at Stanford. While I only vaguely recognized the voice on the other end of the line, her words instantly jolted me awake: "The boss is busy," she said. "But he wants you to know. A war has started back home."

Her boss was Motta Gur, who was by now Israel's military attaché in Washington and was my nominal commander for my period in the United States. "I need to talk to Motta," I said. She passed him the phone. "I want you to know I'm going back," I told him. Motta's reply took my mind back 15 months, to our on-again-off-again mission to abduct the Syrian officers, with Motta and Dado in the command post, intent on reining in the "young bulls" of the sayeret. "Ehud," he said, "from what I'm hearing, I don't think we are missing a major war."

"What's this *we*?" I said. Motta was a general, at the upper reaches of the armed forces, officially posted to Washington. I was a young officer, just starting to work my way up the chain of field command. "I can't afford to miss even a *non-major* war," I said. "I'll check in with you when I get to New York."

"Major" would turn out to be, if anything, an understatement. Yet all I knew, as I kissed Nava and Michal goodbye and got a cab to San Francisco airport, was that Israel was again at war. By the time I joined the swarm of Israelis around the El Al desk at Kennedy eight hours later, the picture was clearer, and more worrying with each new report from back home. Surprise attacks by Syria and Egypt – armies we'd not just defeated, but humiliated, six years earlier – had pinned down and pushed back our forces on the Golan Heights and in the Sinai. Without any advance call-up, many reservists were only now reaching the front lines.

As hundreds of people pressed for seats on the El Al flight, I was fortunate to receive a boost up the pecking order from another man in line. Since the Sabena operation, the existence of Sayeret Matkal had become a bit less secret. Still, the identity of the sayeret commander was known to just a few people outside the unit. So skittish were the army security people that before I'd left for Stanford,

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they even insisted I change my name. I was no longer Ehud Brog. I'd Hebraicized it: to Barak, which seemed near enough to the original. Among the few dozen outside the unit who did know about my role, however, were paratroopers who'd joined us on various missions. One of them now told the El Al people who I was. Not only was I given a seat on the first overnight plane back to Tel Aviv. I found myself helping the airline establish a priority for assigning seats to others: first, active officers in fighting units: armor, infantry, the air force. Then, reservists, with the emphasis on those who'd seen active service most recently.

As we were waiting to board, I phoned Uzi Dayan and asked him to meet me at Lod the next morning. Then I called Motta again. "Ehud," he said, with no trace of irony, "it is an *extremely* serious war. Syrian tanks are getting close to the outer fences of Nafakh" – our main command post on the Golan. "Good luck."

Uzi was waiting for me when we landed. Walking to his car, we ran into two reserve armored officers who had also just arrived home. They expected to be sent north, to help beat back the Syrian advance. When they asked me where I thought I'd be going, I said, truthfully, I had no idea. "Wherever I can help," I said. Uzi drove us to the *bor*, the bunker built two floors underground in the *kirya.* Usually, it functioned as the day-to-day operations center. But it was where the commanders of the armed forces operated during times of war.

At officers' school, we'd heard and read about the importance of throwing the enemy "off balance". Now, *we* were the ones off balance. The faces I saw around me were gray and drawn. There were dead looks in the eyes of the commanders and their staff. Some 30 hours after the surprise attack, all the self-confidence we'd felt since 1967 seemed to have evaporated. I looked into several of the rooms where, months earlier, I'd run through operational plans as sayeret commander. Inside each, a large wall map traced the course of the fighting. Israeli forces were marked in blue, the Syrians and Egyptians in red, with a timestamp for each position report scribbled at the side in black magic marker. But I saw that the latest addition was from at least *twelve hours* earlier. It was as if we'd lost track of what was happening, or were simply overwhelmed by the pace of events.

I spoke briefly with Talik as he walked along the corridor. He looked 10 years older than when I'd last seen him. Then I spotted Ahrahle Yariv, who had been called back into military intelligence at the start of the war. Looking surprised to see me back in Israel, he pulled me close to him. "It's important

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that you came back," he said. "We'll need each and every one of you to get the job done." Then he hugged me again. It was as if, knowing I would soon be heading for the front line, he wondered whether we'd see each other again.

I made my way to the office that the chief of staff used in the bunker and asked Dado's secretary if I could see him. As she was deciding whether to let me in, he emerged. Though obviously aware of the seriousness of the situation, Dado radiated his usual calm and confidence. For the first time, I felt a bit more hopeful. "*Ma nishmah*, Ehud? he asked, in Israelis' everyday greeting. "What's up?" I told him I'd just come from the airport. "I can help in special forces, infantry, armor. Whichever is most needed."

"Leading a tank unit," he said. "They've suffered heavy losses. Go see Tzipori." Motke Tzipori was in charge of organizing the armored units. He sent me to Julis, the training base between Tel Aviv and Beersheva, where tanks from maintenance units around the country were being brought. Once they were reasonably operational, and as more reservists arrived from abroad, I would lead a makeshift battalion to help reinforce our badly depleted forces in the Sinai.

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I was just one of dozens of officers, in command of thousands of tireless and courageous troops called on to try to turn the tide. Most were reservists. Many, like me, had rushed home in the knowledge that for the first time since 1948, there was the real risk Israel would be defeated. By the time I got my battle orders – October 14, the ninth day of the war – Israeli forces on the Golan, at enormous cost, had managed to turn back the Syrian attack. In this war, the men from Sayeret Matkal were not bystanders. Most of the unit joined the fightback in the north, where, under Yoni Netanyahu's command, they took on and defeated a Syrian commando force in the heart of the Golan. Yoni himself risked his life to rescue a wounded officer from another unit behind enemy lines.

In the Sinai, however, the situation remained dire. An initial counterattack, launched while I was on my way to Julis, ended up in tatters, with whole battalions all but destroyed, as our tanks came under fire from rocket-propelled grenades and, above all, the wire-guided Saggers. Israel's main advantage in 1967 – our command of the skies – was all but gone. By moving their surface-

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to-air missiles to the bank of the Suez Canal after the truce in the War of Attrition, the Egyptians had created an effective no-fly zone a dozen miles into the Sinai. After the failed counter-attack, with the commander of the air force warning that we were nearing our minimum "red line" number of fighter jets, Golda contacted the Americans to propose a cease-fire in the south. But having retaken the Suez Canal and pushed into the Sinai, President Sadat was in no mood to call a halt to the fighting. The only way we were going to end the war was to retake the canal and defeat the even larger Egyptian forces on the other side.

To the extent that my part in war was different from other junior officers, it was because of my history in Sayeret Matkal. Other Israeli sayerets were attached to specific fighting forces. Sayeret Golan, for instance, was part of the Golani infantry brigade in the north; Sayeret *Tzanhanim*, was part of the paratroopers. But "matkal" is the Hebrew word for the general staff, since it was the generals in military headquarters who had allowed Avraham Arnan to create the unit. From the start, we had answered directly to the *kirya*, which ultimately had to approve our operations. When I rushed back from Stanford at the start of the war, I was still just a 31-year-old lieutenant-colonel. I had spent two years in command of the equivalent of an infantry battalion. But I knew, and in many cases had worked with, the men at the very top of the armed forces, including Dado, the chief of staff. So while other young reservists were reporting to their former units for assignment, my first port of call was the command bunker, where Dado himself, aware that I'd done intensive tank training before taking command of the sayeret, ensured that I would play my part in trying to turn back the Egyptian advances. I also knew, or at least had met, many of the generals plotting the counteroffensive in the command bunker in the south: Shmuel Gonen, known as "Gorodish", who was head of the southern command; Arik Sharon, who had left the same job for politics a few months earlier, but was now commanding a division near the canal; and Chaim Bar-Lev, the former chief-of-staff whom Golda had called back into emergency service. I even knew the bunker. It was Um-Hashiba, the command and intelligence post from which we had run Sayeret Matkal operations into Egypt after 1967.

So during the last, decisive 10 days of the war, I would witness first-hand the tension among our top commanders in the Sinai, especially between Sharon and Gorodish, since Arik wasted few opportunities to suggest, rightly but not always helpfully, that his successor was woefully out of his depth. I would lead my company back across the canal with one of the other main armored brigades in the Sinai; take out Egyptian missile sites and help restore our jets' command of

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the skies; strike out alone at night, with sayeret-issue night goggles, to bring back the surviving soldiers after we realized we'd lost one of our APCs in a battle with Egyptians; and even, because I'd been there before on sayeret missions, leading a joint armored force across the Egyptian desert to complete the encirclement of Sadat's Third Army and effectively end the war.

Still, the memory which has stayed with me longest – summoning back all the miscues and misjudgements of some of Israel's top commanders, and the terrible price paid by the men on the ground to turn things around – was the fight for an experimental agricultural facility located just a few miles back from our side of the Suez Canal.

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On Israeli military maps, it was called the Chinese Farm. In fact, it was Japanese experts who helped set it up in the then-Egyptian Sinai before the Six-Day War. When we captured it in 1967, deciphering the characters on the equipment had evidently proven beyond our linguistic capabilities. Thus, *Chinese* Farm. Now, it was back in Egyptian hands. The sprawling complex, with its web of large irrigation ditches, controlled the main transport corridor from the Sinai to the bank of the canal.

Before dawn on October 16, one of the battalions in Arik Sharon's brigade, under a veteran paratroop commander named Danny Matt, had managed to cross the canal on rubber rafts with an advance force of some 750 men and a few dozen tanks. But it was a precarious beachhead, vulnerable to Egyptian air strikes, artillery and Sagger fire. Hopes for any large-scale Israeli counterattack rested on moving forward an enormous roller bridge, and hundreds more tanks, to complete the crossing – impossible without retaking the Chinese Farm.

The first I knew of the scale of Egyptian resistance there was about four in the morning on the seventeenth. I got a radio call ordering me to get my battalion ready to move, ASAP. We were attached the other main armored force, along with Arik's, assigned to lead the crossing. It was under the command of Avraham "Bren" Adnan, the former overall commander of Israeli tank forces. "You're going north of Tirtur 42," Bren's operations officer told me. Even without checking our coded map, I knew it was the road running along the upper edge of the Chinese Farm. He told me that the parachutists of

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Battalion 890, under Yitzhik Mordechai, were in trouble. "Go. Find them. Help get them out."

I knew Yitzhik personally, from his years in the paratroopers' elite Battalion 890. I knew the man who was now in overall command of the paratroopers even better: Uzi Yairi, who was in charge of Sayeret Matkal during my final years of reserve duty at Hebrew University. Helicoptered into the Sinai just hours earlier, the paratroopers had been sent to the Chinese Farm shortly before midnight. As I would soon learn, they had no more idea than I did about what they were about to face. They were told they were going in simply to clear out bands of "tank-hunters". They *weren't* told of repeated attempts by some of Arik's top tank, paratroop and reconnaissance units to take the farm over the previous 36 hours – attacks which had not only failed, but had cost dozens of tanks and hundreds of men. Without artillery, armor or air support, they immediately came under rifle, machine-gun, mortar and heavy artillery fire.

Our job was to get them out. Ordering my men to get ready for our first combat mission of the war, I found myself face-to-face with a distraught and determined friend from military intelligence. Yishai Izhar had arrived at Bren's headquarters the day before. When he saw me, he'd asked to join my battalion. He was a brilliant electronics engineer and was about to assume command of the technology unit in military intelligence. I told him we already had our complement of tank crews, and I knew he'd never had any armored training. So I found him a place in one of our APCs. But before joining military intelligence, he'd been a company commander in Battalion 890. Hearing that we were going to rescue his old unit, he insisted on joining me on the lead tank. I tried several times to refuse, but he said I had no moral authority to stash him in an APC when we were going in to rescue his friends and comrades. Aware that each wasted minute might cost more of the paratroopers' lives, I relented. I told Yishai he'd be sitting across from me on the turret, right above Yasha Kedmi, another friend who, having served under me in my first tank company in the War of Attrition, had asked to join back at Julis. Yasha was our loader and radio-operator. He got Yishai a machine gun, extra magazines for his Uzi and a box of grenades.

We moved out through wave-like dunes in total darkness. After the first few miles, the terrain leveled out a bit. Still, the sand was deep and the going slow. When we got within a couple of miles of where I assumed Yitzhik and his men would be, I radioed him. His voice was chilling. "They're very close to us, shooting," he said. "I've got many wounded. Get here as quick as you can."

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As we got closer, I could still see no sign of them. As dawn was about break, I radioed Yitzhik to suggest he fire off a flare, but he thought that would put them at even greater mercy of the Egyptians. Instead, he tossed out a smoke grenade. We spotted it, more than a half-a-mile away, slightly below us and to our right. I ordered us forward, leaving my second tank company behind for covering fire. I led Company A, which included my most experienced tank commander, Moshe Sukenik. Immediately behind us were our APCs, including two carrying our medical team. My aim was to engage the Egyptian fire while starting to evacuate Yitzhik's men to one of the long, dry, irrigation ditches, 600 yards behind us.

We moved forward in a broad line with my command tank in the center. We held our fire until we got closer. I still couldn't see exactly where the men of Battalion 890 were and didn't want to risk hitting them. Only when we got within about 70 yards did I spot the first of the paratroopers. They were in groups of three or four in a thin line stretching 200 or 300 yards on either side of us. They were lying behind whatever cover they could find: a bush, a clump of debris, a small rise in the sand. Some were firing. Others were wounded. From just a few yards away, Egyptian infantrymen were raking them with rifle and machine-gun fire. They were now shooting at us as well, and we returned fire. But the Egyptians, far outnumbering Yitzhik's men, were spread out in a network of foxholes, in some places connected by trenches. As we moved forward, I ordered my APC commander to start evacuating the paratroopers back to the irrigation ditch, with the support of a further group of courageous reservists from another nearby APC unit.

A shell suddenly exploded 20 yards ahead of me. Others rained in around our tanks. The source of the fire was straight ahead, about 1,300 yards away: three SU-100s, Soviet-made World War Two "tank destroyers". I trained the main gun of my tank on one of the SU-100s and ordered the gunner to fire. I used the battalion-wide radio frequency so the others would hear the order. But when the dust and smoke had cleared, the SU-100s were still there. I ordered a sight correction and said, again: "Fire". Still, we missed. It was only then that I realized why. Almost none of the tanks brought brought into Julis from the maintenance units had included their "commander's notebook" with their checklists for calibrating and firing – a major problem, since many of the reservists had last been in a tank years before. I ordered the gunners to use their telescopes, parallel to the main gun, instead.

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We were being hit by small-arms and RPG fire from all sides. On the turret of our tank, Yishai and I were firing back, our Uzis on automatic, and throwing grenades. I could hear bullets pinging off the turret and the body of the tank. Then, from our far right flank, came the shoulder-mounted Saggers, honing in with their eerie blue-red glow, juddering towards us as the Egyptian soldiers corrected their trajectories. One of the missiles barely missed us, and the silky wire from its guidance mechanism was tangled over our turret. I tried using my binoculars to identify where they were coming from, but it was no use.

To my right, I could see that the APCs had completed their first evacuation run and were coming back for more of Yitzhik's men. There was a raggedness about it all: one APC, then a couple of others, then a gap, then another one or two. They were doing whatever they could, whenever they could, as the Egyptian fire continued to intensify. A few of Yitzhik's men, whether desperate or dazed, simply stood up and starting walking west, toward the canal, only to be cut down by Egyptian gunfire.

I directed Moshe Sukenik to take half the company and head toward the Saggers to try to take them out, even though we both knew that he'd have to risk heavy fire before they got close enough. He had two-inch mortars on his turret, but their range was only 500 yards, far less than the Saggers. Every 45 seconds or so, a salvo of Saggers zeroed in on our tanks and APCs. Within a couple of minutes, two of the tanks were hit. One was on fire. The SU-100 tank-destroyers were still there as well. Egyptian infantrymen were spraying us with small arms fire. The whole area was swathed in grayish smoke. Every minute or two, another tank or APC took a direct hit. There was a smell, too, which, once experienced, never leaves your memory: the scent of burnt human flesh.

The fire from the foxholes was getting worse. "Run over them," I ordered my tank driver. "Start with the foxhole in front of us." He jerked us forward and we plowed over the first Egyptian position. "Reverse, get the one to the right," I said. As he backed up, I was shocked to see a surviving Egyptian soldier, shrugging off a thick blanket of sand from his shoulders, raise an RPG launcher at us from just 15 feet away. We were close enough to look into each other's eyes. I raised my Uzi and shot him before he could fire. Rifle and grenade fire continued from along the line of foxholes. A second length of the Saggers' silk-like guidance wire tangled over our main gun. Yishai was firing at the Egyptians from the other side of the tank. We both tossed grenades in the direction of the worst of the gunfire.

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It was then, suddenly, that I saw Yishai had taken a bullet in the side of his neck. Blood was spurting from the wound. His face was contorted in pain. He looked at me, raising his hands upward, as if to say: "I did my best. It's over now." I pressed hard on the wound, trying to stem the flow. But he slipped out of my grasp and collapsed into Yasha Kedmi's arms. Yasha propped him up and kept trying to staunch the bleeding. I turned toward the Egyptian soldier who had shot Yishai, less than 20 feet to my left. Keeping myself as low as possible above the turret, I fired into his chest. He tumbled into the foxhole. As I kept shooting, Yasha told me Yishai was dead. "Are you sure?" I asked. When he said yes, I ordered the driver to back up. We drove a few dozen feet, to where a group of the paratroopers was taking cover. With their help, we lowered his body from the tank, and then returned to the battle.

Barely ten minutes had passed since it began. Two SU-100s were now spewing smoke and out of action. The third had withdrawn. But the Egyptians were still firing. Five of our tanks had been hit. Two were on fire. One APC was smoldering, its commander severely wounded. I knew that if we stayed much longer, we would end up like other armored units during Israel's first, failed counterattack in the early days of the war. We would risk being wiped out. As far as I could tell, all the surviving paratroopers had been brought out or had managed to hobble to the irrigation ditch. I ordered Sukenik to abandon his attempt to take out the Saggers, and we withdrew behind the irrigation ditch.

It was only then that I realized that alongside two of our crippled tanks there was still a group of a dozen men: six crew members from my battalion and six of Yitzhik's men. It took nearly two hours to get them out. We used our tank guns to try to reduce the intensity of the fire from the Egyptians around them. I ordered one of our APCs to go get them. I rounded up all our smoke grenades, and the APC crew used them to create a smokescreen, the only way I could think of to reduce the danger of being targeted by the Saggers. It worked, but it required incredible guts for the men in the APC to pull it off.

The battle had required guts of every man in the battalion. They had found a way to conquer the first and most powerful enemy on a battlefield: fear. I felt it, too. But it's easier for a commander. When you're leading people into combat, you don't have time to be afraid. You have to assess and evaluate, second by second, everything going on around you. You have to make instant decisions and ensure they're being carried out. The people under your command are waiting to hear your voice, and watching your actions, too. If you lose control at any point, not only is your life at stake. Theirs are too.

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Early that evening, we were ordered to rejoin Bren's division to be ready for the crossing. When I reported that three of my soldiers were still missing, I was ordered to inform the commander of the battalion replacing us to find the missing men. The fight for the Chinese Farm was still not over. It would be another 12 hours before, in a co-ordinated push by a strengthened armor and infantry force, Israeli forces finally drove most of the Egyptians out. What tenuous gains we'd made until then had come at an enormous price. Of Yitzhik's 300 men, nearly 40 were killed, and many others wounded. I'd led around 130 people into battle. More than 35 were injured. Eleven were dead, including Yishai Izhar and Motti Ben-Dror, our medical officer, killed while treating the wounded. One of our missing soldiers was found alive. The other two could only be brought home for burial.

As I began to hear the details of the previous days' fighting, I became more astonished, and angry. Israel's tactics in the battle for the Chinese Farm had involved a series of piecemeal strikes by units obviously too small, and inadequately supported or co-ordinated, to succeed. The problem wasn't the choice of units. No one could doubt the record of Battalion 890, or of the men Arik had sent in before Yitzhik arrived. But there was no way they were going to take the area on their own. I couldn't understand why there wasn't an attempt to assemble a force that might actually have been strong enough: parachutists, tanks, artillery. I felt I knew at least part of the answer from the two nights I had spent in the Um-Hashiba command post before joining Bren's division. By dawn on October 16, the first of Arik's men had crossed the canal. By the afternoon, although the big roller-bridge was still not ready, a smaller pontoon bridge was available. Everyone knew we needed to get control of the Chinese Farm. But all the field commanders were focused the *real* task, and the real prize: crossing the canal and defeating the Egyptians on the other side.

Now, at least, the main crossing was underway. Bren had chanced the fact that, with Yitzhik pinned down at the Chinese Farm and the Egyptians concentrating their fire on his men and mine, he could get the pontoon bridge through. From late afternoon on October 17, his first units began to cross. On the morning of October 18, my battalion joined them. There was still fighting ahead, and we were part of it: taking out the SAM sites, engaging units of the Third Army and, with *Sadat* now pressing the Americans for a cease-fire and many Egyptian units clearly losing the will to fight on, racing against the clock to encircle and defeat it five days later.

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When the guns finally fell silent, I had time to give full rein to my thoughts. There were obviously fundamental questions about how the war had happened, starting with why we hadn't known ahead of time that two neighboring states were about to attack us – despite sayeret intercepts that could have given us time to call up all our reserves. Disentangling the details would take months. But we already knew the human cost of those failures. Hundreds of Israeli soldiers had been killed. The final number would be around 2,800, nearly four times our losses in 1967. Thousands were wounded, some crippled for life. Many of the dead were men whom I'd grown up with or served with, including more than 20 in my own battalion. Some of the dead in other units were close friends.

I felt exhausted. I also realized that Nava, thousands of miles away in Palo Alto, and my parents on the kibbutz could still not be sure I had escaped the fate of so many others. I learned later that my parents had been making daily calls to Digli, who was working in intelligence in the *kirya*. Though he had no way of knowing where I was, he kept assuring them that he had checked with my commanders and that I was alive and well. Nava had been relying on American news reports and the relayed assurances from my parents, which she was seasoned enough as an army wife to treat with skepticism.

I missed her badly, and little Michal. I felt the need to hear their voices. I drove to one of the brigade communications units. There was a long line in front of the radio telephone. But within a half-hour, I managed to get a crackly connection to California. Nava burst into tears when she heard my voice. I told her I was fine, and that I couldn't wait to see her and our little girl. Then, my own eyes dampening, I reeled off the names of friends who had died. In addition to the brave men I'd lost in my own battalion, there were more than a dozen others I already knew of. A pair of brothers from Mishmar Hasharon, a couple of years younger than me, in separate units, but killed within hours of each other. Another childhood friend, from a nearby moshav, named Rafi Mitzafon. And Shaul Shalev, a gifted philosophy postgraduate and a brave tank commander whom I'd become friends with at officers' school. He'd rescued three dozen troops from one of the Bar-Lev fortifications in the first hours of the war, only to be killed trying to get to a tank crew who had taken refuge a few miles back from the canal.

I'd lost two wonderful sayeret comrades, too: Amit Ben-Horn, the soldier who'd relayed the order from Motta to abort our second attempt to abduct the Syrian officers in Lebanon, and Amitai Nachmani, the officer who had

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demanded a meeting with Dado before our attack in Rue Verdun. Amit died in the fighting near Ismailia, at the northern end of the canal, as Arik Sharon's units pushed on after the crossing. The day before the end of the war, both Amitai and Amiram Levin were part of an operation to take over the Fayid Air Base across the canal. When an Egyptian RPG hit their Jeep, Amiram was wounded. Amitai was killed.

I thought, too, of Yishai Izhar: the friend struck down beside me, who I'd cradled in my arms on the top of my tank, trying to stop the bleeding.

"Oh Ehud," Nava said. "It's like 1967 all over again."

"No," I said. "Worse. Much worse."

A few weeks later, I was coming out of the *kirya* when I ran into another friend, whom I'd first met at Hebrew University. Like me, he had been a junior officer in 1967. His name was Ron Ben-Ishai. He would go on to become a top journalist, covering the military for Israel's best-selling newspaper, *Yediot Achronot*. In the early autumn of 1967, we were still transfixed by the idea of being able to visit areas of biblical Israel, which for years had been under Jordanian rule. With a few other friends who were young officers, nine of us in all, Ron and I embarked on a trek from the southern edge of Jerusalem, weaving our way through the Judaean Desert toward Kumeran, on the Dead Sea.

Now a very different war had come and gone. I'd fought in it. Ron, as what is now called an embedded journalist, had been with Danny Matt's paratroopers when they'd crossed the canal. He was alongside another of Arik's units fighting out of the bridgehead on the far bank of the canal. That both of us had seen terrible suffering over the past few weeks did not need saying. But Ron said he wanted to show me something. Fishing into his wallet, he took out a carefully folded photograph. He had taken it in 1967, just six years earlier, to mark our Judaean trek. There we were. All nine of us. Young. Full of optimism. And probably a bit full of ourselves as well.

Ron and I were the only two left alive.

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We had won the war, and not just because our forces were now within 60 miles of Cairo, and only 25 from Damascus. We had been attacked by two huge

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armies: one-and-a-half million soldiers. Thousands of tanks. Hundreds of fighter jets. Other, much larger nations had endured months, even years, of hell before prevailing in such circumstances: the Soviet Union, for instance, with its huge strategic depth, or France, rescued by its American-led allies, during World War Two.

But any pride in having prevailed was outweighed by simple relief Israel had survived. Even that was nothing compared to the sadness felt over friends lost, and the resentment and sense of betrayal toward the generals and political leaders who had failed to prepare the country for the surprise attacks, or the initial confusion and dissension in some of our commanders' response to the early setbacks on the ground. Dozens of meetings were held in military units after the war to talk about what had gone wrong. I was not the only young officer to notice that the higher up the command chain they went, the more unedifying they became. After we'd heard one too many senior officer fine-tuning his account with each retelling, minimizing his share for the huge losses, a new phrase entered Israeli army slang. *Sipurei kravot* – "battle stories" – were the words usually used to describe a normal debriefing process. That expression was now amended, to *shipurei kravot*. Battle *improvements*.

I was assigned to convert my makeshift force into a regular armored training unit: Battalion 532, and that slightly delayed my reunion with Nava and Mikhal. But in their absence, I found us a larger apartment in the Tel Aviv suburb of Ramat Hasharon. Nava and I agreed that at the first opportunity, I'd return to California and we'd fly back together. I went at the end of the year. We bought a refrigerator and a washing machine for the new flat – better models, and cheaper, than those available in Israel – and came home. Those few December days in Palo Alto were a jumble of emotions. Happiness, at being back together. But also a sobering sense, now that I was outside Israel for the first time since the war, of the enormity of the threat we'd faced and the frustration and fear Nava must have felt as we'd fought to defeat it. The year-end news retrospectives we watched on American TV were full of film clips from the first hours of the war, when it looked very possible we would lose. I remember being struck by the thought that, if we *had* lost, if Israel had ceased to exist, ceremonies of memorial and mourning would have been held across America, probably in Stanford. But that once the shock and sadness had passed, Israel's disappearance would not have impinged on a single NFL Sunday, or delayed a single family shopping visit to J. C. Penny.

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My command of Battalion 532 lasted only a few more months. On April 1, 1974, an official commission of inquiry published its initial report on the war. It was scathing in its assessment of our intelligence failings, for which it placed the main blame the officer who had been promoted the year before as head of military intelligence: Eli Zeira, the man who had addressed us on the sayeret base before the the 1967 and so confidently predicted the outcome. It also took aim at two other commanders. Gorodish, as head of the southern command, was one. The other was Dado. As chief-of-staff, he was held ultimately responsible for the intelligence failings and for not having ordered at least a partial call-up of our reserves.

In Eli's case, I recognized the very fact of our being caught by surprise made his position untenable. In fact, as I learned more details about what had happened, I realized the commission had, if anything, understated the seriousness of his errors. In the run-up to the war, Eli had resisted multiple requests from other intelligence officers to activate what the commission called our "special sources" of intelligence: the communications intercepts we'd planted deep inside Egypt. Worse, he had indicated to the few generals who were aware of their existence that he had activated them, implying that his lack of concern about the possibility of an Egyptian was based on our intercepts.

Because Dado was one of the people misled, his fall struck me as profoundly unfair. He had devoted his whole adult life to the defense of our country. After the inquiry report, he was never again the same person. He developed an obsession with fitness and exercise. Psychologists might have called it displacement activity. I wondered whether it was a kind of self-punishment. Either way, it may well have killed him. At age 50, less than three years after the war, he died of a heart attack after a day of running and swimming.

Almost every level of command was thrown into flux after the inquiry report. So was the political landscape. Both Golda and Dayan bowed to growing public pressure and resigned. The premium was on finding replacements who were sufficiently experienced, but did not bear responsibility for the errors of the war. For Prime Minister, the choice fell on Yitzhak Rabin. He had strong military credentials, of course. But he had left the army and entered politics, and had been out of Israel for several years as Israel's ambassador to Washington. He had joined Golda's government only weeks before the war, in the relatively minor role of Minister of Labor. Much the same thing happened in the army. Only one of the generals who had been in the running to succeed Dado before

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the war was unscathed: Motta Gur. He, too, had been in Washington. Within days of the inquiry report, he was called back to replace Dado as chief-of-staff.

My role changed, too. Not everyone emerged from the war with his reputation diminished. The lion's share of the credit for Israel's eventual victory went to the rank and file of our citizen army. But in the officers' corps, there were also examples of coolheadedness in crisis, and leadership. One was Moussa Peled, who was now made head of the armored corps. My overall wartime commander, Bren, replaced Gorodish as head of the southern command. And Dan Shomron, whose 401st armored brigade played a critical part in defeating the Egyptians, was another. Dan and I had first got to know each other well at Karameh, then during my period as sayeret commander. We would go on in the years ahead to work more closely together than almost any senior officers in the military. He was now promoted as well. He became *katzhar*, overall head of infantry and paratroop forces, and he recommended me as his successor in Brigade 401.

Still, I knew that the Motta would have the final word, with input from the two senior officers most directly affected: Peled and Bren. I don't think either of them had anything against me personally. But both were tank officers through and through. There were other candidates to succeed Dan who, unlike me, had spent their whole careers in the armored corps.

I heard formally I was being considered as I was about to return to my battalion from Ramat Hasharon one Sunday morning. I was ordered to report to Motta's office. When I got there, he gestured toward the small table at the side. He already had two other visitors: Moussa Peled and Bren. "You probably know you're a candidate for taking over 401," he said. "These two gentlemen think you're not yet ready. What do you say?"

If I'd had more time to prepare, I might have answered more subtly. But I did very much want to be given command of the 401st, and had no doubt I would be a worthy and dedicated commander. "I don't know exactly what the two gentlemen mean by whether I'm ready," I replied. "So I have a proposal. Find a battle-tested officer whom you trust. Have him check who among the three of us, me or these gentlemen, is more familiar with the tank and its systems. Who of us knows better the terrain, in Syria or Egypt, day or night, where we have to fight? Who knows the operational requirements for an armored force, and the armored doctrine these gentlemen signed off on. Finally, which one of us has spent more time in a turret of a tank, on the battlefield, shooting at enemy forces and being shot at by the enemy?"

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There was silence, a grave look from Peled and Bren, the hint of a smile on Motta's face, and the meeting was over. Several days later, I was notified of his verdict. I would indeed be named the commander of the 401st Armored Brigade in the Sinai, and promoted to full colonel.

Our base was a 15 miles from the canal. It was a huge expanse of sand ringed by metal fencing. We spent three months at a time in this forward deployment and three months in our rear base, 50 miles from the canal. During one of our forward deployments, Motta came on an inspection visit. He wanted to discuss how we planned defend the area near the canal in the event of a repeat of the 1973 war. I told him everything we were doing in the brigade was aimed at ensuring *flexibility*. I had also been thinking about some of the broader issues relating to our defenses in the south. "No matter how good our tactics or plans," I said, "what worries me is that we're *still* not looking at our overall approach to defense against Egypt. It's as if we've forgotten that in 1967, when we captured Sinai, it was in order to have a buffer zone. We had *150 miles* of sand between southern Israel and the canal. But when the Egyptians attacked in 1973, we defended the desert as if it was the walls of Jerusalem!"

Since the 401st was one of two regular brigades on the Egyptian front, it was not easy to make the four-hour drive home to Ramat Hasharon. When I got word Nava was going into labor with our second child, I was leading a training exercise five or six miles from our base. As she was on her way to the hospital, I grabbed my car and headed north. Unlike Michal's birth, this one was not easy. When the baby emerged, she was struggling to breathe. The immediate danger passed, but she was placed in an incubator. When I got to the hospital, Nava was asleep. I was taken to see our tiny daughter, Yael. When the nurse left, I noticed the baby's pinkie trapped in the plastic cover of the incubator. I started banging on the window of the room. The nurse rushed back. With a look of sympathy mixed with world-weary experience of other fathers in similar panic, she raised the cover, folded Yael's tiny hands onto her stomach, and all was well.

It was another health crisis which hastened the end of my period as brigade commander. But this time, I was the one in the hospital. I nearly collapsed from high fever and exhaustion. The initial suspicion was some kind of contamination linked to the rudimentary sanitation in the Sinai. When the symptoms persisted, the doctors suggested I probably had hepatitis B. Years later, better diagnostic tools ruled all that out. I've never discovered what the

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illness was. But for nearly six months, getting through the day, sometimes a single task, remained a struggle.

I did not want to leave my command. I was still barely 18 months into the role, and anxious to get further command experience. But just as I was feeling at my weakest, there was another belated casualty from the 1973 war. This time, it was Uzi Yairi. No one could reasonably have held him responsible for the losses suffered by Battalion 890 at the Chinese Farm. I'm sure that if he'd known what happened to the Israeli forces that had already tried to take it over, he would never have allowed Yitzhik to go in without adequate armor and artillery support. Still, he blamed himself. In obvious distress after the war, he was reassigned as an operational officer in military intelligence in the *kirya*.

He was still at his desk when Fatah terrorists landed on Tel Aviv's seafront a little before midnight on March 4, 1975. They were spotted by a police patrol, which opened fire. The Fatah men ran from the beach, firing Kalashnikovs and tossing grenades. A block in from the sea, they burst into a modest, three-story building: the old Savoy Hotel. They shot and killed three people in the lobby and took the rest of the staff and guests hostage.

Sayeret Matkal was called in. As the unit went through final preparations for their assault, Uzi showed up. He had a rifle. He was in his everyday officer's uniform, unlike the sayeret team, which was weighted down by special-forces gear. As a former commander of the sayeret, he persuaded them he could help take out the terrorists and locate the hostages. Shortly before dawn, led by Amiram Levin, they attacked. They killed three of the Fatah men within seconds. But another terrorist set off an explosion, collapsing most of the top floor. Uzi joined a couple of the other sayeret men in search of the hostages. He was shot in the head and neck. Seven of the eight terrorists were killed, the other captured. Though five hostages were freed, five lost their lives. Uzi died on the operating table of Ichilov Hospital, a few hundred yards from the *kirya*.

* * *

Though I doubt Uzi's family and friends would agree, my gut feeling was always that his death was one more result, however indirect, of the shambolic way in which we'd organized our attacks on the Chinese Farm. That was part of the reason for my reluctance when Motta told me he wanted me to take Uzi's

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place in the *kirya*. I realized I was the only available replacement with a similar background, and sayeret experience. But I was still gaining brigade command experience. And I couldn't help feeling the role was intended as a kind of rest-and-recovery cure because of my illness, not too different from the reason Uzi had been given the job. Still, I *did* need rest and recovery. Even if fully healthy, I'm not sure I could have convinced Motta to change his mind. In my weakened state, I had no chance.

Skeptical though I was about the job, it opened up a new world to me. The *kirya* itself was not new territory. But now, I became exposed to how how the huge range of intelligence information we gathered was collated, evaluated, assessed and ultimately applied. Helping with this process was my new assignment. There were, in fact, two of us. We were both colonels and together we provided the intelligence background for military operations. I had the post on inside the military intelligence department. My opposite number was in the operations department – the more senior role, in a way, because he had a more direct link to the people actually doing the operations. He was a friend from officers' school: Dovik Tamari's younger brother, Shai. Once a week, Shai and I put together an assessment report. Then, we'd join Motta's operations meeting with the general staff, often attended by the man who'd followed Dayan as defense minister, Shimon Peres.

The analysis of military intelligence included separate teams for Egypt and Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, Iraq and other neighboring states, as well as other countries and superpower relations. It relied on all our raw intelligence material, from both military intelligence and Mossad, as well as academic and specialist literature. Each desk dealt not just with military issues, but political and economic developments. I was responsible, along with Shai and a few others, for bringing all this together. This meant frequent meetings with members of the analysis teams. For the first six months or so, I barely uttered a word in these sessions. I listened, not just absorbing the information but getting to understand the way the analysts worked and thought.

Our whole intelligence department was responsible for drafting an annual strategic assessment for the army and the government. The final report was written by Shlomo Gazit, who had succeeded Eli Zeira as head of military intelligence. Before we sent it to print, he held a long meeting, inviting the views of all the military intelligence officers. The focus in 1976, just three years after the war, was on the risks of a new surprise attack. At the end of the discussion, however, he said: "We know we run a real danger for the country if

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we fail to spot the signs of a war. But has any of you asked yourselves something I find myself wondering from time to time? Is there not a similar risk if we miss the signs of an opportunity for *peace*?"

His words stuck with me for the rest of my time in public life. They also had a strong impact on me at the time. One of the benefits of my job was that I could read the full inquiry report from the 1973 war, including the portions that had been kept classified. Some dealt with the political situation before the war. Golda had relied heavily on a "kitchen cabinet" of trusted ministers and a few close advisers. The inquiry material described how Sadat had been extending negotiating feelers before the war. And how Golda, Eli Zeira, Dado and Dayan had responded. It was like an exercise in collective reinforcement. They agreed the Arab countries would not simply go on living with the humiliation of their defeat in 1967. At some stage, they would try to regain the initiative, on the battlefield. But none appeared to think through the implications of this for our *political* approach. Perhaps, like Eli Zeira in 1967, they assumed a kind of historical inevitability of Israeli triumph. Though we'd ending up prevailing in 1973, it was impossible not to wonder whether, as Shlomo suggested, we had missed the signs of a possible peace beforehand.

Now, however, we were facing an escalating challenge from an enemy with no interest in peace: the armed Palestinian groups. The Democratic Front took over a school in northern Israel a half-year after the war. In March 1975, Fatah had seized the Savoy. And about a year into my posting in the *kirya*, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine launched an even more audacious operation.

It became known by the name of the airport where the ordeal ended. *Entebbe*. And when it began I, like Uzi Yairi, was sitting at my desk.

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Chapter Ten

Sunday is an ordinary working day in Israel, and the first sign that June 27, 1976 would be any different came shortly after noon. It was an urgent message from Lod Airport, now renamed in honor of David Ben-Gurion, who passed away after the 1973 war. Radio contact had been lost with Air France Flight 139 from Tel Aviv to Paris, shortly after a stopover in Athens.

We couldn't know for sure what had gone wrong. Maybe a mechanical malfunction, a glitch in the electronics, a crash. Or a hijack. But we did know there were roughly 300 passengers and a dozen crew on board. Many of the passengers were Israelis, and others were Jews from abroad. Ever since the Sabena hijacking four years earlier, whenever a civilian airliner was thought to be under attack within three hours of Israel, step-one in our response had been automatic. Sayeret Matkal was ordered to the airport.

Because I'd commanded the Sabena operation – the first, and still the only, time we had attacked and freed a hijacked plane – it was probably inevitable I would take *some* part in figuring out how, or whether, to intervene if the Air France plane turned out to have been hijacked. But my pivotal role, as the crisis intensified, was down to a combination of factors: my broader experience as sayeret commander, the fact that I now worked in the *kirya,* just one floor up from the chief of staff, and, as so often, pure chance.

As the sayeret assembled at the airport, its current commander –Yoni Netanyahu, my former deputy – was hundreds of miles away in the Sinai, preparing for an operation across the canal. So it was Mookie Betzer, now Yoni's deputy, who began briefing the men for a possible hostage rescue in case the jet returned to Israel. At the *kirya,* we were also without our commander: Motta was in the Negev observing a major military exercise. So it was his deputy – the head of the operations branch, Kuti Adam – who buzzed me on the intercom at two in the afternoon and summoned me to his office.

By now, we knew the plane had been hijacked, but that it wasn't heading back to Israel. The terrorists had renamed it "Arafat" and it was on its way to Libya. I took the stairs down to Kuti's office, two floors below mine, and he immediately handed me a large, black-and-white aerial photo. It showed the international airport in Benina, just outside Benghazi on the eastern edge of Libya. "Can we do anything, Ehud?" he asked me. I didn't say no outright. But I told him that even if we had a treasure trove of intelligence about Benina –

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which, I soon verified, we didn't – the obstacles would be enormous. Unlike the Sabena jet, this one was a wide-bodied Airbus, and El Al had none of those in its fleet. Even we could find a way to make sure a sayeret team got briefed on the airliner, we'd be mounting an attack-and-rescue operation a thousand miles away. And even if we could take out the terrorists, we were almost certain to face opposition from the former army colonel who ruled Libya, Mummer Ghaddafy. The chance of success seemed slim, the risks enormous.

Soon, however, Kuti's question ceased to matter. Later Sunday night, Flight 139 took off again. Before leaving Libya, the hijackers freed a passenger: an Israeli dual national, with a British passport as well, who managed to convince them she was going into labor. We learned through her that there were four hijackers: two Arabs and two Europeans. It was a PFLP operation, but included members of the far-left West German Baader-Meinhof terror group. They forced the pilot to head for the east African state of Uganda. On Monday evening, it landed at Entebbe Airport, 20 miles outside the Ugandan capital of Kampala and just a couple of hundred yards from the shore of Lake Victoria. It was *five times* further away than Benghazi.

Yet with each passing hour, increasingly alarming radio and television reports focused on the obvious agony of the hundreds of captive passengers. To this day, I've never been able to establish why it was a further 24 hours before we started seriously to work out if there might be some way for us to free them. Prime Minister Rabin was clearly asking himself the same question, however, because on Tuesday afternoon, he called Motta in the Negev. It was now a full *53 hours* after the hijacking, he said. What the hell we were doing to try to come up with a plan? Motta was immediately summoned back to Jerusalem for an emergency meeting of the government. As he was on his way back from there to the *kirya*, Kuti called me back down to his office. "Motta just told them that there is a military option," he said, with a wry smile. Kuti had been a Haganah officer in 1948, in charge of the Golani brigade, head of both the northern and the southern command, and had known Motta for years. "That means we now have to find one."

I had just begun briefing a few of the analysts in my office when Motta returned. When I got to his office, Kuti waved both of us across the hallway to the big, rectangular conference room where general staff meetings were held. On the side of the room was a globe. Giving it a spin, he said: "*Nu*, Motta. Tell me, when you told the government we had a military option, did you even know where Entebbe *is*?" Motta didn't so much as crack a smile. "We have to find a

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response," he said. "I've committed us. Ehud, I want you to check what can be done. Take whatever you need, from wherever you want. Bring me suggestions by seven tomorrow morning." Then, he said, we would go brief the Defense Minister, Shimon Peres.

I assembled a team the same way we'd prepared for special-operations missions in the sayeret: looking for information, intelligence and above all experience and insight from whoever I thought was likely to make that always-narrow difference between failure and success. My first calls went to Mookie Betzer and another of my most trusted and experienced sayeret comrades, Amiram Levin. Then I brought in Ido Ambar, the personal aide to air force commander Benny Peled, and Gadi Shefi, the commander of the *Shayetet 13* SEALs. Finally, two officers from Dan Shomron's office. Since Dan was *katzhar*, in overall command of paratroop and infantry forces, it was critical to keep him in the picture. I told them all that we'd be working through the night, and that I had to be able to tell Motta and Shimon by the morning whether we really could mount a rescue mission.

I still thought I'd end up having to tell them no. However difficult the obstacles we'd faced with Sabena, they were almost child's play compared to getting a sayeret assault team 5,000 miles across the continent of Africa, surprising the terrorists, freeing the hostages unharmed and getting them out. That was even assuming, as I did at that point, that we wouldn't face armed opposition from the troops of Uganda's increasingly tyrannical president, Idi Amin. Amin had begun to align himself politically with the Palestinians in the past few years – one reason, no doubt, the terrorists had landed there. But he had actually been on a paratroop course in Israel before taking power in 1971. We had sent officers to help train his army in the early 1970s.

Now, I discovered, Mookie himself had been on one of the training missions. "Their men aren't great fighters, at least at night," he said, an insight of obvious relevance to planning a commando attack, if we could get that far. When Ambar, the air force aide, spoke up, I finally began to feel we might at least be able to put together the outline of a plan. He'd brought with him a copy of the standard reference book on world airports, which gave us at least a general idea of the layout of Entebbe. He also said that the air force had run a training program for the Ugandans. In Entebbe. He'd contacted one of the reserve pilots who had been on the training mission, and he was on his way to join us.

Still, time was short we were nowhere near being able to recommend a specific plan of action. The hijackers had set a deadline – noon on Thursday,

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July 1, now less than 36 hours away. Having moved the passengers off the plane to one of the terminal buildings, they were threatening to start killing them unless we freed a list of 53 Palestinians and PLO supporters, forty of them held in Israel and the rest in a number of European countries, and paid a ransom of five million dollars.

Well past midnight, we started looking at our options. One which seemed – briefly – to hold promise drew on suggestions from Ido Ambar and Mookie. Ido's almost rhapsodic description of the capabilities of our C-130 Hercules transport planes convinced us we could parachute in a Sayeret Matkal team, as well as vehicles for them to use on the ground. Mookie and I agreed that to ensure surprise, we would disguise the commandos as Ugandan troops, in "Ugandan" Jeeps. The final twist came with the arrival of the reserve air force officer who had been on training duty in Entebbe. He brought a reel of 8mm film from an official ceremony at the airport. At the start, a Ugandan army general could be seen arriving in a black Mercedes. "That's it!" Mookie said. "The Mercedes. Every top Ugandan military officer has one." We decided to swap one of our Jeeps for a jet-black limousine.

Yet by daybreak on Wednesday, when I went up to brief Motto, we'd set aside the option of a parachute drop. Any initial surprise would be outweighed by the risk of exposure from the very start of the assault. We'd also gone cold on a second option, to infiltrate sayeret teams along the shore of Lake Victoria from across the nearby border in Kenya. I doubted we had enough time to navigate all the operational and diplomatic obstacles before the deadline expired. That left option three: having the SEALs, along with a core team from the sayeret, parachute onto Lake Victoria with rubber dinghies and attack the airport from on foot. We arranged to do a test parachute assault off the Israeli coast in Haifa later in the day, but if that went well, it seemed the only practical alternative.

Motta and I went met Peres around 8:30am. Shimon had no first-hand military experience, having played a political role alongside Ben-Gurion from Israel's early years. So he was not really interested in the details. But he *was* keen to hear our assurances that a military option did exist. He was even more intrigued when we were joined by the head of the air force, Benny Peled. Unaware of the airborne parachute drop we had been discussing overnight, Peled suggested something far more ambitious. Rather than using a single Hercules, he proposed using four of the giant transport planes to ferry in a larger force, some 200 men in all, land them on one of the runways and take over the

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entire airport. Though I didn't say so, I had my doubts it would work. It was a bit like the initial option for the Rue Verdun raid Dado had rejected: a classic ground assault which, in addition to eliminating any chance of surprise, obviously ran the risk of igniting a small ground war. But I did think that some combination of Peled's idea and the surprise commando strike we'd been looking at might provide an answer.

A few hours later, the hostages' ordeal took a chilling turn, which soon also provided us with our first real detailed picture of the scale of the challenge we faced. In a haunting echo of the Nazis' "selection" process in the Holocaust, the terrorists separated all the passengers with Israeli passports or Jewish names. They let the rest of them go, and allowed them to board a special Air France flight back to Paris. We immediately dispatched Amiram Levin to debrief the freed passengers. On a scrambled teleprinter line Wednesday night, Amiram came up with far more than we could have hoped for. One of released passengers was a French woman who had managed to hide the fact she was Jewish. She confirmed reports we had been getting that the hostages were being held in the airport's former terminal building, about a mile from its newer terminal and the main runways. Other passengers revealed that the hijackers had placed explosives around the old terminal building. And that, despite my hope that Idi Amin would stand aside if we did decide to go in and rescue the hostages, his troops were helping to guard the area.

So in addition to taking on the hijackers, we'd have to find a way to deal with Ugandan soldiers. In another round of discussions in my office through the late hours of Wednesday night, we finally settled on our plan: Peled's major airborne operation, but with a Sayeret Matkal strike force, with its "Ugandan" motorcade, spearheading it. Minutes later, three other C-130s would fly in additional troops to secure the rest of the airport, deal with any Ugandan army resistance, and fly out the Israeli soldiers and the hostages.

An operation on that scale naturally meant bringing in Dan Shomron. After I'd taken the plan to Kuti Adam, he briefed Dan on the full detail and called me down to see him again. Dan had left to start preparations for the operation. He'd made just one request, Kuti said: that I be in command of the sayeret force.

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I could see why Dan had said it. Working with Mookie and the rest of my team, I'd been in charge of all the initial planning. I was in command of the Sabena assault, the only remotely similar operation Israel had attempted. Though an attempt to rescue dozens of terrified hostages in Entebbe, with both the terrorists and possibly Ugandan soldiers armed and ready, would be much harder. As Sayeret Matkal commander, I'd conceived and commanded other missions that requiring us to break new ground. But – and it was a huge but – I knew from the moment I left Kuti's office that I would have to find a way to avoid undermining the *current* sayeret commander, Yoni. Dan had clearly been aware of that as well. He'd stressed to Kuti that he meant no disrespect to Yoni. "But I *know* Ehud," he said. "I've worked with him. I want him to lead it."

Yoni was still in the Sinai. I'd phoned him before our first overnight planning session to tell him I was bringing in Mookie and Amiram. Mookie had been giving him daily updates. But the clock was ticking. Under the initial deadline, the hijackers had threatened to begin "executions" on Thursday. *Today*. The deadline had now been pushed back, but only until Sunday morning – and only after Rabin felt he had no option but to drop our public refusal to consider negotiating with them.

When Dan called our first operational briefing for Thursday night, Mookie sent a plane to bring Yoni back. Dan set out the plan with his customary confidence. The four Hercules would take off on Saturday evening from Sharm el-Sheikh at the southernmost tip of the Sinai, to cut the flying distance at least slightly. The first plane would land on the runway near the new terminal. Inside would be a small unit of paratroopers, the sayeret strike force, a pair of Jeeps and the Mercedes. The next Hercules wouldn't arrive for another seven minutes: the most critical minutes of the whole operation. That was when our "Ugandan motorcade" would make its way to the old terminal, burst in and take care of the terrorists. The second Hercules would include another Sayeret Matkal team, to reinforce the attack unit and secure the perimeter of the old terminal. Hercules Number Three, a minute later, would carry a joint force of sayeret fighters, paratroopers and a Golani team. Their job would be to take over the new terminal and the rest of the airport and deal with any Ugandan army resistance. The final plane was a flying medical unit, to provide treatment for the hostages and carry them back to Israel.

Yoni arrived just as Dan was finishing his presentation. He looked focused, energized, and eager to play his part. I realized it was important to explain to him the decision to place me in command. Despite our close relationship, I

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knew that would be a sensitive task. We spoke only briefly before he and Mookie drove back to the sayeret base to begin more detailed preparations. Yoni was insistent that he should be in charge. I told him I understood, and I did. In his position, I would have felt exactly the same way. But for a variety of reasons, Dan wanted me in command. Still, I stressed my determination not to detract from his authority. Yoni would lead in the main assault unit. He and Mookie would choose the other officers and soldiers, decide their roles and take charge of training, briefing and logistics. I could tell he was still not satisfied. But I told him and Mookie I'd join them later that night. We could talk further, ahead of the next full briefing, which Dan had set for nine o'clock on Friday morning on the sayeret base.

When they left, I joined Dan, Motta and Kuti to go see Rabin. Shimon Peres was there too. He would later say that, as Defence Minister, he was a crucial voice in pressing to go ahead with the rescue mission. He's right, and had he been sceptical, or opposed the idea of a recuse, it would have made things much more difficult. But his position was far easier than the Prime Minister's. He lacked Rabin's hands-on command experience, his grasp of the details of what we were proposing to do and the obvious risks. All Israelis were aware of this. I the operation failed, or if we decided in the end not to attempt it, it would be Rabin who would bear the responsibility and get the blame.

Even under the best of circumstances, Rabin was naturally cautious – the flipside of the meticulousness with which he ran through the fine detail of every military mission. As I remembered from when he was chief of staff, in our slightly surreal conversation about the danger of a booby-trapped communications intercept exploding as I defused it, he would focus on everything that might conceivably go wrong with an operation before approving it. Now, he was also under huge additional pressure. From the start of the hijack crisis, there had been calls from the hostages' families to *do something* to end the ordeal. But as I later discovered, one of the leading scientific engineers in Israel, Yosef Tulipman, had a daughter among the passengers. Like Yitzhak, he had been a Palmachnik. He'd come to see the Prime Minister and implored him not to attempt an operation that might endager her or the others. "I demand one thing only," he said. "Don't go on any adventures. Do not play with the lives of these people, with the life of my daughter."

After Entebbe, there would be suggestions that Rabin's readiness to negotiate with the terrorists had been a ploy, designed to buy time. Yet his message to us that night was that if there *was* a military option with a

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reasonable chance of success, he would approve it. But otherwise, we could not let dozens of hostages be murdered if by talking, even deal-making, we could have saved them. He turned to Dan and asked whether there indeed was a military option with a reasonable prospect of getting the hostages out. Dan said yes. Rabin turned to me next. I agreed: we had a plan, and we felt we could make it work. Motta was a bit more hesitant. He suggested we couldn't know for sure until we'd finished testing key parts of the operation. But for Rabin, it seemed to me Dan's was the key voice. So he told us that he was approving it. *In principle*.

He said he still needed answers to two questions. The first was whether it was physically possible to cross from the new terminal area, where we'd be landing, to the old terminal buidling. He was right to press us. If a retaining wall or a drainage trench had been added druing the modernization work on the airport, any element of surprise could be lost. Rabin's second condition was that we find a way to make absolutely sure, by the time the first Hercules landed, that the hostages were still in the old terminal building. I knew why that troubled him, from a remark I'd heard him make a few years earlier when describing an American hostage-rescue raid behind enemy lines in North Vietnam. That operation went exactly as planned. Except that the POWs had been moved.

I drove to see Yoni and Mookie at the sayeret base. We spent most of the meeting on the opening few minutes of the operation: the rolling out of the vehicles, the drive to the old terminal, and how to handle the possibility that we might meet Ugandan resistance. Mookie remained adamant about the Ugandans, from his time training them a few years earlier. Even if we did run into a group of Amin's troops, even if they were armed, even if they were pointing their guns at us, *even if they shout at us to stop*, they "wouldn't dare open fire on a Mercedes." I trusted his experience. I kept emphasizing that we had to go in with the mindset of *not* engaging Ugandan troops unless there was no choice. If we did need to do so, we would use only small, silenced Berettas – since I'd made sure the unit trained on the Berettas after Sabena.

I also raised another critical condition for success. "There will *definitely* be an armed presence in the control tower," I said. We needed to designate a special unit whose sole job would be to train machine guns, rifles and grenade-launchers on the tower as soon as we got off the Hercules. "The *moment* that we lose the element of surprise, they open fire."

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Dan began the next morning's briefing with a stage-by-stage review of how the operation would unfold. But just as he was getting to the detail of the motorcade attack, I felt a young sayeret officer tap me on the shoulder. Kuti had phoned to say I was to go see him at the *kirya*. "He said immediately," the officer added, "and not to discuss it with anyone. Just to tell Dan Shomron that you've been taken out of the operation."

* * *

To say I was surprised would be an understatement. But I allowed myself to believe the decision to "take me out" could still be reversed. Not only was I ready to command the critical first part of the operation. I believed I was best placed to ensure it succeeded. I felt that was best for Yoni, too, due to tensions inside the sayeret of which both of us were aware.

There was no officer to whom I was closer than Yoni. He had extraordinary strengths as a soldier: in the Six-Day War, in 1973, and afterwards when, with my encouragement, he'd taken command of a tank battalion in the north left almost in tatters from the Yom Kippur War. But there was more to him as well. I used to marvel how at the end of 16 hours of sayeret training, he could spend a further two or three reading history, or a novel or poetry. He always struggled between the impulse to devote his life to fighting for the State of Israel, and to studying, reading and living as a more "normal" family man.

His drive to serve, and to excel, was stronger. Tuti Goodman, the young woman he'd met as a teenager and married, understood what drew him to a life in uniform. But that wasn't what she had signed up for. At one point, Yoni asked me to speak to Tuti. She asked me to speak to him. I did my best to explain each to the other. But the gap between what each of them wanted for their lives was just too wide. Before the 1973 war, they'd separated. After the war, professionally fulfilled but personally shattered, Yoni heard that I'd found an apartment in Ramat Hasharon, and he asked me if there were other flats in the building. It turned out that the owner of the flat below ours was willing to rent it. Yoni snapped it up.

Over the past year or so, with Yoni leading the sayeret and me in the *kirya*, we'd seen more of each another. For the first time in years, he seemed to have found a sense of peace, and fulfillment, in his personal life. That was in large

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part because of Bruria Shaked, his girlfriend, whom he'd met while commanding the tank unit after 1973. While he was a thinker and a brooder and in many ways a loner, Bruria was outgoing, playful, funny and full of life. She sensed *his* need for a shoulder to lean on, a hand to hold at the movies or on a Saturday stroll on the beach. They made their apartment a home. The shelves creaked under the weight of Yoni's books. Often on a Saturday, when Nava and I dropped in to see them, an old 33 rpm record would be playing on the stereo. Yoni would be sitting puffing on his pipe, reading, and smiling.

But outside this domestic haven, he still struggled. He had looked forward to commanding Sayeret Matkal. But there was a growing distance between him and those he led, a kind of dissonance between these more typically Israeli youngsters and the aloof, reflective, intellectual side of their commander. There was another tension as well. Sayeret training was notoriously tough. Yoni earned the admiration of his men by participating personally in the most difficult of the exercises. But just as he pushed himself to his limits, he insisted relentlessly on seeing the same drive in them. This was a challenge all sayeret commanders faced to some extent. I had, too. But a number of the officers had gone to the *kirya* to urge that Yoni be replaced. He knew this. Though I tried to reassure him, telling him that every sayeret commander was different, with his own strengths and weaknesses, he became only more determined to push himself and those around him harder.

No we were in the final countdown for Entebbe. It was a life-or-death mission not just for us, but the hostages, an operation in which even a second's hesitation or tension or uncertainty could prove fatal. I was worried that the rumblings of uneasiness in the unit might prove an additional obstacle that wasn't worth the risk.

When I tried to persuade Kuti to stick with the original plan, however, he was insistent. He told me to get ready to fly not into Uganda, but to Nairobi. I'd been re-assigned to accompany a Mossad team to Kenya. Our first task would be to get the answers to the questions Rabin had asked us. Then, we would be in charge of arranging for the Kenyans to allow us to refuel the C-130s on the way out, and to set up a medical facility for any injured soldiers or hostages. During the attempted rescue, I would also be the channel of communications from the Nairobi side of the operation to Kuti, tens of thousands of feet above Entebbe in a command 707. Dan, as overall commander, would be in charge on the ground.

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* * *

The Kenyans were not exactly allies of Israel. But relations between President Jomo Kenyatta's security services and Mossad had been close for some years. I flew in with three leading Mossad men. While one of them called on the aging President Kenyatta, our main point of contact, was the head of Kenya's security services. Since the secrecy of the mission had to be preserved, we couldn't make advance preparations for refueling or the additional 707 which we intended to fly in as a field hospital. But he smoothed the way for us to do both, without anyone asking too many questions.

The Mossad men took the lead in arranging to get Rabin's questions answered. They contacted a pilot they knew. The pilot flew to Entebbe early on Saturday morning, circled, and, after he was cleared to land, claimed mechanical difficulties and flew out again. I had his telephoto pictures by mid-morning and phoned Rabin's intelligence officer to let him know we'd confirmed there was a clear path to the old terminal. We still had to make sure the captive passengers were there, however. A nurse from Kampala who had been allowed to visit them made three further visits: late Saturday afternoon, then shortly after the first Hercules had taken off from Sharm al-Sheikh, and finally around nine at night. I was able to reassure Rabin that the question to his second question was also "yes". Although all of the C-130s were already airborne, it was only then that he gave the mission the final go-ahead.

As commander of Sayeret Matkal, I'd always found running an operation from a command post hugely frustrating. This was even worse. Once we got word the Israeli force was on the way to Uganda, we put in place the arrangements for refueling. If all went well, the first C-130, with Yoni's assault team and at least some of the hostages, was due to reach Entebbe and begin the assault at midnight Saturday. Assuming there were no major problems, it would take an hour at most. All *I* could do now, from 300 miles away, was wait.

Shortly after midnight, Kuti radioed me with a terse message: the first of the Hercules had left Entebbe for Nairobi, and the command plane was returning to Israel. About quarter to one in the morning on July 4, the transport planes began their staggered arrival. When the first Hercules taxied to a halt, I went out to meet it. As its giant rear door lowered, Dan was the first person I saw. I could tell from the awkward silence, the lack of any greeting, something must have

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gone wrong. "Ehud," he said finally, "Yoni's dead. We got the hostages out. But Yoni was killed."

I sought out two other friends: Mookie and Ephraim Sneh, the Battalion 890 doctor, who had been with us at the Chinese Farm. Both were obviously torn between a sense of accomplishment in having freed the hostages and the blow of losing Yoni. I asked Ephraim to take me to the front of the plane's huge belly to see him. He was on a stretcher, covered with a blanket. I peeled it back. Yoni's face had lost all color. But when I touched his forehead, it seemed slighty warm, almost as if there was still a spark of life inside him.

I couldn't raise Kuti by radio, so I used the landline in the airport director's office to phone Motta.

"Yoni is dead," I told him.

"Are you sure?" he asked. I said: "Yes. I've seen him."

Before the transport planes began leaving for Israel, I made another call. It was to Nava. She was asleep. I told her that the operation to free the hostages had succeeded. "But Yoni has been killed." I could hear her gasp. "Listen," I said, "you have to go downstairs. Tell Bruria. Before some army officer shows up at her door. Or worse, because they're not married, no one may come and she'll hear it on the radio. Go. Tell her. Stay with her." At first, she seemed not so much unwilling as unable to do it. "What can I *say*?" I said I knew how hard it would be, but that she needed to make sure Bruria heard the news from a friend. Later, Nava told me she'd waited until daybreak, not wanting to make things worse by waking her. Then, she went downstairs. She told Bruria what had happened, stayed with her, talked with her, and held her, during those first few awful hours.

I found Yoni's death even more upsetting when I learned from Mookie and others how it had happened. As the sayeret motorcade began making its way from the Hercules to the terminal, with Mookie and Yoni in the Mercedes, two Ugandan soldiers had seen them. One of the Ugandans raised his rifle. Rather than relying on Mookie's assurances the soldier wouldn't actually fire, Yoni and another soldier shot him with their silenced Berettas. But they'd only wounded him. In case he managed to fire back, another soldier in the Jeep behind them killed him, with his *un-silenced* machine gun.

Now that all surprise was gone, the commandos abandoned their vehicles and began sprinting towards the old terminal. Only seconds later, still 80 yards

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or so from the terminal, Yoni was hit. He'd been shot from the control tower. I realized that unexpected setbacks or slip-ups were inevitable in any operation. But the crucial first stage of the attack had not only gone wrong. It had gone wrong in exacrly the way that we had first discussed back at the sayeret base, and now Yoni was dead because of it.

I had to remain in Kenya for a few more days. Though we'd rescued 102 passengers and crew, three of the hostages had been killed in the crossfire. While most of the injuries to the others were minor, we arranged to have several of the more seriously wounded taken to a Nairobi hospital. So I was unable to join the gathering of hundreds on Mount Herzl in Jerusalem for Yoni's funeral. Or to hear Shimon Peres praise him in terms I knew must have filled his parents and Bibi, too, with enormous pride. Shimon described him as "one of Israel's finest sons, one of its most courageous warriors, one of its most promising commanders."

The first evening I was back, however, I visited the Netanyahus at their family home in Jerusalem: Ben-Zion and Tzila, the parents; Ido, the youngest of the three children, and Bibi, who was still at MIT. It was a few nights in the *shivah*, the seven days of mourning, and there were dozens of other well-wishers there as well. I spoke to Bibi first, outwardly strong but I sensed still overwhelmed by their loss. Hugging him, I said the weeks ahead would be tough, not just because of Yoni's death, but because much of the responsibility of providing emotional support for his parents, both in their sixties, would fall on his 26-year-old shoulders. This was the first time I'd met the father, Ben-Zion, face to face, but I was struck by how this balding, professorial figure seemed able to keep inside the pain and loss he must have been feeling. He did clearly know of me, both from Bibi and from the frequent letters always wrote to him at Cornell. Now, after I'd said what I could to comfort him, he asked whether we could meet again. When we did, a few days later, he was clearly conscious of the his late, lost son's bourgeoning place in Israel's pantheon of national heros. He asked me to be one of the speakers at Yoni's *shloshim*, a commemorative event in Jerusalem which, in Jewish religious tradition, would mark the end of the first month of mourning. "You knew him well," he said, and proceeded to stress the importance of using my remarks to explain, and elaborate on, Yoni's powerful accomplishments and personal legacy.

I thought about what he wanted, and about Yoni himself, in the days ahead. About the tragedy of his death, but also the way in which all of us now had to draw meaning, value, and ideally something of permanence from the feelings of

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loss. As I prepared my notes, I also spent time working out how to square what I felt I needed to say, with what many in the audience, and certainly Ben-Zion and Bibi, would *expect* me to say. Not only was Yoni being mourned across Israel after Entebbe. He was being elevated – in the spirit of Shimon's words at the funeral –to something approaching sainthood. I did not want to detract from his evolving status as national hero, or his importance as a symbol of a commando success which had, for the first time since the 1973 war, restored a measure of Israeli sense of self-confidence. A victory, over all logic and all odds. But I also wanted to find a way of capturing Yoni as he really was: a brave man, an extraordinary fighter and officer. But also a man sometimes feeling torn inside, and alone.

I began with words of ancient rabbinic wisdom about the path which all of us travel from birth to death, and to whatever comes after. The quotation I chose – from the 2,000-year-old volume known as *Pirkei Avot*, the *Ethics of our Fathers* – seemed right to me. "Know where you came from: a putrid drop... Know where you are going: to a place of dust, maggots and worms... And know before whom you are destined to give your final account, the King of Kings." I spoke of the loss of Yoni, and said it was impossible not to think about the meaning of what lay between the "putrid drop" where each of us begins our life and our final reckoning. "I believe that life is not just a sum of the hours and days between the beginning and the end. It is the *content* we pour into the space in between," I said. I'd known people who were given the gift of a long life but who, by that definition, had hardly lived at all. There were also people like Yoni. He'd lived only briefly. But he had learned and loved. Fought and trained others to fight. Grappled with the most profound puzzles of existence, and yet remained open "to the wonders of a smile. A journey. A flower. A poem." If there was any consolation for a life ended cut off at age 30, I said, that was it.

But I wanted to give a more personal, nuanced picture of the life that he, and we, and lost. "Our Yoni… We have seen him torn between his passion for knowledge on the one hand, and the sense of mission and of personal fulfillment that he found in uniform. There was the Yoni of history and philosophy books: Plato and Marx. Who saw the history of Israel not just as a compendium of facts, but a source of inspiration, and a call for action. The Yoni who rebuilt a tank battalion reduced to ashes and dust on the Golan. And there was the Yoni at peace. Tranquil. At home. With his pipe and his phonograph records, out of uniform. We saw him in his hours of supreme achievement and satisfaction. We saw him, too, sometimes standing alone, with pain in his heart, biting his teeth,

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carrying the heavy, lonely burden of commanding the very fighters who he was leading when he fell.

"We have seen him on the battlefield, engaging the enemy, heading into a test of fire with courage and wisdom and his indomitable spirit – the very essence of the spirit that made possible the operation in which he would lose his life." Because, make no mistake, I said: beyond the weapons used, the people who participated, the training and exercises before the fleet of Hercules had taken off; beyond the fine balance required in the planning, execution, and decision-making; it was "this spirit, this essence, that was tested at Entebbe."

When I saw Yoni's family afterwards, though they thanked me for my remarks, I could see that they were still bleeding inside. I am sure that affected they way they related to Bruria. Even before Yoni met her, he had told me how hard his parents were finding his separation from Tutti. Bruria attended the funeral and the *shloshim*. But she didn't sit with the family. I think that with the shock of his death, mixed with the pride they felt at his emergence as a national hero, they found it difficult to include her, a woman they hardly knew, in their mourning.

A few weeks later, I go a call from the Netanyahu family's lawyer, Erwin Shimron. It was an odd, rambling conversation. He seemed to insinuate that, as her and Yoni's neighbor and friend, I was encouraging the unwelcome idea that Bruria was part of the immediate circle of the bereaved, that this mere girlfriend was somehow his widow. He wanted me to withdraw whatever mantle I might be providing, and help separate her from Yoni and his legacy. He went so far as to say that one reason he was calling me was because he didn't want to have to take "legal steps" to make that happen. I saw no point in getting into an argument. I sensed that, while it would take time for the grief felt by those closest to Yoni to begin to heal, the issue would gradually resolve itself. But I saw even less point in leading the lawyer to believe I would do what he was suggesting.

"Mr Shimron," I told him. "I knew Yoni. I know Bruria. I do not know you. But I have a musical ear. I don't like the undertone I hear in what you've been saying. I've seen them close up. Bruria gave Yoni, at a critical time in his life, probably more warmth than he ever received from any other human being."

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Yet despite Entebbe, the trauma of the Yom Kippur War, and the cracks it had shaken loose in Israeli society and politics, were yet to play themselves out. The hostage rescue was like a sugar rush, an intoxicating reminder that the army still had the capacity for initiative and precision, audacity and quick-fire victory – like our air strikes in the first hours of the 1967 War. But the *real* reckoning over 1973 was about to come. It would change Israel beyond recognition, with repercussions still being felt today. It would dramatically alter the course of my life as well.

I still remember the moment it hit home, on the evening of May 17, 1977. As Nava and I watched in our tiny living room in Ramat Hasharon, Chaim Yavin, the anchorman on the country's only TV channel, was handed an exit poll from Israel's latest national election. He began with three words: *Gvirotai verabotai, Mahapakh*. "Ladies and Gentlemen, a revolution." For the first time since the state was declared, Israel's government would not be in the hands of David Ben-Gurion or his Labor Zionist heirs. Our next prime minister would be Menachem Begin, who had inherited the mantle of Jabotinsky's Revisionist Zionism. He'd headed its youth wing, Betar, in eastern Europe, and led the Irgun Zvai Leumi, the main right-wing militia force before 1948. Lacking the intellectual depth and subtlety of Jabotsinky –a liberal intellectual who, among other things, translated Dante into Hebrew – Begin drew his political strength from his powerful oratory, and a refusal to countenance any compromise in securing what he viewed as the ultimate goal: a Jewish state in all of biblical Palestine, from the Mediterranean to the Jordan River, with whatever military force was necessary to secure and sustain it.

But perhaps Yavin should have used a different metaphor in his dramatic election-night broadcast: *reidat adamah*, an earthquake. Begin's victory, after the loss of eight straight elections over three decades, was the culmination of seismic rumblings which had been building for years. The big, decisive, shock was the 1973 war. Yet this was not just because of the colossal intelligence failure, or the myriad errors of our military commanders and political leaders. It was the fundamental loss of *trust* in the cosy, self-perpetuating establishment that had dominated all aspects of Israeli politics, society and culture from the start: Palmachniks like Rabin and Dado; political players like Golda and Shimon Peres; Haganah veterans like Dayan and Bar-Lev; and, of course, the kibbutznik pioneers. Almost all were of East European background –

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Ashkenazim – and their prominence and privilege had stoked increasing resentment among Israel's disadvantaged *Sephardi* majority, with their roots in the Arab world and especially north Africa.

Begin not only sensed this. While he'd never lost the formal bearing – or the accent – from his childhood in Poland, his long years in Israel's political wilderness mirrored the wider exclusion felt by the *Sephardim*. The last election he had lost, in December 1973, proved too soon for the earth to part. But he told his supporters: "Even though Labour has won *these* elections, after something like the Yom Kippur War happens to a country, and to a government, they must lose power. They *will* lose power." He was right. Only twice in the four decades that followed would a Labor leader defeat Begin's Likud party: Rabin's election victory in 1992, and mine over Bibi Netanyahu in 1999.

During the first two years of Begin's rule, however, I was 7,000 miles away. Ten days before the election, I'd gone to see Motta, and he'd agreed that I could return to Stanford, to finish what I'd barely begun when the 1973 war broke out. I had been in the army, with the one hiatus as a sayeret reservist at Hebrew University, since the age of seventeen. I did not regret committing myself to a life in uniform. But Stanford offered an extraordinary opportunity to broaden my horizons. Even in the few weeks I'd spent there before the war, I'd felt reinvigorated. It engaged a different kind of intelligence, a different part of who I was: the books, the professors. A chance to listen to, and at least try to play, beautiful music. And to spend more than a few stolen evenings or weekends with my family.

The timing had nothing to do with the election. Like most other Labor Israelis, and many of Begin's own supporters, I hadn't expected the Likud to win. It was because I felt I'd reached a natural punctuation mark in my military career. I'd led Sayeret Matkal. I'd commanded a tank company, a battalion in 1973, and, more briefly than I'd hoped, the 401st Brigade after the war. I'd spent the last two years in the *kirya*. The next step up the command chain would be to lead a full armored division. But at age 35, I was probably too young, and I figured I'd have a far better chance in two years' time. I also feared losing the chance to go to Stanford altogether. Motta's term as chief of staff would end the following year. Among those in the frame to succeed him was Raful Eitan. Recalling Raful's dismissive, almost sneering, opposition to my making the Sayeret Matkal into Israel's SAS, I wasn't exactly confident I could count on his support.

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Reluctant though I'd been to leave the 401st for the *kirya*, I had particularly enjoyed the last year. I was promoted to Shai Tamari's job, in charge of the intelligence team for our military operations, when Shai left to command a tank brigade. My office was no longer on the third floor, but in the underground bunker, the *bor*. I was part of nearly all high-level planning meetings, often with Motta, sometimes also including Peres. Almost everyone around the table was older than me, and outranked me by some distance. Yet with my intelligence brief, I was often the one with the most thorough command of the details. Though still just a colonel, I'd risen through Sayeret Matkal. I knew the planning process from the other side as well, having attended the same sort of meetings, from the early 1960s, to present *our* operations. So I was often asked, and always welcome, to weigh in on what would work, what wouldn't, and why.

My final year in the *kirya* also further cemented my relationship with Motta. Though as chief of staff, he tended to keep a formal distance from all but his fellow generals, he did seem to enjoy having me around. He even put me in charge of a new department of my own. Not officially. The "department" was strictly ad hoc, as was the name which Motta gave it: *Mishugas*. The Yiddish word for craziness.

All army commanders, in all countries, receive their share of unsolicited advice. But I can't imagine any of them gets the number, or sheer range, of wild suggestions which make their way to the *kirya*. Everything from levitation machines, to ideas for making tanks fly. Motta didn't have the time to read all the letters, much less sit down with the self-styled inventors or sages who showed up in person. Still, he couldn't be sure that a jewel of an idea wasn't lurking inside one of them. As an insurance policy, he began sending all the letters, and every supplicant, to me.

I never found the jewel. The most vivid memory I have is of a visit from a former soldier in *Shaked*, Israel's Negev reconnaissance and tracking unit. He had taken up meditation, and the study of ancient civilizations. Fresh from a period of contemplation in the desert, he arrived in my office with a pamphlet he'd written. It was about special-forces strategy and training, as practiced *eight centuries* earlier, in the time of Genghis Khan.

I listened for nearly an hour, enjoying his enthusiasm, the history lesson, and the simple weirdness of it all. I did check his facts afterwards. If nothing else, he proved an assiduous student of the Mongols. He explained to me that in their largest battles, involving tens of thousands of troops, they would designate a

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commando unit of a couple of dozen men. Its sole task was to seek out and kill the enemy force's leader. The key to their success was *mind*-training. Over a period of months, sometimes years, the commandos' *self-perception* was altered. They were taught to believe that they had already died. Since their lives on earth were done, all that remained was a formal passage through the turnstile into eternal happiness, and to go out in glory. My visitor not only suggested that Israel establish exactly this kind of death-cum-suicide unit. He volunteered to train the men himself, and lead the first mission. With as straight a face as I could muster, I thanked him for taking the time to see me. But I told him his idea was probably not for us. Little did I know that a whole new kind of enemy, epitomized by Al-Qaeda and the self-styled Islamic State, would build a terrorist death cult around it.

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Nava and I, with three-year-old Yael, and Michal just turning seven, left for California in the late summer of 1977. The two years that followed were uplifting and reinvigorating – not just because of Stanford, but a further, utterly unexpected transformation back home soon after we'd left.

It, too had its roots in the 1973 war, but on the Arab side. Before the war, Egypt's Anwar Sadat had extended feelers about the possibility of peace negotiations, only to see them ignored. Israel won the war in the end. But the Egyptians' surprise attack across the canal – and the panic and huge Israeli losses in the early days of the war – had shattered our aura of invincibility. Politically, Sadat had gone a long way to erasing the humiliation of 1967. That freed him to do something which – after decades of Arab-Israeli conflict – was astonishing. He travelled to Jerusalem, the capital of a country which neither Egypt nor any other Arab country even recognized. He met Begin, and he addressed the Knesset with a call for peace.

It is impossible to convey to Israelis who did not live through the birth of the state, and our tumultuous early decades, the power of the emotions stirred by Sadat's visit. It was on November 19, 1977. With my arm around Nava, I watched the live American television coverage as Sadat's plane touched down at Ben-Gurion airport. Begin was at the center of the throng of dignitaries on hand to greet him: a who's who of political and military leaders not just from his administration, but who had led Israel in 1967 and 1973. Golda was there.

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Rabin, too, puffing furiously on his cigarette. When the erect figure of Sadat emerged, there was spontaneous applause, and a serenade from Israeli army trumpeters.

Even before Sadat's Knesset address the next day, I understood that his visit, his willingness to make the first, bold move toward a possible peace, marked just the beginning of a difficult negotiating road. But there was one passage in his speech that touched me especially. He ran through the history of how Egypt and other Arab states had not just fought Israel, but denied our right to exist as a state. "We used to brand you as *so-called* Israel," he said. Now, the leader of our most important Arab enemy declared: "You want to live with us in this part of the world. In all sincerity, I tell you that we welcome you among us, with full security and safety."

The formula he proposed was straightforward. Egypt would agree to a full peace, accepting and formally recognizing the state of Israel. But Israel would have to withdraw from all Arab land captured in 1967, including "Arab Jerusalem." We would also have to accept the "rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including their right to establish their own state." Begin's reply was more sensitive than I'd expected from a leader who, through my Labor kibbutnzik eyes, I'd always seen as an extremist, unwaveringly committed to a "greater Israel". Though he did make it clear his views on the shape of an eventual peace differed from Sadat's, he proposed further talks with the aim of finding an agreement both sides could live with. Still, like all Israelis, I knew he would never accept at least two of the Egyptian president's demands: a retreat from our control of a united Jerusalem or the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank of the Jordan: for Begin, biblical Judaea and Samaria.

On our territorial dispute with Egypt, I did believe a deal was possible. I didn't expect us to return all of the Sinai, if only because I couldn't see Begin agreeing to it. For security reasons, I also felt we should try to hold on to a pair of air force bases built after 1967, with American help, just a few miles over the Negev border. But as for the rest, I saw no reason not to give it back. As I'd told Motta after the 1973 war, I'd long believed Israel had lost sight of the original reason we'd held onto the Sinai after 1967. It was supposed to be a huge, sandy security buffer. If we did manage to make peace with Egypt, there was surely no reason to hold on to it.

The moment of truth came almost exactly 10 months later, in September 1978. American President Jimmy Carter hosted a summit with Begin and Sadat at Camp David, in search of a "framework agreement" for final negotiations on

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a peace treaty. Again, I was watching closely, via American TV. But as the summit was winding down, our phone suddenly rang in Palo Alto.

"Ehud, how's it going? Are you following what's happening here? What do you think?"

I recognized the voice immediately: Ezer Weizman, the former fighter pilot Begin had chosen as his defense minister. I'd known Ezer since the early 1960s, when he'd been commander of the air force and Sayeret Matkal was planning its first operations. Still, even though he had a reputation for batting ideas back and forth outside the bounds of hierarchy or chain of command, I was startled to hear from him.

"What do I think about *what*?" I said.

"The solution we've arrived at here. We found there was no way but to give back everything." The only exception was Taba, a sliver of land where the Negev met the eastern edge of the Sinai, across from the Jordanian town of Aqaba.

"Was there no way to convince them, even with some kind of a land swap, to keep the two air bases?" I asked.

"Believe me, we wanted to," Ezer replied. "But no way. Not if we were going to get a peace treaty."

So I said the obvious: if that's what was necessary for peace, there was no other choice.

We were now well into our final year at Stanford. Our home was in a leafy "student village" off campus, called Escondito, for married students from abroad. Our two-storey flat was one of a row of cabin-like structures: a bit like a kibbutz, only smaller, American-style, a lot more upmarket. It had a fenced-off play area for the children and, in a common room for all the village residents, an upright piano.

I found the richness of the academic environment – and the time to explore and savor it – enthralling. I'd chosen my master's program at Stanford because it offered the chance to learn across a range of different schools and disciplines. The official home for my degree courses was the School of Engineering, in a department called "Engineering-Economic Systems". Its focus was on applying mathematical modelling and analysis to decision-making in "large and complex

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organizations" such as private companies or government departments. Or the armed forces of Israel. The theorists at Stanford were leaders in the field.

But from the start, I was drawn to other disciplines as well: business, economics, political science, history, sociology, psychology. I studied game theory at the business school, and the evolution of political systems under the sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset. I also went to lectures by James G. March, on how psychological, social and other factors influenced decision-making. I particularly enjoyed learning from Professor Amos Tversky. Born in Haifa, he was half of an academic partnership with the psychologist Daniel Kahneman, who was also Israeli. They were investigating the effect of human bias and other *subjective* factors on how we perceive reality, and thus make decisions. Tversky's work especially fascinated me, because it questioned a basic assumption in the kind of predictive formulas my own department was advancing: that we make choices rationally, calculating the outcomes of competing alternatives. Tversky had found that the human brain didn't always work that way. For choices with a fairly obvious outcome – 90 percent of cases, say – the assumption did hold. But at the margins, the brain didn't, or couldn't, always gauge the implications of a decision accurately. A couple of decades later, he would also show that an individual's choice could vary significantly depending on the way the options were presented.

These behavioural and psychological approaches were at odds with what was being taught in my home faculty. Its prevailing orthodoxy was that by using specifically designed interview techniques, alongside mathematical modelling of the predicted outcomes, we could isolate the effect of human agency on how, and what, decisions were made. Yet the wider my studies had ranged, the more sceptical I became that the complexities of human decision-making could be accommodated by such models. I also saw problems in the methodology we were using. Since it was based partly on interviews with participants in the decision-making process, it seemed to me that this introduced a subjective element into our ostensibly objective conclusions.

My department wasn't enamored with my views on our modeling approach. But one of the things I most valued about my time in Stanford was that, far from discouraging my excursions into other departments, my professors combined a confidence in their own approach with a genuine open-mindedness to other ideas: the hallmark of true intellectuals, and of great universities.

I got something else from my studies at Stanford, although I didn't speak about it at the time, not even to Nava. I became aware that I had a particular

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aptitude for focusing on the minute details of a problem, yet never losing sight of the *larger picture*, the wider issues. From my experience as commander of the sayeret and during the 1973 war, and from watching other officers whom I respected, it struck me that this was an essential part of effective leadership.

By "leadership", at that stage in my life, I did not mean *political* leadership. I was thinking in terms of the army. But I'd now finished my masters degree, and it was impossible to be unaware of the political *context* in which I'd be returning to uniform. Since Camp David, our negotiators and the Egyptians had been trying to thrash out a formal deal. Sadat was being denounced as a traitor in the Arab world. Begin was seen by most in the outside world, and many Israelis, as dragging his feet on the negotiations and risking the chance for peace altogether. If we *did* manabge to sign a peace treaty, however, we would be withdrawing for the first time from land captured in 1967. That would mean finding a new approach to security in the south, as well as a new focus on the majority of our Arab neighbors who were railing against Sadat and seemed less interested than ever in making peace.

In some ways, it was hard to leave our mini-kibbutz in Palo Alto. Michal, now nearly nine, had thrived, quickly learning English and ending up with a perfectly American accent which has never left her. Yael has less vivid memories of our time there. But we'd had the nearest thing to a normal family life since our first, war-truncated, time at Stanford. During the university holidays, we'd also travelled: to Canada. Mexico. Lake Tahoe. Even Las Vegas, where, thankfully, we lacked the money to chance our luck, but where my years in the sayeret suddenly came in handy. We spent the day at Circus Circus, a joint casino-and-theme park tailored for families with kids. At a shooting gallery in the amusement area, I had no trouble landing dead-center hits on a passing procession of metal geese, to the consternation of the guy behind the counter but the delight of my two young daughters. In probably the single greatest moment of parental accomplishment I'd experienced since their birth, I bagged a huge fluffy teddy bear for each of them.

* * *

I returned to Israel not just with the hope, but a reasonable expectation, that I would get command of one of Israel's two regular armored divisions: the 252nd, which was responsible for defending the south and, at least for now, was based

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in the Sinai. Dan Shomron was now head of the southern command and had told me, before we headed back from California, that he'd recommended me for the post. It was an especially exciting prospect because the US-backed negotiations with Egypt did finally appear to be nearing an agreement. As commander of Division 252, I'd be coordinating and implementing Israel's Sinai withdrawal.

But I didn't get the job, at least not on my return. Raful Eitan had indeed succeeded Motta as chief of staff, and he had the final say. I'd evidently been right to assume I would figure no higher in his estimation than I had as sayeret commander. To be fair, however, he did agree to my becoming commander of Dan's *reserve* division in the south: the same 611th that Arik Sharon had led across the canal in 1973. When I took up that post in April 1979 – just days after the formal Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty was indeed signed – I was also promoted. I became a one-star general. And eighteen months later, when the regular division post came open again, I did get the nod to command the 252nd.

Even then, it was a close-run thing. Raful called me in to see him and said he wanted me to return to the *kirya* instead, in the one-star general's post inside military intelligence. He said he had more than enough candidates for division commander, but that my previous experience meant I was the best choice for the intelligence post. I was determined to remain in the field, especially with signs that Begin, and certainly his more right-wing supports in the Likud, were already having second thoughts about the peace deal we'd struck with Egypt. In part, they feared that a withdrawal from *any* of the land taken in the 1967 war might create a precedent, and invite pressure, for more withdrawals. But the real buyers' remorse centered on the fact that, as part of the initial agreement at Camp David, Begin had needed to accept a parallel framework for negotiations toward a broader peace that would include the West Bank and Gaza Palestinians.

In any case, with Raful balking a second time at giving me the division command, I figured I had little to lose by fightinhg my corner, and telling him exactly what I felt. "Look, I realize that you're chief of staff," I said. "But don't forget we're *both* just temporarily in whatever role we hold. I'm not here as a draftee. I'm in the army by choice. It's your decision to tell me what position you want me to take. But you can't *impose* anything. I can always leave. Or I can bide my time until *you* leave." Raful apparently concluded he couldn't actually force me to take the intelligence job. With Dan having made his preference clear, he didn't press the point.

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My main responsibility as commander of the 252nd was to implement the withdrawal from the Sinai. Israel had committed itself to bring all of our forces behind the 1967 border within next two years, and, along with Dan, I threw my energy into planning and implementing the terms of the treaty. But especially with Begin soon facing a reelection campaign against Labor, now led by Shimon Peres, he was keen to play to the opponents of any further negotiating concessions. He was positioning himself as the voice of military strength, and painting Peres as someone who would risk our security by going further than the separate peace with Sadat.

Begin had no more experience or knowledge of military details than Shimon. But from his days in the pre-state Irgun, he'd been an unapologetic admirer of men of military action. After his victory in the 1977 election, he'd formed a government stocked with some of Israel's best-known former generals. Not just Ezer Weizman. He'd brought back Moshe Dayan, as foreign minister. And as agriculture minister, the country's most swashbuckingly self-confident, and controversial, battlefield commander: Arik Sharon. Begin had recently lost both Ezer and Dayan, who accused him of deliberatedly torpedoing chances of building on the peace with Egypt. But Arik was still there, four-square behind a more forceful military posture on Israel's other fronts. As agriculture minister, he had also been the driving force in a plan for settlement "blocs" designed to encircle the main Arab towns and cities on the West Bank and foreclose any realistic prospect of a Palestinian state.

After Begin's second election victory, in June 1981, some commentators, and many in Labor, insisted that he'd won because of a dramatic surprise air strike, a few weeks before election day, against a French-built nuclear reactor outside Baghdad. I never believed that, in part because I knew from intelligence friends that the attack had been set for earlier, and was put back because of fears the plan might become public. But mostly because of what I witnessed in the heart of Tel Aviv the night before the election, when I joined one of my top officers, a Likudnik, at Begin's final campaign rally.

Shimon still had a narrow lead in the polls. I hadn't been at his closing rally, the previous evening. But like the rest of Israel, I'd heard and read about it, in particular the warm-up act: a popular, solidly pro-Labor comedian and actor named Dudu Topaz. Greeting the crowd, he'd said what a pleasure it was that it was not full of *chachachim*. The word was sneering Israeli slang: for uncouth, uncultured Sephardim, not far from the equivalent of using the "n" word in America. In a single sentence, he'd managed to sum up everything the

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Sephardim resented about the Ashkenazi, Labor Zionist establishment. Begin, at his rally, played it like a virtuoso. "Did you *hear* what they called you?" he cried. *Chachachim*. He slightly mispronounced the word, as if he'd never heard, much less used, it before, and that even having to repeat it made his blood curdle. "Is *that* what you are?" There was pandemonium. Maybe Begin would have won anyway. But it was close, just one Knesset seat between the two major parties. And win, he did.

I became increasingly convinced in the weeks that followed that Begin's second government, with Arik now moved to defense minister, would further put the brakes on any follow-up negotiations for a deal with the Palestinians. I did not yet know that Arik, in particular, had a far more ambitious, military plan to try to bury the possibility of a Palestinian state once and for all. But I did know he had his eyes on a possible thrust across our northern border into Lebanon, where Arafat and the PLO were based.

There was no public mention of any of this. But several times in 1981, I was ordered to move a large part of my division onto the Golan Heights for weeks at a time: two brigades, 200 tanks and dozens of APCs in a massive motorcade from the bottom to the top of the country and back again. We dubbed it *Cinerama*, from the Hebrew words for Sinai and the Heights, *Ramah*. If there was an escalation of hostilities, the northern command's regular division would cross into Lebanon. Our role would be to take their place in defending the Golan, and possibly follow them in.

When I returned from my final episode of Cinerama in the late summer of 1981, the Sinai withdrawal was entering its final stage. I organized a full-scale military exercise on the roughly one-third of the Egyptian desert we still held, knowing that we'd no longer have the room to do so after the final withdrawal. It was the largest exercise I'd ever commanded. The advances and tactical retreats, the flanking maneuvers and ambushes and fighter jet attacks were like a very big war in a very small place.

But a war game was not a real war. The Sinai was not like the Golan, or the cramped, hilly confines of Lebanon. And it was in Lebanon, the following year, that the war came. It was different from any in Israel's history. Arik was in charge. And I would become involved in ways which began to change the way I saw not only Arik, but the political and military direction of our country.

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My own part in the Lebanon war would change dramatically as a result of that last military exercise in the Sinai. Arik Sharon was now Minister of Defense, and he came for the final afternoon. From his experience as a frontline commander – in 1956, 1967 and 1973 – he knew the dunes and wadis and sprawling expanses of sand as well as any general in Israel. Watching our intricate mini-war draw to its close, he made no effort to hide his enthusiasm for the kind of quick, assertive battlefield maneuvers he'd long championed. But more than that, his closest aide soon began sounding me out on my views about the long-term organization, force balance and funding for the Israeli military. A few weeks later, Arik offered me a promotion: a return to the *kirya*, as a two-star general, to become head of planning for the armed forces.

I don't know why he chose me: the Sinai exercise perhaps, the fact he knew I'd studied "large and complex organizations" at Stanford, or maybe just the fact our paths had first crossed two decades earlier when I was in Sayeret Matkal. But even though it meant leaving my division command, especially tough since the final Sinai withdrawal was approaching, it was an offer I never contemplated turning down. Not just because of the second star on my uniform. Ever since the 1973 war, along with a few other senior officers including Dan Shomron, I had been making the case for a shift to more mobile and less vulnerable forces and weapons systems. I saw the new role as a chance to help encourage that critically important change.

There was just one hitch: all senior military assignments required the formal approval of the chief-of-staff, my old friend Raful Eitan. Raful did manage to delay things for several weeks. At one point, he even brought to bear a quality I'd never suspected he had: a sense of humor. "OK, I'll agree to promote Barak," he told Arik. The next day, he said he'd meant *Eitan* Barak – a very good commander, by the way, who had been one of my instructors in officers' school. Arik insisted, however. My appointment went through.

And one, unanticipated result was that I didn't just play the field command role I'd anticipated, from our Cinerama deployments, in Arik's toweringly ambitious, ill-planned and ultimately disastrous war in Lebanon. I became part of months of planning discussions in the *kirya* before our tanks finally rumbled across the northern border on the morning of June 6, 1982.

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My new posting came not just as momentum was building toward an invasion. It followed on the heels of a major new crisis in our peace with Egypt. Only weeks before I gave up my Sinai command, President Anwar Sadat was shot and killed by an extremist Muslim officer at the annual Cairo military parade to mark the anniversary of the 1973 war.

Like many Israelis, I felt an almost familial sense of bereavement. Sadat was not just the first Arab leader to make peace with Israel. He seemed to *understand* us: people who were ready, willing and able to fight, but wanted above all to live unmolested and accepted by our neighbors. Yet for Begin and the Likud, I knew the assassination would cast the whole peace process into doubt. Sadat's successor, Vice-President Hosni Mubarak, did make it clear he would abide by the peace treaty, defusing calls on the Israeli right for us to cancel our final withdrawal from the Sinai. But after Sadat's killing, Begin and those around him seemed more determined than ever to hold the line against the *wider* peace negotiations agreed with President Carter and Sadat at Camp David. At Begin's insistence, Camp David had not proposed giving the Palestinians a state, but instead "autonomy" and a locally elected "self-governing authority". Yet that was defined as a transitional period. The elected Palestinians were to be included in negotiations for a yet-unspecified "final status" arrangement for the West Bank and Gaza. That, Begin feared, left the door ajar for something *more* than autonomy. Shutting that door, I would soon discover, was a big part of Arik's ornate reasoning for invading Lebanon.

Beyond the fact that my new job was a promotion, I had a personal reason for welcoming the move back to Tel Aviv. Ten days after Sadat's assassination, I had endured a frightening few days surrounding the birth of our third daughter, Anat. The crisis was another reminder that the demands of frontline command rested not just on my shoulders, but my family's. We had moved house again early in Nava's pregnancy, to the suburb of Ra'anana, about 10 miles north of Tel Aviv and a few miles in from the coast. We bought one of a newly built row of small, semi-detached townhouses which, best of all, had a backyard. It was tiny by American standards, but was still a place for the girls to play. Once again, however, I wasn't there when my daughter was born. I was rushing north as Nava went into labor.

The birth itself went smoothly. By the time I got to the hospital, both baby and mother seemed happy and healthy. A few days later, however, when they were back in the townhouse and I'd returned to my division, Nava felt suddenly, desperately unwell. I shudder to think what might have happened were it not for

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the fact that one of our new neighbors was a friend from my first military intelligence stint in the *kirya*. In almost paralyzing pain, Nava phoned him, and he rushed her to the hospital. It turned out that the doctor who delivered Anat had left part of the placenta inside. Once the mistake was discovered – as I was again speeding north – he went back in and rectified it. When I arrived, I was relieved, to put it mildly, to find Nava smiling bravely, and on her way back to full health. Still, doctor friends of mine told me that if the problem not been diagnosed and addressed quickly, she could have suffered shock, serious infection, even death.

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In my new role, I was nominally responsible to both the defense minister and the chief of staff, but Arik made it clear to both me and Raful that he was boss. And though my official brief was longer-term planning, almost from day-one the issue of Lebanon overshadowed all others. I knew, from Cinerama, that preparations for a *possible* military operation in Lebanon were underway. Yet from my first meeting with Arik and Raful, it became clear it was more than just a possibility. "Why the hell is Arafat still alive," Arik snapped at us. He said that when he'd been commander of Unit 101, he'd *never* waited for the government to ask him to plan an operation. He'd plan it himself, and go to ministers for approval. When I told him that I'd done just that when I was commander of the sayeret, only to be told Arafat was "not a target," Arik replied: well, he is *now*. The PLO leader's current residence was on the southern edge of Beirut, and in the weeks ahead Arik left no doubt that he meant to go after him there.

To anyone looking from the outside, there was no pressing reason to expect a war. It is true that the potential for conflict was always there. The PLO had nearly 20,000 fighters in Lebanon and hundreds of rockets capable of reaching our northern towns and settlements. The Syrians were there, too. As part of an Arab League agreement in 1976 to quell two years of terrible civil war between Lebanon's traditionally dominant Maronite Christians and an alliance of PLO and Lebanese Muslim forces, some 30,000 Syrian troops had been brought in as the core of a peacekeeping force. But in the summer of 1981, new US President Ronald Reagan's Mideast envoy, Undersecretary of State Philip Habib, had

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brokered a cease-fire to halt Palestinian Katyusha rocket fire into Israel. It was generally holding.

But fundamentally, Arik's war plan was not a response to the Katyushas. It was a way of using military force to achieve Prime Minister Begin's political aim: stopping the Camp David peace process in its tracks, and ensuring it did not go beyond the peace treaty with Egypt. And even that message was not principally intended for the Palestinians, I suspect, but for the Americans. Israel's Labor-led governments had always calculated that we needed at least some measure of support from foreign allies, especially the US. Under Begin, we'd already bombed Saddam Hussein's nuclear reactor without telling the Americans beforehand. Shortly after I returned to the *kirya*, he provoked further anger in Washington by announcing the *de facto* annexation of the Golan – in effect "balancing" our Sinai withdrawal with a dramatic reassertion of Israeli control over other land captured in the 1967 war. Part of Arik's plan in Lebanon was to deliver an even more forceful riposte to any suggestion that we would give up control of the West Bank and Gaza.

Yet these political aims, which I was gradually beginning to grasp in their full form through my discussions with Arik, were only part of the reason I was deeply uneasy about the plans for our Lebanon invasion. Having now spent nearly two decades in the military, I recognized that the security challenge north of the border was real. I did not believe it was inherently wrong for Begin's government to order a pre-emptive military operation with the aim of ending it. My view, as an army officer, was that the decision on how, when and whether to go to war was for our elected government. But for that principle to work, I also believed that government ministers had to know *what* they were deciding. The more we geared up for an invasion, the less certain I became that Begin's cabinet understood what we were planning to do.

Arik's original plan was codenamed *Oranim*: Hebrew for "pine trees". It involved pushing deep into Lebanon, all the way up to the strategically critical road that ran between Beirut and Damascus. We would link up in Beirut with the main Maronite Christian force, the Phalangists, whom we had been supporting and training for several years. When that plan was presented to Begin's cabinet at the end of 1981, however, most ministers opposed it. Thus was born Arik's Plan B, so-called "Little Pines". Its stated aim was a lot more modest. We would create a "security zone" – a 40-kilometer, or 25-mile, strip running north of the border with Lebanon.

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I could see that Little Pines was a kind of fiction. All you had to do was take a map and draw in the 40-kilometer line. In the areas nearer the Mediterranean, in the western and central parts of the border area, it indeed covered territory controlled by armed PLO groups. But in the eastern sector, there were *Syrian* positions a mere 10 to 12 kilometers up from the border, well inside the "security zone". Not much further north were two full Syrian divisions. That meant we'd be fighting not just the Palestinians, which was the ostensible aim of Little Pines. We would have to take on Syria. As soon as *those* hostilities began, we would have to destroy radar and SAM sites in the Syrian-controlled Beka'a Valley further north into Lebanon. After the first costly days of the 1973 war in the Sinai, we were not about to enter a major conflict without ensuring air superiority. Unless the Syrians retreated or surrendered, the inevitable result would be a wider conflict, not limited to dealing with Palestinian fighters in south Lebanon but paving the way for Arik to go ahead with his original plan and push all the way to Beirut.

This wasn't mere supposition on my part. In February 1982, we ran a simulation exercise in the *kirya* based on Plan B. The result: Little Pines became Big Pines. A clash with the Syrians proved inevitable, if only because one target even under Little Pines was the main road between Beirut and Damascus. It lay well beyond the 40-kilometer line. As the main supply route for their forces in the interior of Lebanon, it was also of critical importance for the Syrians. So any idea of a quick, limited strike to establish a security zone was fantasy. A few days later, Raful chaired a wide-ranging discussion on Lebanon. Near the end of the session, I asked him directly whether government ministers were aware that our war plan "will inevitably lead to a clash with the Syrians". Raful hesitated for a second, but then answered briskly: "Yes."

That assurance would turn out to be untrue. But my wider concern, as the weeks passed, was Arik's *political* plan, of which I was getting an ever clearer idea from him. It struck me as not just grand, but grandiose. Part of it was to obliterate Arafat as a political force, if not by killing him then by forcing him and every one of his fighters from Lebanon, a country Arik wanted to place under the unchallenged control of the most prominent of the younger generation of Christian Phalangist politicians, Bashir Gemayel. I felt all that would be challenging enough. But in Arik's eyes, this was only part of a complete reordering of our conflict with the Arabs. He expected *Gemayel's* Lebanon to openly align itself with Israel and expel all Syrian troops. As for the expelled Palestinians, they would go back to Jordan where they would resume – and, this time, win – their civil war with King Hussein. The result, with Hussein deposed,

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would be a "Palestinian state" in Jordan, which would free Israel to retain open-ended, unchallenged, control of the West Bank.

Even the Labor party, fifteen years into Israel's occupation of the West Bank, was still speaking about a "Jordanian option" for an eventual political settlement with the Palestinians who lived there – though this meant a kind of confederation with Jordan under Hussein's rule. Very few Israelis began seriously to engage with the Palestinians own separate identity or national aspirations until later in the 1980s – when I, too, would do so, amid the widespread Palestinian unrest known as the *intifada.* But even without a fully thought-out view on these issues, I was taken aback by Arik's almost godlike supposition that he could use fire and brimstone, or the modern military equivalent, to remake the Middle East as he and Begin wished to see it. If only because of the tacit assumption that the outside world, and especially the Americans, would sit by and let the whole drama play out as scripted, it struck me as an exercise in self-delusion.

There was also the matter of Arik's vision of a "new" Lebanon under Bashir Gemayel's Phalangists. Unlike the other generals in the *kirya*, I'd never actually met any of our "Lebanese Christian allies". Yet a few weeks after taking up my new post, I was invited to a lunchtime discussion with a group of Phalangist officers on a training course in Israel. I emerged both unsettled and underwhelmed. They were obviously politically astute. They bandied around military vocabulary proficiently enough. But they were a bit like teenagers playing with guns: full of macho, and too much after-shave. Hardly the kind of "army" I could see as a lynchpin in Arik's plan to redraw the geopolitical map of the Middle East.

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By June 1982, Arik's invasion was a war simply waiting for a credible trigger. On the evening of June 3, Palestinian terrorists shot and critically wounded Israel's ambassador in London, Shlomo Argov. Appalling though the attack was, as a catalyst for a full-scale invasion, it seemed unlikely to be enough for the Reagan Administration. Habib's cease-fire terms did not include terror attacks like the one in London. It was meant to keep the PLO from firing across our northern border. Even to some Israelis, the attack on Ambassador Argov seemed more a rationale than a reason for war. But Begin summoned an

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emergency cabinet meeting the next day. His adviser on terrorism, Gideon Machanaimi, was someone I knew well. When the cabinet convened, he pointed out to the ministers that the London terrorists were from a fringe Palestinian group led by Abu Nidal. Far from being an ally of Arafat, he had been sentenced to death by Fatah. According to Gideon, Begin wasn't interested in the distinction. Even less so were the two leading military figures in attendance: Arik and Raful. They said all Palestinian terror was the responsibility of Arafat, and that now was the time to hit back hard. The cabinet was informed that our initial response would be limited: aerial and artillery bombardment of PLO targets throughout Lebanon. Yet Raful told the cabinet that the Palestinians would almost certainly respond with shell and rocket fire into Israel. Then, he said, we could strike more forcefully. In other words, the invasion would begin.

It did. Dubbed "Operation Peace for Galilee" to convey the aim of protecting northern Israel from shell and rocket fire, it got underway at around 11 a.m. on Sunday June 6. The publicly declared aim was *Little* Pines: the establishment of our 40-kilometer security zone. Both Israelis and the Americans were led to believe it would be a relatively short operation aimed at destroying the PLO's military capacity in the border area. We also said that we wouldn't attack Syrian forces as long as they didn't attack us.

That last public pledge had particular relevance to my role on the ground. I was deputy commander of the largest of Israel's three invasion forces, under Yanoush Ben-Gal, head of the northern command until shortly before the war. We had 30,000 troops and 600 tanks and were responsible for the "eastern sector" – from the edge of the Golan Heights, north through the Bekaa Valley along Lebanon's border with Syria. At first, we deliberately stopped short of Syrian forces. We deployed our main reserve division just 10 kilometers across the border, below the first Syrian positions at the bottom of the Bekaa. But despite the public assurances we were in Lebanon to establish our security zone, we had no orders to halt at the 40-kilometer line. From day one, our part of the invasion force began a pincer movement around the area of eastern Lebanon where large numbers of Syrian soldiers were based. My former Sinai division, the 252nd, came down from the Golan and started making its way up alongside the Syrian border. Our other units, further inland, also began pushing northward.

For the first couple of days, we did avoid a confrontation with the Syrians. Yet on June 8, day three of the war, the morphing of Little Pines into Big Pines began.

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The two other Israeli invasion forces had crossed the border parallel to us, one pushing up through the steep hills and twisting valleys of central Lebanon, and the other along the Mediterranean coast. The central force was now ordered to mount an attack that would bring them within striking distance of the Beirut-Damasus road. The first skirmish came in the hilltop town of Jezzin, still barely within the 40-kilometer zone. The Syrians had a commando force and tanks in the town. An Israeli battalion was ordered in, and it took Jezzin by the evening of June 8. But it came under assault from Syrian units with grenades, RPGs and Saggers, as well as shellfire from a nearby ridge. Shortly before midnight, another unit of Israeli tanks and infantry passed through the central Lebanese village of Ayn Zhalta, to the north of Jezzin and beyond the 40-kilometer line, and began winding its way through a valley toward the Beirut-Damascus road. They waded into a Syrian ambush, and for hours found themselves in a fierce battle with Syrian units.

I don't believe Arik specifically planned to confront the Syrians in Jezzin and Ayn Zhalta. But he could not have doubted that, given the enormous scale and range of our invasion, a clash with Syrian forces *would* happen at some point. Now that it had, all that remained was for him to tell the cabinet that Israeli forces had come under Syrian fire and insist, as defense minister, that the imperative for our forces on the ground was to strike back.

On the afternoon of June 9, the fourth day of the war, we got the order to go on the offensive against the Syrians in the Bekaa. As our artillery pounded the southernmost SAM sites, nearly 100 Israeli jets swarmed into the Bekaa Valley and attacked Syria's air defenses in eastern Lebanon. When a second wave screamed in an hour later, the Syrians sent up their Soviet-made MiGs to intercept them. Forty-one Syrian planes were shot down. Seventeen of the 19 SAM batteries were destroyed by the end of the day. The other two were taken out the next morning, and another 43 Syrian jets shot down.

There was no longer any pretence about our war aim: to fight our way through any resistance and reach the Beirut-Damascus road. But after the Bekaa air battle, and the most serious air losses for an Arab state since 1967, Yanoush and I knew that international pressure for a cease-fire would quickly escalate.

Aware we were racing against the clock, we began a co-ordinated push towards the Beirut-Damascus road. The left arm of our "pincer" was ordered to make its way toward a town called Jobb Janine. It was still some distance from the Damascus road, but an important way-station: Syrian headquarters on the western side of the Bekaa Valley. The eastern part of our pincer, the 252nd

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Division, advanced up the Bekaa, alongside the Syrian border, toward the town of Yanta, across from Jobb Jannine.

But as it was making its way there, we got word a cease-fire had been agreed. It was set for noon the next day, Friday, June 11. The main focus of our advance shifted to a crossroads a few miles east of Jobb Janine. It was a flat, open area surrounded by hills, codenamed the Tovlano Triangle on our maps. We knew we would meet some Syrian resistance. On the way up the valley, we'd seen signs of reinforcements from inside Syria. But we had overwhelming superiority in tanks, artillery and infantry in the area, as well as full control of the air. In our command post, about five miles back from our frontline forces, Yanoush set in motion the plan for a pre-cease-fire advance to take the hills overlooking the Tovlano Triangle. It was still about eight miles short of the Beirut-Damascus road. But the idea was to establish a more secure defensive position by the time the truce took effect, and to put us in position to advance further if the cease-fire collapsed or was delayed.

Shortly before sunset, Yanoush left by helicopter for a field commanders' meeting with Raful in northern Israel. That left me in charge, alongside Yanoush's de facto chief-of-staff, Amram Mitzna. A decorated veteran of 1967 and 1973 whom I knew well, Amram had the added distinction of being disliked by Raful almost as much as I was. Our main reserve division had been ordered to take control over the hills south of the Tovlano Triangle. One of its brigades, led by a former Sayeret Matkal soldier named Nachman Rifkind, was sent to take up a position immediately south of the triangle. Soon after nightfall, Rifkind radioed in that he was there, and that the area seemed clear of enemy forces. The divisional command post then ordered a second brigade to move toward the hills dominating the crossroads.

The first sign of trouble came around midnight. From our overall command post, we were listening in on all radio traffic, and heard the second brigade report that it had come under fire while moving toward the crossroads. At first, we assumed it must be from the remnants of a retreating Syrian unit. But Rifkind, who had reported the area was clear, now said that *he* could see flashes of shellfire two or three miles to his north. Only the following morning did it become clear that he had not deployed immediately south of the triangle as planned. He had mistakenly halted at a hill about two miles short of there.

By the time Yanoush returned to the command post a little after midnight, we were facing another problem. The battalion nearest to the south of the triangle had spotted a dozen large vehicles armed with missiles a few hundred

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yards ahead. The missiles seemed to be pointed north, away from them. But the battalion commander was asking us for permission to open fire.

"Do not open fire," I was saying as Yanoush arrived. "I repeat: do *not* open fire." When Yanoush asked me what was going on, I told him the lead unit had reported unknown vehicles with missiles and wanted to know whether it could attack. "Tell them *yes*," Yanoush said. I looked first at him, then at Mitzna. "We can't," I said. "It's dark. The situation is confused. We don't know whose missiles these are. It doesn't make sense they'd be Syrian, just sitting there, pointed north. At least give it a few minutes." I think Yanoush would have grabbed the microphone and told the unit to fire had not Amram been there as well. Together, we convinced him to hold off. I ordered the brigade commander to get one of the battalion's APC crews to go out on foot and get as near as possible to the missiles. It was nearly 15 minutes later when they returned. They said they'd never seen this kind of missile vehicle, but that the soldiers manning them seemed to be speaking *Hebrew*. It turned out to be a new ground-to-ground missile, not yet formally in service, which had been sent into Lebanon without our knowledge by the northern command.

While that trouble was averted, much worse lay ahead. Yanoush asked to be brought up to date on our progress in taking control of the area around the Tovlano Triangle. We briefed him on the situation as we understood it: that Rifkind had reported the triangle was clear, but that the second brigade had still not reached it. Yanoush tried to radio the divisional commanders. When he couldn't raise them, he ordered the brigade and battalion commanders to pick up their pace and move forward.

With Yanoush back and the advance resumed, I tried to grab at least a few hours' sleep. But around 3:45 am, a junior officer shook me awake. When I rejoined Yanoush and Amram, they told me the lead battalion was now in deep trouble. It was led by Ira Ephron, one of Dan Shomron's best company commanders during the 1973 war. For reasons I've never been able to establish, Ira's orders were not to take the hills south of the triangle as we'd planned, but to go through it to a point two miles or so north. Minutes after crossing the triangle, his tanks came under heavy fire. Hoping to escape, he kept going, only to find himself surrounded by a Syrian armored force. They were trapped near a village called Sultan Yacoub, nearly three miles north of Tovlano. Since it was early June, it would be light soon, and his predicament could only get worse.

At dawn, he reported he was under heavy artillery, anti-tank missile, RPG and close-range rifle fire. The only realistic hope was to retreat. We were unable

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to get air support, but the commander of our artillery force called in all available units, and they drew a kind of protective box of shellfire around Ira's men as they moved back. We sent our other reserve division towards the crossroads to provide support, and Amram went with them to co-ordinate the operation. But Ira still had to fight his way out. It was 15 minutes of hell. By the time he reached safety at around nine in the morning, he'd lost ten tanks and nearly 20 men, four of them during the final, frantic retreat. Five more were missing. The reserve division also found itself in a fierce firefight with the Syrians, and lost eleven men.

We were now just three hours from the cease-fire. We did advance nearer to the Beirut-Damascus road. An hour before noon, our dedicated anti-tank unit destroyed 20 of Assad's top-tier tanks, Soviet-made T-72s. Under different circumstances, those successes might have been a cause for consolation. Yet it was hard to dwell on them given what had happened north of Tovlano. After the war, Sultan Yacoub created fertile ground for conspiracy theories, half-truths and finger-pointing. That there had been many oversights and errors was clear, though there was never a full and formal debriefing process to identify in detail what had gone wrong. I found it deeply frustrating that, unlike in 1973 when I'd been in a battlefield command role, I was now at several steps removed from what was happening on the ground. But *everyone* involved shared responsibility for the failures – including the overall commanders: Yanoush, and me as well.

That weight felt even heavier because the tragedy occurred only hours before our own force's involvement in the Lebanon War was over.

* * *

It was not, however, the end of the war. The cease-fire held only intermittently in the rest of Lebanon, barely at all in some areas. Freed from fighting in our sector, Yanoush, Amram and I began spending time with units elsewhere. A couple of days after the cease-fire, I found myself alongside a pair of generals, Uri Simchoni and Yossi Ben-Hannan, south of Beirut. In front of us, troops from the Golani Brigade were completing their takeover of Beirut airport. "You were right," I told Uri and Yossi. They had been in charge of the simulation exercise in the *kirya*, predicting how Arik's ostensibly more limited invasion plan would inevitably develop into Big Pines. Even as we were talking,

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another Israeli unit broke through to the Beirut-Damascus road. On the far side of Lebanon's capital city, they linked up with Bashir Gemayel's Phalangists.

I remember a mix of feelings at the time. Partly, amazement that through sheer determination and political maneuvering, Arik seemed to have pulled off his grand plan – or at least the Lebanon part of it. Yes, we'd ended up fighting a kind of half-war against the Syrians which, though we'd won it, still left 30,000 of Assad's men in Lebanon. And they showed no signs of leaving. Our main strategic threat north of the border was not, in fact, the Palestinians. Syria was in military control of Lebanon and, after the peace with Egypt, our most powerful adversary. And no matter what Big Pines might have achieved, it seemed to clear to me that the Syrians would be free simply to replace the weaponry we'd destroyed and fight another day.

In Arik's mind, Bashir Gemayel would soon be in a position to fix that. But beyond my skepticism from having met some of his boy officers in Tel Aviv, I couldn't see how that would work. I strained to imagine Gemayel daring to form what would amount to a formal alliance with Israel and ordering the Syrian troops to leave. And given what would be at stake for Damascus, I certainly couldn't see the Phalangists being able to drive them out by force.

The more immediate, open question involved Arafat and the Palestinians. Our other two invasion forces had driven almost all the PLO fighters out of south Lebanon, though not without costs and casualties. Most of the Palestinians, however, had retreated north to their *de facto* capital, the southwestern neighborhoods of Beirut. The idea of a ground assault – street-to-street battles in an area packed with fighters, weapons and tens of thousands of civilians – didn't bear thinking about. After the war, some of the officers around Beirut said Arik seemed to hoping that the Phalangist milita would go into the overwhelmingly Muslim western side of Beirut. At one point, he was even considering an Israeli attack. Fortunately, given the Phalangists' record of violence bordering on savagery during the Lebanese civil war, Bashir Gemayel wasn't willing to send them in. As for an Israeli assault, Begin's ministers weren't ready to sign off on it, and the Americans let it be know, repeatedly, that they were vehemently opposed to the idea.

Arik again turned to a fallback plan. He knew that Begin *did* share his determination to get Arafat and the PLO out of Lebanon. Even the Americans were ready to support such an arrangement, assuming it could be negotiated and implemented in a way that would bring the fighting to an end. Whether by intent or political fortune, the mere prospect of Arik further expanding the

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invasion had the effect of persuading Washington to send Philip Habib back into the diplomatic fray. With no early sign, however, of Arafat agreeing to leave, Arik now steadily tightened what amounted to a siege on west Beirut. For seven weeks in July and August, our forces pounded the PLO-controlled neighborhoods from land, air and sea; intermittently cut water and electricity supplies; and hoped that the accumulated pressure, and casualties, would force Arafat and his men to agree to Habib's terms for a wholesale evacuation.

By this point, I was spending most of my time in the *kirya*, with periodic visits north, sometimes with Arik or Raful, to our positions on the eastern, Phalangist-controlled, side of Beirut. On several occasions, I helicoptered back with Habib or his deputy, Morris Draper. In one instance, I accompanied Draper into a meeting with Arik. In what I imagine had become a familiar, and frustrating, part of the US mediation mission, he pressed Arik to rein in our bombardments, arguing that we were in danger of ruining the chances of getting a negotiated deal on Arafat's leaving. Arik argued straight back. His view was that unless the PLO felt squeezed into submission, they would stay put.

On that, I thought Arik was probably right. Other Israeli generals with far more experience, and weight, also seemed to agree. Notably, Yitzhak Rabin. He was no longer in government, nor even in charge of Labor. But he had always had a soft spot for Arik, as did Sharon for him. With uneasiness, questions and outright criticism of the siege building both internationally and inside Israel, Arik got Rabin to helicopter north with him to Beirut. Yitzhak spent six or seven hours there. His verdict on the siege, at least as reported in the Israeli press, was more than Arik could have hoped for. *Lehadek*, he said. "Tighten it." In the end, I'm convinced the siege did have a critical effect on getting the evacuation deal. But unleashing our single most relentless series of air attacks, on August 12, when the deal was basically done, seemed both perverse and excessive, and not just to me. Habib, and President Reagan himself, fumed. So did a lot of Begin's own ministers, with the result, unprecedented in Israeli military annals, that they formally removed Arik's authority to decide on future air force missions. That turned out not to matter, however, because August 12 effectively marked the end of the siege.

On the afternoon of Saturday, August 21, the first shipload of an eventual total of nearly 10,000 Palestinian fighters left Beirut harbor for Cyprus, and then for a variety of new host countries. On this score at least, Arik's grand design had proven beyond him: the Palestinians were not bound for Jordan. By far most of them headed for the PLO's new political base, the north African state of

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Tunisia. Arafat himself left on August 30.

Still, as the evacuation proceeded, another one of Arik's central aims in Big Pines was also achieved. On August 23, the Lebanese parliament elected Bashir Gemayel as the country's new president.

* * *

During the several weeks that followed, there was a confident feeling among Arik and his inner circle in the *kirya*. To the extent that Arik and Raful saw any cloud on the horizon, it was their concern about "several thousand" Palestinian fighters who they were certain had stayed on in Beirut despite the evacuation. True, Bashir Gemayel hadn't been formally inaugurated as president. There had been reports that he was privately assuring Lebanese Muslim leaders that he would be conciliatory once he took office, and that he was not about to consider a formal peace with Israel. He had also been resisting Israeli efforts to make an early, public show of friendship, such as an official visit to meet Prime Minister Begin. But there was an undisguised hope that this was just a brief political hiatus, for appearance's sake, and that before too long Lebanon would become the second Arab country to make peace with Israel. Not just peace, but something more nearly like an alliance.

Though I still looked through the eyes of an army officer, not a politician and certainly not an experienced diplomat, I had serious doubts this would happen. Simple logic seemed to suggest that, since Gemayel knew we had no realistic option of turning our back on him, his political interests were best served by keeping his distance and trying to build bridges at home. But on the early evening of September 14, nine days before his scheduled inauguration, not just that question but the whole new political edifice Arik had envisaged in launching the invasion, became suddenly, irretrievably, irrelevant.

I was at my desk on the third floor of the *kirya,* getting ready to go home, when the news broke: a huge bomb had exploded at the Phalangist Party headquarters in east Beirut as Gemayel was beginning to address hundreds of supporters. For a while, the reports from Beirut suggested that Gemayel had survived the blast, but shortly before eleven at night the confirmation came: the president-elect was dead.

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Though no one claimed responsibility, there was no shortage of suspects. During and since the civil war, Gemayel had at various times been at odds with a whole array of enemies or rivals: Muslim militias, the PLO, other Maronite factions and, of course, the Syrians. But I think for all of us, even Arik, the issue of who was behind the bombing was hardly the most urgent concern. The immediate danger was a revival of the kind of rampant bloodletting Lebanon had endured in the civil war. The day after the assassination, I joined a half-dozen other members of the general staff and helicoptered up to the Lebanese capital. Arik, ignoring weeks of US pressure not to do so, had already ordered Israeli troops into west Beirut – not to fight, but to take control of key junctions and vantage points and keep basic order.

But the question obviously on everyone's mind was how to make sure the situation remained under control. It was early afternoon when we reached an Israeli command post in the largely Palestinian southwest part of the city. It was set up by Amos Yaron, the former paratroop commander whose division had landed by sea at the start of the invasion and was part of the push north to the capital. At his side was Amir Drori, the head of the northern command. They had set up a rooftop observation post just a few hundred yards in from where I had landed with my Sayeret Matkal team a decade earlier for the Rue Verdun operation. It overlooked a pair of Palestinian refugee camps: Sabra and, a couple of hundred yards closer to us, Shatila.

Raful was with us as well. So was Moshe Levy, the deputy chief-of-staff, and Uri Saguy, the head of the operations branch in the *kirya*. I listened rather than spoke. All I could gather from the other generals' conversation was that they were trying to figure out how to handle the Palestinian camps. No one explicitly mentioned the idea of Israeli troops going in, presumably because they realized that, far from helping ensure order, that might well inflame things further. Even Raful, at least in my earshot, made no reference to the "several thousand" PLO fighters that he and Arik still wanted out of Beirut. The only note that struck me as odd was a general agreement that the Phalangists had not been carrying their load of the fighting during the war. One comment in particular stuck with me, though I didn't take it as referring to the Palestinian camps in particular. I can't remember which general said it, only that everyone seemed to agree: "Why the hell do *we* have to do their fighting for them?"

It was not until the next morning, back in Tel Aviv, that the alarm bells rang for me, and by then it turned out to be too late. It was Friday, the eve of the Jewish New Year. Yet in the wake of Gemayel's assassination, the *kirya* was

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crowded. I heard the first rumors from a staff officer in military intelligence, though neither he nor anyone else I asked was sure if they were true. But it *seemed* that the Phalangists had been sent into Sabra and Shatila. And that they had begun killing people.

I'd like to think that, in Amos Yaron's or Amir Dori's place, I'd have been sufficiently wise not to have allowed the Phalangists into the camps in the first place. But the truth is that I'm not sure. If the decision was to send *someone* in, I certainly wouldn't have sent in Israeli troops. But unlike other Israeli generals, my first-hand knowledge of the Phalangists was limited to a single lunchtime encounter in Tel Aviv. My impression from that meeting was that they were overblown, post-adolescent thugs, not murders. I did, of course, know the milita's reputation for untrammelled violence in the Lebanese civil war. Still, I might conceivably agreed to have the Phalangists go in – under strict orders to limit themselves to keeping order – in the knowledge that our own troops were stationed in the area immediately around the camps.

Yet from the moment of the first rumors – as soon as I heard even the *hint* that killings were underway – I had not a second's doubt about what had to be done next: get the Phalangists out. Immediately. I felt a particular urgency because of the rooftop gripe I'd heard the day before, about our troops having to *do their fighting for them*. That made me pretty certain that, at the very least, we had indeed sent the Phalangists into the camps.

I tried to reach Arik, but couldn't get through to him. I contacted Oded Shamir, the former intelligence officer who was his main liaison with the army. I told him that if the Phalangists were inside the camps, he had to urge Arik to get them out. Then I called Tsila Drori, Amir's wife. I asked whether she'd spoken to him that morning. She said no. He'd called her the day before, however, and she was sure he'd be in touch before the New Year. "Please, swear to me, Tsila, you'll give him a message," I said. "I was there yesterday. Tell him *please* do whatever he can to stop this action. It will end very, very badly." I told her he would know what I meant.

It was too late to stop it altogether. The slaughter – the round-ups and the beatings and the killings of Palestinians in the two camps – had indeed begun the night before. Amir found out about it late on Friday morning. Not from me, I believe, but from his staff officers. He ordered the Phalangists to stop. But they didn't. No one in command acted, at least successfully, to make *sure* that the militiamen got out of the camps. The atrocities went on. It was another 24 hours before the militamen finally withdrew.

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One night's massacre would have been enough to produce the outcry that resulted once the first news reports, photos and TV pictures were sent around the world. That the bloodletting was allowed to continue after we *knew* what was going on, beyond the cost in innocent lives, made the fallout even worse. In Israel, the response was unlike anything in the past. There had been some opposition to the war: from parts of Labor, from political groups further to the left and particularly the pressure group Peace Now, formed in 1978 to protest the Begin government's obvious desire to use the peace with Egypt as a means to limit, rather than actively explore, prospects for a wider agreement with the Palestinians.

After Sabra and Shatila, Peace Now was the driving force behind demands for an inquiry into the Israeli role into what had happened. But the trauma went deeper. Israelis of all political stripes jammed shoulder-to-shoulder into the Kings of Israeli Square in the heart of Tel Aviv a week after the massacre. There were soldiers, too: 20somethings back from the fighting and reservists a decade or more older. Some estimates put the size of the crowd at as many as 400,000, almost ten percent of the population of Israel at the time. The protest was nominally aimed at forcing the government to empower a commission of inquiry, which it did a couple of days later. But the mood in the square was more like an outpouring of shock and shame. While the catalyst was the massacre in the camps, it tapped into a rumble of growing questions, and doubts, about the war itself, which had been building ever since the prolonged siege of west Beirut: what the invasion was for, how it had been planned and prosecuted, and what it said about our country, our government and our armed forces.

I was at home with Nava, watching the coverage of the demonstration on television. I shared the protesters' view that an inquiry was needed. In the days since my phone call to Tsila Drori, I'd remained troubled not just by our failure to stop the killings once we knew what was going on, but by the response from Begin, Arik and some other ministers to the massacre. Determined to shift the blame and responsibility elsewhere, they kept driving home the point that it was Phalangists, not Israelis, who had carried out the killings. That was true. But it could not erase the failures of judgment and control on our part. We were the ones who had allowed them into the camps. Our forces were deployed around the perimeter. And the killers were our "Lebanese Christian allies".

The formal picking-apart of Israel's share of responsibility would be the job of the inquiry commission. I did take some heart from the very fact such large

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numbers of Israelis, and ultimately the government, had ensured a truly independent probe would now go ahead.

But other ways in which the war had gone wrong were already glaringly apparent. Some were operational. It is true we ended up overcoming Palestinian and Syrian resistance. Given the numerical balance of forces, that was a foregone conclusion. But with all the attention paid to the *political* aims of the invasion, we'd never sufficiently planned for operating against a wholly different kind of enemy than in our previous wars, and on a wholly different kind of terrain. Huge columns of Israeli armor had found themselves stuck on the winding roads of central Lebanon, running low on gasoline, vulnerable to relatively small ambush squads. In some instances, a dozen Palestinian fighters or Syrian commandos had halted the best-armed, best-trained, tank forces in the Middle East for hours on end. Overall, the pattern of past wars had been broken. Even in 1973, once the surprise attacks had been turned back, Israeli forces had advanced, attacked and broken enemy resistance. That hadn't happened here.

There was a deeper problem as well. At the start of the conflict, Begin had declared, boastfully almost, that this was Israel's first "war of choice." That wasn't true. Both 1956 and 1967 were wars of choice. Yet those preemptive attacks, especially in the Six-Day War, were in response to a sense of strategic threat that was commonly understood by almost all Israelis. There was a sense not just of consensus, but national unity. This war *was* different. It had been launched in pursuit of a specific political vision: a marriage of Begin's political credo and Arik's determination to use overwhelming force to bulldoze a new political reality in Lebanon.

The findings of the inquiry commission were published in February 1983. They were all the more powerful for the forensic language used. The inquiry did concede Begin's point: it was Gemayel's men who had actually done the killing. But it said that the Israeli commanders' decision to allow the Phalangists into the refugee camps "was taken without consideration of the danger – which the makers and executors of the decision were obligated to foresee as probable – that the Phalangists would commit massacres." The commission added that "when the reports began to arrive about the actions of the Phalangists in the camps, no proper heed was taken. The correct conclusions were not drawn. No energetic and immediate action was taken to restrain the Phalangists and put a stop to their actions."

Arik bore personal responsibility for this, the report said. So did Raful, and the head of military intelligence, Yehoshua Saguy. The commission

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recommended that Begin fire Sharon and Saguy. They left Raful in place, but only because his term as chief-of-staff was due to end in a matter of weeks. Arik at first refused to go, and Begin refused to fire him. Yet in the end, popular pressure forced the issue. When another demonstration was called in protest at Sharon's continuing as Defense Minister, a right-wing political activist tossed a grenade into the crowd, killing a young Peace Now member. Even Arik was evidently shaken by the spectre of one of his presumed political admirers murdering a fellow Israeli for peacefully protesting. Or at least shaken enough to step down as Defense Minister. He did remain in the government as a minister without portfolio. Still, Begin himself would quit as Prime Minister, retiring into virtual seclusion, about half-a-year later.

Like the rest of the senior officers corps, I tried with difficulty to get on with my own job. I imagined the contribution I could best make for now would be, as Head of Planning, to ensure the mix of forces and weaponry deployed in any future conflict were better suited to the task than in the Lebanon war. But I didn't believe that such technical failings or planning lapses, however serious a contribution to the more than 650 Israeli lives lost, were what had mainly caused the war to go wrong. The central mistake was what had bothered me all along: the invasion was not a considered response to a particular security threat. It was an overreaching exercise in geopolitics, with sleight-of-hand used to evade the need to make and win support from government ministers and, critically, the public. Even with questions still to be resolved about when and how to withdraw the thousands of Israeli troops that were still inside Lebanon, I remember wondering aloud to a few army friends, and to Nava as well, whether we would look back in a decade's time and see the war as "our Vietnam". In fact, Israeli troops would still be in south Lebanon nearly *two* decades later, when I had left the military and was about to become Israeli Prime Minister.

Even as a two-star general in the *kirya*, I doubted I would be in a position to help fix the deeper issues raised by the war. Any real influence would be in positions like the chief-of-staff and his deputy; the head of operations; the head of military intelligence. They were the core of the armed forces' leadership and had the most regular dealings with senior figures in government.

But I'd failed to factor in the effect of the inquiry recommendations. Within days of the report, Israel had a new Defense Minister: Moshe Arens, who returned from his post as ambassador in Washington. Among *his* first orders of business was to act on the inquiry's verdict on Raful and Yehoshua Saguy. As chief of staff, Arens settled on a choice I suspect most senior officers saw as the

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right man for the moment: Raful's deputy, Moshe Levy. Well over six feet tall, he was known as *Moshe Vechetzi*. "Moshe-and-a-Half." He was reserved and soft-spoken, a safe pair of hands after the trauma of the war.

But Arens also had to name a successor to Saguy as head of military intelligence. And for that job, he nominated me.

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It was a huge responsibility, and not just because I was suddenly in charge of an intelligence apparatus ranging from Unit 8200, our sophisticated signals collection and decryption unit, to the operational units like Sayeret Matkal. It was what was at stake if things went wrong: success or failure in war, and the life or death of thousands of men on the battlefield. It was a price we'd paid painfully in 1973. And now again, just nine years later, in Lebanon.

If I needed any reminder, it was conveniently placed on my new office wall: the photographs of each of my nine predecessors since 1948 as Head of the Intelligence Directorate, or *Rosh Aman* in Hebrew. All had come to the role with talent and dedication. All but three had either left under a shadow, or been fired. Sometimes this was because of ultimately non-fatal lapses, like a botched mobilization of our reserves in 1959, or the Rotem crisis a few months later. Sometimes, it was due to lethal failures like the Yom Kippur War and Lebanon.

I went to see all eight former directors who were still alive. "You know, I used to read the newspapers and listen to the BBC in the car to work," Shlomo Gazit told me. He was the director I'd worked for in operational intelligence, the one who'd so memorably made the point that we might endanger Israeli security not only be missing the signs of a war, but signs of an opportunity for peace. He was also one of the few to have left office without blemish. "By the time I got to the *kirya*, I already knew 80 percent of what I could about what was going on," he said. "Then I'd spend six or seven hours reading intelligence material, to fill in at least *part* of the remaining 20 percent." His message, echoed by my other predecessors, was that the job wasn't mainly about the raw information. It was what you *concluded* from the information, what you *did* with it. It was about judgement.

The intelligence did matter, of course. For all of Israel's strengths in that area, I knew from my own experience at Sultan Yacoub that there was still room to get more, better, and more timely information about our enemies, and make sure it got to the commanders and field units that needed it. And while the details of many operations I approved for Sayeret Matkal and other units remain classified, we did succeed in doing that – to take just one example, by finding an entirely new way to get intelligence from inside Syrian command posts.

Yet above all, I set out to apply the lessons of the 1973 and 1982 wars. In rereading the official inquiry reports, I saw that the intelligence failings had

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been different in each of them. In the Yom Kippur War, the problem was not just Eli Zeira's failure to activate the sayeret's listening devices in Eygpt, deeply damaging though that was. It was *judgement*. Inside Aman, a kind of groupthink had taken hold. It was rooted in a confident, costly misconception which went unchallenged: that Egypt would never risk another war without an air force capable of breaching our defences and striking towns and cities deep inside Israel. No one pressed the alternative scenario: that Sadat might strike with more limited territorial objectives and, under cover of his SAM batteries on the other side of the Suez Canal, advance into the Sinai.

In the Lebanon war, the inquiry suggested, Yehoshua Saguy *did* try to warn the generals, and the government, about major risks. But individual ministers testified that they hadn't heard, hadn't been there, or hadn't understood, leading the inquiry to stress the responsibility of a *Rosh Aman* to ensure not just that his message was conveyed, but that it was received as well.

I set out to address both problems. Inside the department, I insisted on making all our preconceptions open to challenge. I set up a unit whose sole function was to play devil's advocate when a consensus was reached. It began with the *opposite* conclusion and, through a competing analysis of the data, and logical argument, tried to prove it. I also wanted to be challenged on *my* preconceptions. I assigned a bright young major as my personal intelligence-and-analysis aide. He read everything that crossed my desk and could access any material in the department. "You have no responsibility to agree with any of the analysts, or with me," I said. "Part of your job is to *dis*agree."

In the Lebanon war, Saguy had faced an additional problem. He was excluded from some government meetings at which crucial decisions were made. That was out of his control. I didn't want it to be out mine. I raised the issue with Begin in our first meeting. "If you want to get the maximum value from your head of intelligence," I said, "you should make sure he's there not just after, but *when* decisions are made." Yet he was now only months from leaving office, exhausted by the war and its aftermath. He waved his hand weakly in response, as if to say none of it mattered. His successor, in October 1983, was Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir. Ideologically, he was cut from the same cloth: an advocate from the 1940s of securing a Jewish state in all of Palestine, by whatever force necessary. He'd broken with Begin's pre-state Irgun militia to set up a group called Lehi, which went further and carried out political assassinations: the 1944 killing of Lord Moyne, Britain's Minister for

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Middle East Affairs, and four years later the United Nations envoy, Count Folke Bernadotte.

"Why are you so *strident*," Shamir asked me, only half-jokingly, after I'd insisted on joining a government discussion and pressing several intelligence matters. "It's because I've read the Lebanon inquiry," I replied. "I saw what happened when a message isn't delivered assertively. I'm not going to be in the position of making the same mistakes." He nodded, and didn't raise it again.

In fact, it was under Shamir that I began to get more involved with political and policy issues beyond the armed forces. Part of this came with the job of *Rosh Aman*. There was hardly a major domestic or foreign challenge that did not have some security component, and no security matter on which intelligence was not critical. But I also found myself working more closely with leading politicians: mainly Shamir and Misha Arens, who as defense minister was my main point of contact. Since I was a Labor kibbutznik, we made an odd threesome. Arens was also a lifelong Jabotinsky Zionist. He had been in the Betar youth movement in America, before going to Palestine in 1948 and joining the Irgun. In fact, it was with Misha's personal backing that one of my former Sayeret Matkal officers – the son of a Jabotinsky acolyte – had recently taken his first steps into the political limelight. After a two-year stint as Israel's number-two diplomat in Washington, Bibi Netanyahu had become our ambassador to the United Nations.

With both Arens and Shamir, I built a solid relationship, based on mutual respect, and it would deepen further when I moved on to a wider role in the *kirya* a few years later. They were straight talkers. While resolute about decisions once they'd taken them, they were genuinely open to discussion and debate. I also sometimes found a surprising degree of nuance behind their tough exterior.

The toughness was there, however. One of the first major security crises we faced after Shamir became Prime Minister was known as the *Kav 300* affair, named for the bus route between the southern port city of Ashdod and Tel Aviv. On the evening of April 12, 1984, four Palestinians from Gaza boarded the bus and hijacked it back toward the border with Egypt. They told the passengers they were armed with knives, and that a suitcase which one of them was carrying contained unexploded anti-tank shells. After a high-speed chase, an Israeli army unit managed to shoot out the tires and disable the vehicle, when it was still about ten miles short of Gaza. One of the passengers had been severely injured at

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the start. A number of others managed to escape when the bus was stopped. But several dozen remained inside.

I was in Europe at the time, on one of my periodic trips to discuss Middle East issues with a fellow intelligence chief. Yet an aide called me with the news. I was several thousand miles away from what happening. But I knew there was every possibility Sayeret Matkal might be called in, and my instincts told me we should proceed with caution. The situation we were facing felt nothing like Sabena, much less Entebbe. Here, we had a single bus. Our troops, and in fact everyone from ministers and officials to reporters and photographers, were in a loose cordon a couple of dozen yards away. That said to me there was no sense that the hijackers posed an immediate danger. Nor did they seem to have come equipped for a major confrontation. In place of the AK-47s and grenades we'd seen in previous terror attacks, these guys had knives, and, if they were to be believed, a couple of shells with no obvious way to detonate them.

I phoned a friend in the command post set up near the stranded bus. He told me that Misha and Moshe Vechetzi were there. There was a standoff with the terrorists and, for now, it was quiet. The defense minister and the chief-of-staff, of course, did not need my presence, much less my agreement, to order the sayeret into action. But I said: why not wait? Though the last flights back to Israel had already left, I could be at the command post by mid-morning. Beyond wanting to be present if the sayeret was ordered in, I believed the crisis might even be brought to an end without another shot being fired. "I'll tell them what you said," my friend replied. "But I doubt it'll be allowed to drag on much past daybreak."

He was right. With my Chinese Farm comrade Yitzhik Mordechai in overall command, Sayeret Matkal stormed the bus at about seven in the morning. They shot and killed two of the hijackers immediately, through the vehicle's windows. Sadly one of the passengers, a young woman soldier, died in the assault, but the rest of the hostages were freed, none with serious injuries.

A controversy soon erupted over what came next. The sayeret commandos had captured the other two terrorists alive and uninjured. Yet barely a week later, first in an American newspaper and then the Israeli media, reports emerged that the two surviving Palestinians had been killed after the hijacking was over. A year later, Yitzhik Mordechai was – wrongly – put on trial for his alleged part in what had amounted to a summary execution. And, rightly, exonerated. Though the full details never became public, the people responsible turned out to be from the Shin Bet, our equivalent of the FBI.

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Weeks later, Misha Arens mentioned *Kav 300* in one of our regular meetings. It was not so much a statement of what should or shouldn't have happened, but a show of genuine puzzlement. "How can it be," he asked, "when there is a real fight, an operation in which our soldiers are shooting, that terrorists come out *alive*?" The answer, to me, was simple: Sayeret Matkal. From our earliest days, there was an understanding that you used whatever force necessary in order to make an operation successful. Yet once the aim had been achieved – in this case, eliminating the danger to the passengers – it was over. I am convinced, by the way, that Misha didn't actually order the sayeret, or anyone else, to kill all the terrorists. I'm equally convinced there was a tacit assumption on the ground that Misha's view, and Shamir's as well, was that this would be no bad thing.

* * *

Yet by the summer of 1984, Shamir and Arens appeared in danger of losing their jobs. Israel's next election, the first since the Lebanon war, was due in July. Just as the trauma of the 1973 war had helped Begin end Likud's three decades in opposition, the polls and the pundits were now suggesting that Shimon Peres might bring Labor back to power. There was no prospect he'd win an outright majority in the 120-seat Knesset. No one had ever done that, not even Ben-Gurion in his political heyday. From 1948, Israel's political landscape had been populated by at least a dozen-or-so parties, mostly a reflection of the various Zionist and religious groups before the state was established. The dominant party always needed to make deals with some of the smaller ones to get the required 60-vote parliamentary majority and form a government.

The Likud looked vulnerable. Domestic concerns, alone, were eroding its support. Under Begin's turbo-charged version of Milton Freedman economics, an economic boom had given way to runaway inflation and a stock market crash. Lebanon, however, was the main issue, and it remained a running political sore. The assassinated Bashir Gemayel's brother, Amin Gemayel, had become president. But Israel still had large numbers of troops there. And while most of the PLO fighters had gone, we faced a new and potentially even more intractable enemy in the south of the country. When our invasion began, the area's historically disadvantaged Shi'ite Muslim majority had been the one group besides the Christians with the prospect of benefiting. The PLO rocket and artillery bases had disrupted their lives and, worse, placed them in the line

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of our retaliatory fire. Some of the Shi'ite villages in the south even greeted our invading units with their traditional welcome, showering them with rice. But for a new Shi'ite militia calling itself Hizbollah – formed after the invasion and inspired by the Ayatollah Khomeini's revolution in Iran – our continuing military presence was anathema. In November 1983, Hizbollah signalled its intentions when a truck bomber drove into a building being used as our military headquarters in the south Lebanese city of Tyre, killing more than 60 people.

Yet the election ended up as a near-tie. Peres did lead Labor back into top spot for the first time since Begin's victory in 1977. But he got only 44 seats, to the Likud's 41. After weeks of horse-trading with smaller parties, he could not form a government. Neither could Shamir. The result, for the first time in peacetime, was a national-unity coalition, including both main parties. Peres would be Prime Minister for the first two years, and Shamir the final two. But the stipulation of most relevance to me was that one man would be the Defence Minister throughout the four years: Yitzhak Rabin.

My relationship with Rabin went back much further than with Misha. I'd first met him when I was a sayeret soldier. I'd interacted with him more as sayeret commander, and of course during Entebbe. Now, we began to work even more closely, and the main challenge in his early months as Defense Minister was what to do about our troops in Lebanon. We had gradually been pulling back. We were more or less on the 40-kilometer line which Sharon had claimed was the point of the invasion. But even this was costing us lives, with no obvious benefit from controlling a large slab of territory on which nearly half-a-million Lebanese lived. A decision was now reached to shrink our "security zone" further, pulling back to the Litani River. It meandered about 25 kilometers north of the border, and in some areas was even closer to Israel.

I argued strongly in favor of getting out altogether. I accepted that the "Litani line" might help impede cross-border raids. But especially since the remaining Palestinian fighters and Hizbollah were acquiring newer Katyushas, with a range of up to 20 kilometers, they could fire rockets over the security zone. My deeper concern was that we intended to hold the area with between 1,000 and 1,500 Israeli troops in open alliance with a local Maronite Christian militia, called the South Lebanon Army. This would rule out any hope of working out security arrangements with the *non*-Christian majority in the south. I tried to persuade Rabin we should withdraw all the Israeli soldiers and coordinate security arrangements with the equivalent of a local civil-defense guard. I suggested four separate militias drawn from the local population –

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Christian, Shi'ite Muslim, Druse and ethnically mixed – with the aim of reflecting the balance in each part of the south.

Israeli troops might still have to cross into Lebanon, but only for brief, targeted operations to preempt preparations for a terror attack. "We need to remember what we're *there* for," I said. "We have no territorial claims. It's to protect the north of Israel. But it will end up being about *protecting our own troops inside the security zone*. It will be like the Bar-Lev line in 1973, fighting for fortifications we don't need." I couldn't persuade him. I'm sure he understood the argument, and he may even have agreed. But when Katyushas next fell on northern Israel, he as Minister of Defense, not I, would be the one in the political firing line.

Far from straining our relations, our frank exchanges on Lebanon seemed to build further trust between us. We worked closely on a range of issues. When Sayeret Matkal or another intelligence unit planned an operation across our borders, both of us would present the action to the cabinet. During the operations, I'd be either in the *kirya* or a forward command post. Since nearly all of them happened after nightfall, Yitzhak would usually be back home, asleep, by the time they ended. I would phone him. The trademark voice – slow, gravelly, deep even when he was wide awake – would answer. I'd tell him the mission was over and – with only one exception during my period as head of intelligence – successful. "*Todah*," he would say. "*Lehitraot*." Thanks. Bye. He was never a man to waste words.

For one of the very few times I can remember, *he* phoned me one morning in October 1985. It came a couple of days after an especially gruesome Palestinian terror attack. Even with Arafat now more than a thousand miles away in Tunis, much of Rabin's focus was taken up in responding to, or trying to preempt, Palestinian terrorism. The issue was especially sensitive politically in the wake of a war in Lebanon that was supposed to have eliminated that threat. For Rabin, moreover, it had become personal. He'd had to sanction an unprecedented exchange of 1,150 Palestinian security prisoners earlier in the year to secure the freedom of three Israeli soldiers, including one of our men from Sultan Yacoub, who had ended up in the hands of the radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine – General Command. Now a group from another of the radical factions, the Palestine Liberation Front, had hijacked an Italian cruise ship called the *Achille Lauro* en route from Egypt to Israel. They murdered one of the passengers, a wheelchair-bound, 69-year-old Jewish American named Leon Klinghoffer, and dumped his body overboard.

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Rabin's closest aide, whom I knew well, was aware that Unit 8200 had intercepts that laid bare the details, and left no doubt the murderers were from a PLO group. He called and asked me to appear on a weekly television interview program called *Moked*. It was hosted by Nissim Mishal: brash, incisive, and one of Israel's best-known broadcast journalists. I pointed out to the Rabin aide that I'd never done anything like this before. But he insisted it would go well. He briefed me on the questions I could expect, not just about the *Achille Lauro* but the wider issue of Palestinian attacks, as well as Syrian President Hafez al-Assad's efforts to re-equip his air force after his losses in Lebanon. So I came to the interview prepared. I brought audio tapes of the hijackers, and a large photograph of the MiG-25s which the Syrians were seeking to acquire.

My appearance will not go down in the annals of great moments in television. But at the time, very few Israelis even knew who I was, and I felt I'd done OK. I was surprised, however, when Rabin phoned the next day. "Ehud, I didn't see it. I was attending some event," he said. But his wife, Leah, had recorded the program. "I just watched it. I should tell you, I think it was exceptional. You did a great job. It was highly important for us, for the army, and, I dare say, for you."

* * *

I was not sure what he meant by saying it might be good for me as well, although a decade later, at the end of my army career, he would play the central role into my entry into Israeli politics. It is true that there was also some politics at the upper reaches of the military as well, especially around the choice of chief of staff, and that Moshe Vechetzi's term had only a year-and-a-half to go. But I didn't view myself as a serious candidate at this stage. Moshe's own preference seemed to be either Amir Drori, the head of the northern command during the Lebanon War, or Amnon Lipkin, the veteran paratroop commander who'd been with me on the Rue Verdun raid in Beirut. My own hope was that the nod would go to any even closer friend of mine: Dan Shomron.

I had first got to know Dan well in the late sixties after Karameh, Israel's costly standoff with Arafat, when Fatah's influence was in its infancy. We exchanged impressions on what had gone wrong, and why? When I became commander of Sayeret Matkal, we remained in touch, and he took a close interest in all of our operations. We also crossed paths in the Sinai in the 1973,

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in which Dan's division was key in staunching the Egyptian advance in the first days of the war, later inflicted heavy losses on one of Sadat's armored forces and was part of the final push on the other side of the canal. And, of course, during Entebbe. Dan had sharp tactical instincts, a belief in the importance of using new technology to gain and sustain an edge, and an openness to unconventional approaches. Faced with a challenge in planning or executing an operation, he looked at it from all sides, determined to come up with the *right* approach, not always the expected one. In a lot of these ways, we were similar, which was no doubt one reason our relationship had grown closer as he and I – six years younger, and a step or two behind – rose up the ranks.

In fact, Dan was the reason I'd made one of my rare forays into *kirya* politics not long after Moshe Vechetzi took over as chief of staff, when Misha Arens was still Defense Minister. I acted to derail what seemed to me a blatant attempt by Moshe to advance Drori's and Amnon Lipkin's prospects for eventual succession as chief-of-staff, and to take Dan out of the contest altogether.

I was sitting at my desk on the third floor when the chief of internal army security, an officer named Ben-Dor, walked into my office. "Listen," he said, "the chief of staff has a right to give me a direct order in cases where he thinks there is a need for a special investigation. But you're my commander, so I wanted to let you know."

"What is it?" I asked.

He replied that he had been ordered to "check out rumors that Dan Shomron is a homosexual."

I was appalled. The whole thing stank, on every level, and not just because I was confident the "rumors" were nonsense. "Look," I said, "I have no idea whether some sub-clause in army regulations allows the chief-of-staff to give you orders over my head. But even if it does, I'm ordering you to do nothing until I talk to Moshe." He nodded in agreement. In fact, he seemed relieved. He also let me know that the source of the rumors was a number of senior officers, including a couple of generals.

I went straight downstairs and into the chief-of-staff's office. Moshe was at his desk, smoking a cigarette. One of the advantages he had in being nearly a foot taller than most of us was that I found myself looking not into his eyes, but up at them. "Moshe," I said, "Ben-Dor told me you've ordered him to investigate a rumor that Dan Shomron is a homosexual." He said nothing. So I went on. "I've told him not to do it. And I've come *here* to convince you that it's

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improper." This was more than 30 years ago, at a time when being gay, and certainly being gay in the armed forces, was a much bigger deal than now. But I still had no doubt at all that this amounted to a witch-hunt.

Moshe still said nothing. "I have no idea whether Dan is or is not a homosexual. After knowing him for years, I have no reason at all to believe that he is. But let's assume, for a moment, that he is," I said. He's not some junior lieutenant… This is a man who has *risked his life* for Israel. Repeatedly. Under fire." Then, I got to the real issue. "I hesitate to mention this," I said, realizing, and in a way hoping, that my tone would sound vaguely threatening. "But if you order this, the very fact of doing so might be interpreted as being a result of some other motives on your part. I'm doing my best to convince you to think again. But I want you to know that if I can't, I'm going from here to Misha's office. I'll try to convince him of the damage from what you're contemplating to the whole fabric of trust in the general staff and the army, to the image of the army." Still, he said nothing. He nodded occasionally. He puffed on his cigarette, put it out, lit another one. It was pretty clear he had no intention of rescinding his order.

Within 20 minutes, was in the Minister of Defense's office. I spoke to him for about 10 minutes. Misha listened. At the end, he said: "I understand what you've told me." I never discovered what exactly he said to Moshe Vechetzi. But the investigation never happened. I never spoke a word about any of it to Dan until years later, after both of us had left the army.

The result, however, was that Dan became deputy chief-of-staff under Moshe, the latest step in what was beginning to look like a steady rise to the top. But Misha did make a few concessions to Moshe's preferred candidates, and that now turned out to have major implications for me. It was a long-accepted practice that chiefs-of-staff had more than one deputy during their period in charge. In the homestretch of Moshe's tenure, he was able to bring in Amir Drori for a spell as his number-two. And early in 1986, he also brought Amnon Lipkin back to the *kirya*. Amnon was given *my* job, as Director of Intelligence. But I got the post which Amnon was leaving: head of the central command area. This meant that, for the first time, I would be in charge of one of Israel's three regional military commands, and we were based on the edge of Jerusalem, with security responsibility for the West Bank.

This was my first direct exposure to the combustible mix of restive Palestinians and the growing number of Jewish settlers. Our main brief was to prevent terror attacks, violence or unrest from the roughly 850,000 West Bank

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Palestinians toward the 50,000 Israelis who were then living in the settlements. At the time, by far most Palestinians were not involved in any violence. They were mainly interested in getting on with their lives. Yet there were signs of trouble. The PLO leaders' relocation to Tunis had reduced their direct influence. But the briefings I got from Shin Bet officers made it clear that some young West Bankers had begun trying to organize attacks against police, soldiers and Israeli civilians. The settlements were also growing in number, and their residents were not above acts of violence against Palestinians. Further complicating the situation was the fact the settlers enjoyed the support of key Likud members in the cabinet: Shamir, who was about to take his turn as Prime Minister in October 1986; Misha, now a minister without portfolio; and most of all Arik Sharon. In an astonishing demonstration of resilience and determination, not only had Arik remained as a minister without portfolio when Shamir succeeded Menachem Begin. In the coalition government, he had become Minister of Trade and Labor. Most importantly, when he'd been Agriculture Minister under Begin, he was the driving force in plans to expand Jewish settlement on the West Bank, including "blocs" placed around the major Palestinian towns and cities for the first time since 1967.

I had a responsibility to protect the settlers, and I did my best to fulfil it. Yet I believed it was essential they understood that they were subject to the authority of the state of Israel and, like other Israeli citizens, had to operate within the law. This was no mere theoretical problem. A Jewish underground had been established by members of Gush Emunim, the Orthodox Jewish movement set up in the 1970s to advance what they saw as a divinely mandated mission to settle the West Bank. It had carried out car-bombings and other attacks in the early 1980s, leaving two Palestinian mayors crippled for life. The terror campaign had ended only when the Shin Bet caught the cell placing explosives under Arab-owned buses in Jerusalem.

Hopeful of preventing misunderstandings, and ideally building a relationship of trust, I visited many of the settlements during the early weeks in my new post and spoke with their leaders, a few of whom remain friends to this day. But in the spring of 1986, we faced our first major test on the ground. In a pre-Passover event organized by Gush Emunim, some 10,000 settlers streamed into Hebron, a city sacred not only to Jews but Muslims as well as the burial place of Hebrew patriarchs and matriarchs. Peace Now activists had planned a counter-protest, but Rabin denied them permission. Still, anti-settlement members of the Knesset and other Israeli peace activists did get clearance to march from Jerusalem to Hebron.

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My job was to ensure the security not just of the Gush Emunim march but of the counter-demonstrators, and, of course, the local Palestinian population. As the rival marches by the Israelis proceeded, I personally delivered warnings against any violence, both to the settlement leaders and to a pair of the most prominent counter-protesters, the peace activist Uri Avneri and Knesset member Yossi Sarid. The event went off without major incident. But the next day, *Davar*, the venerable Labor newspaper I'd first read as a child in Mishmar Hasharon, let rip against me. Under a photo of me with Avneri and Sarid – my arm raised, ostensibly in some kind of threat but actually in the time-honored Jewish practice of talking with my hands – the article accused me of siding with the settlers. If blood was spilled in the weeks and months ahead, the newspaper said, "it will be on Barak's hands."

Ordinarily, I would have ignored it. But never in my military career had I been similarly attacked on an issue of any importance. I was especially angry because not only was the insinuation unfounded. It was diametrically opposite to the stance I was determined to take in this, my first regional command. Yes, I was committed to providing security for the settlers. But especially in the wake of the crimes of the Jewish underground, I was determined to ensure they remained within the boundaries of the law.

A few days later, I called Rabin's aide and asked to see the Defense Minister, and was told to come see him after Saturday lunch at his home. When I arrived, Rabin got right down to business. "Ehud, you wanted to see me?" he said. "You've probably seen *Davar*," I replied. "It was a pretty nasty piece. It distorted things." Yet as he began asking for details, it seemed he had no idea what I was talking about. "Ehud, I never read it," he said. "If you hadn't told me, I'd never have known there was an issue." I assumed this was a white lie, told to reassure me. But years later, when I was Minister of Defense, and then Prime Minister, I sometimes found myself on the other side of such meetings. An officer or official would come see me because of something said about them in the media, or remarks they were quoted as having made. When I told them I'd been unaware of it, I could see the disbelief in their eyes. By then, however, I realized that under the multiple demands of a senior role in government, you really could fail to notice events that others viewed as crucial to their reputations or careers. To reassure them I truly hadn't noticed, I'd tell them the story of my meeting with Rabin.

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There was another, slightly less noble, reason I wanted to set the record straight with Rabin. Though only gradually did I admit this even to myself, I realized that my experience in a regional command had ticked the one missing box in the CV of our top generals, meaning that I might indeed be a candidate to succeed Moshe Vechetzi as chief of staff. At first, I resisted taking the prospect too seriously. The job of *ramatkal* not only carried responsibility for overall command of the armed forces. Since our country still faced multiple security threats, the chief of staff was, along with Prime Minister and Defence Minister, among the most important, influential and visible positions in Israeli public life. Yet as the April 1987 date for the changeover drew nearer, it was difficult not to think about it. Not only was I apparently under consideration. To judge from media reports, and officers' smalltalk, it appeared that Rabin had whittled down the possibilities to two. One was Dan Shomron, and I was the other.

Still, it was only when Rabin phoned me early in 1987 that I knew it was true – and that I would not be getting the top job. "Ehud," he said, "I wanted you to know I've decided on Dan to be the next *ramatkal*. I want you to be his deputy." I can't say I was surprised he'd chosen Dan. It wasn't just that he was more experienced, or even that, since he was older, missing out on the top job this time would probably mean missing out for good. Yitzhak had always valued Dan's directness and honesty, his courage and record of service. Above all, I'd long sensed that he felt a special debt to Dan: for Entebbe. At a time when so much could have gone wrong, it was Dan who had taken a firm, confident, successful hold on the operation.

Still, I was now 45. For me no less than for Dan, I knew that if I was passed over as chief of staff, there was no guarantee I'd be chosen the next time. "I respect your decision," I told Rabin. "And I have no doubt Dan will be a good – a *very* good – chief-of-staff." But I had to consider my own future. "Even though I'm grateful for the offer of deputy," I said. "I think it's better for me to leave. To open up a new chapter, and do something else in life."

Rabin said he couldn't accept that. "Come see me," he said. "Now." When I got to Jerusalem, I emphasized again that I had no doubt Dan would lead the armed forces well. But I said my decision to leave the military wasn't a mere whim. I had been thinking about my own future and my family's. We had three young daughters. A few months earlier, we had moved home again, into a wide, one-story rambler with a big yard out back. It was in a new town called Kochav Yair, just inside Israel's pre-1967 border with the West Bank, and it struck me

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as a good time to settle down in a way that would be impossible if I stayed on in the upper reaches of the military. Perhaps do something more academic, in a university or a policy think-tank.

For the first time, politics had some appeal, too, though I didn't say this to him. At that point, I had no idea how, or even whether, I might get involved. But since my appearance on *Moked*, others seemed to assume it might happen at some stage. Out of nowhere, a leading political journalist, Hanan Kristal, had written a story in 1986 purporting to predict the successors to Israel's political old guard: Peres and Rabin in Labor, Begin and Shamir in the Likud. It appeared in the newspaper *Hadashot*. The paper ran side-by-side photos of the ostensible future leaders, doctored to look older, who Hanan predicted would go head-to-head in the election of 1996, a decade away. One was Israel's ambassador to the UN and a protégé of Misha Arens: Bibi Netanyahu. The other was me.

Rabin listened with patience to my obviously settled intention to leave, but remained firm that I should stay and become Dan's deputy. In the end, I agreed I'd think things over and that we'd talk in a week's time. In the meantime, I went to see two veteran generals who had found themselves in a similar situation, mentioned as possible chiefs of staff but never chosen: Arik and Ezer Weizman. I saw Arik on his farm in the Negev. He was obviously enjoying his extraordinary political rehabilitation since the Lebanon war. His expanding girth was settled into a sofa in the living room. I filled him in on my conversation with Rabin. "I'm considering leaving," I said. "It just seems like a long time to wait, even if I do get the job after Dan. There's a lot else I want to do in life." Arik was probably the general most experienced in being denied the chief-of-staff's office. On at least two occasions, he might reasonably have been considered. But in a career littered with tense encounters with his superiors, it never happened. "You should stay on," he said. You're not that old. It'll probably be good for you, and the army, to be deputy and *then* chief." The only further advice he gave me was to do all I could formally to commit Yitzhak to making me Dan's successor after his term ended.

I visited Ezer at his home in the seaside town of Caesarea. We sat on the terrace, with Ezer's gangly frame draped over one of the cane chairs. "Ehud, if you stay, do you think you have a good chance of being the next *ramatkal*," he asked. I said that while nothing could be certain, I thought there was a good chance. He replied without hesitation: "Then stay." He'd come close to the top job, he told me. On the eve of the Six-Day War, when Rabin had collapsed

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physically from the weeks of tension, Yitzhak had asked him to take over. He'd said no. But he said he'd always believed he could and should have been chief-of-staff – and that if he hadn't left to go into politics, he still might have got the job. Then, suddenly, he shouted: "Reuma!" When his wife appeared, he said: "Tell Barak the missing piece in my life, the one I've never stopped regretting." She smiled, and said: "It's the fact you did not become *ramatkal*."

I saw Rabin a couple of days later. Though I'd pretty much decided to take the deputy's job, I was still bothered by the prospect of serving as deputy for the next four years only to find someone else being named chief-of-staff. I knew that no matter what assurances Yitzhak gave me, there was no way of being sure. He did say he viewed me as the natural next-in-line. But I still felt hesitant. "I want you to consider two things," I said. The first was a formal decision that Dan would have only a single deputy during his time as chief-of-staff. He said yes to that. Yet the second request was going to be even more difficult. Heartening though it was to hear I was Dan's "natural successor", I asked him to put it in writing. It was not that I doubted his word. But if the surprise result of the last election was any indication, there was no way of predicting which party would be in power when Dan's terms ended. I wanted him to keep a record of our understanding in his desk and pass it on if someone else was Defense Minister by that time. Without a moment's hesitation, he took out a piece of paper and wrote down exactly what he'd told me about the succession. He shook my hand as I left. "You've made the right decision," he said.

And I had, even though Dan and I – and Rabin too – would soon face by far the most difficult challenge in Israel's conflict with the Palestinians since our capture of the West Bank and Gaza in the 1967 war.

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Chapter Fourteen

It began with an accident. On Tuesday, December 8, 1987, an Israeli tank transporter crashed into a minibus carrying Palestinians from the Jabalya refugee camp near the main crossing from Gaza into Israel. Four passengers were killed.

By the time of the funerals the next day, a rumor had spread, no less incendiary for being absurd, that the crash had been deliberate – retaliation for the fatal stabbing of an Israeli man a few days earlier. Crowds of Palestinians leaving the burials began shouting "Death to Israel!" They hurled rocks and bottles at Israeli security patrols, and blocked streets with burning tires. By the next day, the violence started spreading to the West Bank, and then to parts of east Jerusalem. The headline-writers moved from the word "disturbances" to "unrest" and finally to the Palesitnians' own name for the most serious outbreak of violence since 1967: the "*intifada*". The uprising.

At least for the first week or two, we assumed its ferocity and scale would subside. Our immediate aim was to contain it, and limit the human cost on both sides. Yet when Dan and I began visiting units on the front line of this new conflict, we realized that if it kept escalating, we'd have to find new tools and strategies to bring it under control. We were in charge of an army trained to equip and fight enemy *soldiers*. Now, we were asking teenage recruits to operate as riot police against stone-throwing mobs. Before long, it wasn't just stones, or even bottles. In one incident in Gaza, a young soldier was surrounded by a crowd of Palestinians and stabbed. He opened fire, wounding two of the attackers. Yitzhik Mordechai, now the head of the southern command, told reporters that his troops were under "strict orders to open fire only if their lives are under threat." That was true. But I couldn't help wondering how long the other part of his statement would hold: that we remained "in control of the situation."

We did *feel* in control for the first few days. Defense Minister Rabin was away in Washington on an official visit. When his office asked us whether he should fly back, we said there was no need. But on his return, we quickly agreed that, as a first priority, we needed to find an alternative to live ammunition in quelling the attacks. Otherwise, we'd be left with two equally bad options: either simply stand aside, in order to avoid killing or injuring demonstrators; or intervene with the inevitable casualties. But one of our most important early discussions was about the *broader* aspects of the violence. The meeting, held

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outside the *kirya* in a facility just north of Tel Aviv, was Rabin's idea. In addition to Dan and me, it included key members of the general staff and senior defense ministry officials. The idea was for us to hear a half-dozen academics and other specialists speak about the political aspects of the sudden eruption of Palestinian violence.

Though he spoke for barely 10 minutes, it was the last speaker who left the deepest impression. Shimon Shamir, a professor at Tel Aviv University, began by emphasizing he was not an expert in riot control. Finding a response to the violence was something we were far better equipped to do. But then he paused, looked intently at Rabin, Dan and me, and said: "What I *can* do is draw on history." One by one, he cited examples of more than a dozen broadly similar rebellions over the past century, in the Middle East and beyond. "If we were dealing with simple rioting, things might be different." But he said the Palestinians were, fundamentally, acting out of a shared sense of grievance, and shared national identity. Both were in large part the result of Israel having controlled their daily lives now for more than two decades. "I'm afraid I can find no historical precedent for the successful suppression of the national will of a people," he said. Even when those in power used unimaginably punitive tools: like expulsion, or forced starvation. "Even, as we know well as a Jewish people, extermination."

I glanced at Yitzhak and at Dan. Both of them looked like I felt: in no doubt the professor was right, yet also aware that, in the short term, we still had to find a way of putting a lid on the cauldron and keeping the situation for getting irretrievably out of control.

It wasn't as if I'd been unaware of the sense of the anger building among many West Bank and Gaza Palestinians, or of their wish to see an end to Israel's military administration and the growing number of Jewish settlements. From my time as head of the central command, I also knew that there was a young, activist core intensifying efforts to organize attacks on troops and settlers. But none of us had any inkling that something of the scale, longevity and political complexity of the intfada lay ahead.

Partly, this was a failure of specific intelligence warnings. But it went deeper than that. Sobering though it was, I had to accept that – no less so than before the Yom Kippur War in 1973 – I and many others had for too long been comforting ourselves with a fundamental misconception about our military occupation and civilian settlement in the areas captured in 1967. The roots of the myopia went back to the immediate aftermath of the Six-Day War, to the

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generally civil, and often friendly contacts, Israelis had with Palestinians at the time. The local population had, after all, been under *other* occupation powers before 1967: Jordan in the West Bank, and Egypt in Gaza. Assuming our administration was less onerous, most Israelis believed a way to coexist could be found. And that sooner or later, there would be a land-for-peace agreement and we would withdraw from at least most of the territory. But as the years passed, with no sign of a willingness by the PLO to consider any kind of peace talks, we made the cardinal error of assuming the occupation was sustainable. Yes, there might be periods of violence, but nothing that a combination of political resolve, arrests, detention and, where necessary, military force could not hold in check. For us, and certainly for me, the Palestinians became essentially a security issue. As one of Israel's finest novelists, David Grossman, would lay bare in a bestselling book of reportage called *The Yellow Wind*, about a year into the intifada, we had ceased to see the *human* effects of 20 years of occupation, not only on the Palestinians but on Israeli society as well.

Yet the power of Professor Shamir's presentation lay not so much in its novelty as its succinctness, clarity and, above all, its timing. The rioting had already gone on for longer than any of us had expected. It seemed to be gathering strength. But until our meeting, we were still looking at it essentially as a civil disturbance. *That* was what began to change, for all of us.

What didn't change was the need to try to bring the violence to an end. Dan immediately put me in charge of looking for alternatives to live ammunition. I began with our own research and development engineers. We also asked military attachés in our embassies to talk to law-enforcement agencies, academics, or anyone else with knowledge of non-lethal methods of crowd control overseas. Some of the more far-flung examples seemed promising, at least until further investigation. South Korea had years of experience in confronting student protests – generally, though not always, managing to avoid fatalities. But it turned out this typically involved sending in serried rows of up to 25,000 riot police against a few thousand campus protesters. Besides the fact we'd have needed an army the size of the Americans' to field enough soldiers, it was absurd to imagine dealing with dozens of far-flung confrontations on any given day with parade-ground formations of troops.

We looked at anything that seemed it might work. In the early stages, most of the attacks involved rocks and bottles. Our R&D engineers developed a Jeep-mounted "gravel gun" that fired stones at a distance of up to 250 feet. They could cause injuries, but weren't lethal. We acquired launchers for pepper spray

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and tear gas. We even looked at the possibility of dropping nets over crowds of attackers. Very early on, we shifted to using plastic bullets. But even that presented problems. At a distance of a hundred feet or so, they could drastically reduce deaths. But when a young recruit saw hundreds of Palestinians closing in on him, he wasn't about to take out a tape measure. Over time, we began relying wherever possible on rubber bullets and, in extreme cases, snipers to target the legs of the organizers or ring-leaders.

If all of this sounds soul-destroying, that's because it was. Especially with daily television coverage of the clashes amplifying overseas support for the Palestinians, morale among our soldiers also took a battering. In visits to units on the West Bank and in Gaza, Dan and I, and Rabin too, heard two opposite responses. Some of the young soldiers wanted us to use maximum force. *We are the army*, they argued. We have the weapons. Why the hell don't we *use* them? But we also heard another view, if less often: *why are we here at all*?

We imposed closures and curfews. We made thousands of arrests. Still, hundreds of soldiers and settlers were being injured, a number of them disfigured or disabled. By the end of 1998, the Palestinian death toll was above 300. In February 1989, an Israeli officer was killed by a cement block tossed from a rooftop in Nablus. A month later, a Palestinian knifed several people in Tel Aviv, killing one of them. And in July, in the first attempt inside Israel at a suicide attack, a Palestinian passenger grabbed the wheel of a bus on its way from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem and drove it off the road, killing 16 people.

* * *

By the summer of 1990, although the violence had begun to flag slightly, I was feeling more drained and exhausted than at any time since my bout of illness in the Sinai after the 1973 war. I even briefly thought of leaving the army after Dan's term ended the following year. I'm not sure whether I would have done that if the situation had not begun to change. But it did, dramatically. The intifada gradually began to subside, and an entirely new crisis suddenly intervened.

On August 2, against a background of longstanding financial and territorial disputes, Iraq's Sadam Hussein sent in tens of thousands of his troops and occupied the neighboring state of Kuwait. Though the immediate crisis was

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nearly a thousand miles away from us, he tried to divert attention from US-led international condemnation of his invasion by threatening Israel. He said "all issues of occupation" were on the table – the West Bank and Gaza, the Golan Heights, and Lebanon – and vowed to "let our fire eat half of Israel" in a future war. And we could not assume this was mere rhetoric. Iraq had an arsenal of Soviet-made ballistic missiles. Called Scuds, they were not always accurate at long range. But they could reach Israeli towns and cities, and could carry not just conventional explosives but chemical warheads. Moreover, Saddam had *used* chemical weapons: during the Iran-Iraq war, and to kill thousands of his own restive Kurdish population in the town of Halabja in the spring of 1988.

Even the prospect of American military action seemed not to faze him. Hours into the invasion, he moved an armored force toward Kuwait's border with Saudi Arabia, a key US regional ally, immediately prompting the President George Bush's administration to go beyond mere verbal condemnation. With Saudi agreement, Washington dispatched a squadron of F-15s to the kingdom – the first step in what would become a huge American land, sea and air force to face down Saddam and force him out of Kuwait.

Given the credible threat of Scud missile attacks on Israel, Dan immediately assigned me to coordinate our assessment and evaluation of what Saddam was likely to do in the event of a US-led attack, and what defense arrangements or Israeli military response would be necessary. We knew we'd be under strong pressure from the Americans to stay out of any war. Israeli involvement would be a political gift to Saddam, allowing him to convert a conflict over his aggression against an Arab neighbor into a "defense" against "Israeli occupation." But we had a primary responsibility to protect our citizens.

I was now working with a new Israeli government. After Shimon Peres tried and failed to topple the unity coalition in the spring of 1990, Shamir had formed a Likud-led government shorn of both Peres and Rabin. Misha Arens was again Minister of Defense. I began preparing regular, fortnightly reports for him, Dan and Prime Minister Shamir. Within days of the invasion, I produced my initial assessment. The bottom line was that we had to assume there would be a war. It was impossible to imagine the Americans would commit hundreds of thousands of troops and simply bring them home again, unless Saddam succumbed and retreated. I was equally certain Saddam would use his Scuds against us. He'd figure the benefits of trying to bring Israel into the conflict far outweighed the risk of retaliation. But I was "nearly 100 per-cent sure" he wouldn't use chemical warheads, since that would almost guarantee an Israeli military

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response, or an American one, on an incomparably greater scale. It would also totally isolate Saddam internationally and end any chance of peeling off Arab support for the Americans.

It was my *nearly* 100-per-cent caveat that prompted a tense debate within the cabinet. Even if the probability of a chemical attack was microscopic, *any* risk of civilians being subjected to terror, panic and very possibly agonizing death meant that the government had to take precautions. The obvious first step would be to distribute gas masks. But in a series of meetings with Misha and Dan, I emphasized this was not a decision that could be taken in isolation. By handing out gas masks, we might actually raise the probability of a chemical attack. We also had to make sure as a matter of urgency that we had a workable *military* option to attack Iraq's Scud launchers.

By early November, I was dealing both with plans for distributing the gas masks and preparations for a possible military operation. So when I got a call asking me to report to Shamir's office in Jerusalem, I assumed he wanted to talk about Iraq. "How are things?" he asked. But when I began by filling him in on the plans to distribute the gas-masks, he interrupted me. "I called you here," he said, "because I wanted you to know that we've decided that when Dan leaves next April, we want you to replace him as chief-of-staff." Briefly and unusually tongue-tied, I said: "Thank you, Prime Minister". The news was made public the next morning. A few days later, it was ratified by the government. There was only one vote against, from a *former* chief of staff who was now Shamir's Agriculture Minister: Raful Eitan.

I was one of rare instances in all my years in the army when I took a step back, appreciating a moment which felt special. It was not only, or even mainly, a matter of a personal ambition fulfilled. More a sense that I was being given the opportunity to apply everything I'd experienced and learned in the army, from the day I first joined Sayeret Matkal as an 18-year-old, to improve the security and safeguard the future of Israel. I know that sounds corny. But, while the momentum toward war in Iraq almost immediately crowded out everything else again, that was truly how I felt.

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By mid-December 1990, war was virtually certain. Misha and I had been to Washington in September and agreed with the Americans that, unless we were attacked by Saddam, we would stay out of it. To do otherwise was clearly not just against the US-led coalition's interests. Given the importance of our alliance with Washington, it was against our inrerests as well. Yet with hostilities obviously getting closer, Misha phoned Defense Secretary Dick Cheney a few days later to remind him of the *quid pro quo*: we would be kept fully in the loop about the details and timing of the initial American air strikes. At around five o'clock on the afternoon on January 16, 1991, Misha got a call from Cheney. He said "h-hour" would be at seven that evening Washington time. Three a.m. in Israel.

Though we hoped to stay out, I'd now spent months coordinating and overseeing preparations to ensure we could attack Saddam's Scuds if necessary. By far most of the missiles were mounted on mobile launching vehicles, and Saddam was almost certainly going to be firing them from the vastness of Iraq's western desert. That meant an Israeli air strike alone wouldn't work. We decided on a joint air and ground operation, built around a newly created air-mobile division and other special units. A force of 500 to 600 soldiers would take control of key areas and road junctions in western Iraq and start hunting and destroying, or at least impeding, the Scud launchers.

We also engaged in secret diplomacy in the hopes of reducing one of the obvious risks in such an attack: a conflict with Jordan, which we'd have to overfly to reach Iraq. The Mossad had a unit called *Tevel*, a kind of shadow foreign ministry for states with which we had no formal relations but with which, in both side's interests, we had a channel of backdoor communications. It was headed by Ephraim Halevy, a London-born Israeli who had come to Palestine in 1948 as a teenager. He had built up a personal relationship with King Hussein, and now arranged for us to meet him at a country residence which the king had in Britain.

A few weeks before the war, I boarded a private jet to London along with Halevy and Prime Minister Shamir. Shamir had never met the king before and nor, of course, had I. But we didn't talk about the forthcoming meeting on the five-hour flight. Instead, Shamir opened up in a way I'd never seen: about his childhood as part of a relatively well-off family in Poland; his love of literature, and of the Bible. In a way, it reminded me of how my father had spoken to me when I was growing up – minus the "well-off family" part.

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When we got to Hussein's country home, we were greeted by an impressively self-assured man in his late 20s who, like Hussein, had studied at Britain's military academy in Sandhurst and then gone on to Oxford. It was Abdullah, the king's son and later his successor, and he explained that he would be in charge of handling security for the talks. For a few hours in the afternoon, we held preliminary discussions, and I presented our assessment of the challenges and options facing all the different players in the crisis. Then we retired to a dinner at which – despite the royal china, crystal and silverware – the atmosphere was also surprisingly informal.

The main meeting came the next morning. Both sides recognized the seriousness of the issues we had to discuss. Shamir began with the one we assumed would be the least difficult. Israel was on a heightened state of military alert, prompted by Iraqi reconnaissance flights over Jordan, and the likelihood the Iraqis were also hoping to get a look at our main nuclear research and development facility in the nearby Negev. It was important to ensure this didn't lead to an unintended conflict between us and the Jordanians. While the king was careful to steer clear of any detailed comment on the Iraqi moves, he made it clear that he understood our concern about stumbling into an Israeli-Jordanian conflict and agreed that we had to avoid doing so.

Yet the issue of *our* overflights, if we needed to attack the Scuds, was more sensitive. We said that if we did have to cross into Jordanian air space, we would find whatever way the king suggested to make it as unobtrusive as possible. We raised the possibility of using a narrow air corridor. His response was not hostile, but it was firm. This was an issue of Jordanian sovereignty, he told us. He could not, and would not, collaborate in any way with an Israeli attack on another Arab state. It was Ephraim who tried to find a way around the apparent stalemate. He suggested Shamir and the king withdraw to speak alone, ad they met for nearly an hour. When Shamir emerged, clasping the king's hand and thanking him for his hospitality, he turned to us and said: "OK. We're going home."

He didn't tell us exactly what Hussein said. In the few sentences with which he described the talks on the flight back, he said that, as a sovereign, Hussein could not order his forces to ignore Israeli planes. But he added: "I assume there will be no war with Jordan." I took that to mean there might well be an attempt to intercept our jets, with the risk that either we or they might end up with one of our planes shot down, but that the king would use his authority and experience to ensure this didn't lead to a wider confrontation.

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The Israeli public's concern over a possible Iraqi attack was growing by the day, in part because of the precautionary measures we'd taken. We had handed out gas masks to the whole country. Though I'd been concerned that might raise the prospect of a chemical attack, I still thought a chemical strike was highly unlikely. The government rightly decided that *not* distributing the masks would betray a fundamental responsibility to the safety of our citizens. We'd also issued instructions about how to equip a room, usually the shelter included in nearly every Israeli home, as a *cheder atum*, or "sealed room" to keep gas from getting in. The Israeli media was full of speculation about the likely effects of a chemical attack. Many families had begun panic buying of food and other necessities to prepare for the possibility of days and nights in their sealed shelters.

In my report for Dan, Misha and Shamir a few weeks before the war, I drew on systematic analysis by a team of experts in the Israeli air force and made my most specific estimate yet of the damage conventionally armed Scuds might cause. We had gone back into historical accounts of the closest equivalent: the Nazis' use of V-1 and V-2 rockets against London in the Second World War. Given Saddam's primary need to fight Americans, and the likelihood either they or we would take military action against the launchers, we concluded we'd be hit by roughly 40 missiles, and that, based on Britain's wartime experience, up to 120 Israelis might lose their lives as a result.

The first air-raid sirens wailed in Israel at about 2 a.m. on January 18, 1991, almost exactly 24 hours after the Americans began their bombing raids over Baghdad. I was home in Kochav Yair. Like other Israelis, we'd set up a sealed shelter. Though I felt a bit silly doing it, having assured the government Saddam was vanishingly unlikely to use chemical warheads, we woke up the kids and Nava took them inside. I put on my own gas mask. But when I ran out to my car, I removed my mask and put it on the passenger's seat before heading in to the *kirya*. I wanted to get there quickly enough so that the *bor*, the underground command bunker, wouldn't have to reopened when I arrived. I took a short-cut, through the West Bank town of Qalqilya. That was, to put it mildly, stupid. Although the *intifada* had become steadily less intense during the build-up to the war, it wasn't completely over. Within seconds, my black sedan was being

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pelted with stones by a half-dozen Palestinian youths. I thought to myself: this is nuts. One of Saddam's Scuds might well be about to hit Israel, and I've got myself stuck in the middle of a West Bank town. To the obvious shock of the Palestinians, I floored the accelerator and raced toward Tel Aviv. It still took half-an-hour. Misha and Dan, who lived closer to the *kirya*, were already in the bunker.

Ten Scuds hit near Tel Aviv and Haifa that night. It was not until shortly before dawn that our tracker units got back to us with formal confirmation that there had been no chemical warheads. The rockets caused a half-dozen injuries, though thankfully none was serious. Still, the very fact Saddam had proven he could hit Israel with ballistic missiles provoked widespread alarm. Well into the next morning, the streets were almost empty. Misha phoned Cheney and strongly implied we were going to have to attack the Scud sites. I know that was Misha's own view, and it only hardened after another four missiles hit the Tel Aviv area the next morning. Again, no one was killed, but several dozen people were injured from debris, shards of glass and blast concussion. I visited several of the areas that had been hit and was shocked by the scale of the damage. One four-story apartment building had been virtually destroyed, and there was blast damage to other buildings hundreds of yards away.

The Americans were clearly determined, in both word and deed, to persuade us not to take military action. They rushed an anti-missile system called Patriot to Israel. Cheney was also giving us frequent updates on American air strikes against suspected Scud launch sites. And the Israeli public did seem to grasp the serious implications for the US-led coalition of our taking unilateral military action. Opinion polls suggested most Israelis were giving Shamir credit for the way he was handling the crisis.

Still, it wasn't easy for Shamir to hold the line. This was the first time since 1948 that enemy munitions had landed on Israeli homes, provoking not just fear, but a feeling of helplessness. That inevitably led to calls for the army and the government to *do something*. I saw his dilemma first-hand at an emergency cabinet meeting after the first two Scud attacks. For Arik and Raful, the political effects on the US coalition were irrelevant. The issue, for them, was simple: Israeli cities had been attacked, and we should respond with any and all force necessary. Our air force commander, Avihu Ben-Nun, favored going ahead with the joint and-and-ground attack we'd prepared, and Misha agreed with him. So did Dan Shomron. The key voices of caution were Foreign Minister David Levy; Ariye Deri, the leader of the Sephardi Orthodox party Shas; and two

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young Likud politicians, Dan Meridor and Ehud Olmert, with whom I had become friendly. They, like me, were concerned about undermining the Americans' military and diplomatic coalition.

Shamir mostly listened, until very near the end. He then asked Dan Meridor, Misha and me to join him in a separate room. He asked each of us for our views. Misha, even more strongly then in front of the full cabinet, argued that we could not allow night after night of missile attacks without responding. Meridor reiterated his opposition, stressing the damage we'd risk doing to the Americans' war effort by possibly weakening Arab support for their attack on Saddam. When Shamir turned to me, I said that if the government did decide on military action, we were ready. From a purely military and security point-of-view, I said, an attack made absolute sense. Even if we didn't succeed in destroying, or even finding, the mobile launch sites, putting a military force on the ground would almost surely lead to a dramatic reduction in the number of Scud launches. But, echoing Meridor, I added that a military response would carry a *price* in our relationship with the Americans. My view was that, at least for now, we should hold off.

When we rejoined the meeting, Shamir rapped his hand on the table. In the startled silence that followed, he said he shared many ministers' urge to hit back against the Scuds. But he said: "*At this stage*, we're not going to do anything. We bite our lips and wait."

Three nights later, his resolve was stretched almost to breaking point. Missiles landed in the Tel Aviv suburb of Ramat Gan, and nearly 40 homes were damaged. A three-story house was flattened. In all, nearly 100 people were injured, and three elderly residents died of heart attacks. On the night of January 25, another seven Scuds hit. Nearly 150 apartments were badly damaged, and a 51-year-old man was killed. The pressure on Shamir was all the greater because the Ramat Gan attack had come within range of one of the Americans' Patriot batteries. The Patriots had been originally designed not as anti-missile weapons, but to attack aircraft, and they seemed to have been ineffective. Nor were American air strikes in Iraq stopping the Scuds. Though American jets had taken out a few fixed launch sites, they were having no luck with finding and destroying mobile launch vehicles.

Even Shamir now felt that unless the Americans got the mobile launchers, we would have to attack military action. I was sent to Washington along with Misha and David Ivri, a former air force commander, to deliver that message to the Bush administration. From the first days after Saddam's attack on Kuwait,

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I'd been impressed by President Bush's political acumen in assembling an international coalition including the key Arab states. Through Unit 8200 in military intelligence, we would only very occasionally get verbatim transcripts of his conversations as he brought first the Saudis and other Gulf states on board, then Morocco, and eventually even Syria. More often, I'd see the President's deft diplomacy second-hand, through intercepts of Arab leaders' communications with one another. But the picture which emerged was of an American president deftly able to stake out common ground, and common interests, with each of the Americans' growing number of anti-Saddam allies.

When we entered the Oval Office on the evening of February 11, Bush was flanked by Secretary of State Baker, Defense Secretary Cheney and national security adviser Brent Scowcroft. Also there was Colin Powell, a general whom I had got to know well, and to like, over the past few years and who was now head of the joint chiefs-of-staff. Given the seriousness of our mission, the start of the meeting was almost surreal. The Americans had obviously been told that I was born on February 12. Since it was just past midnight in Israel, they began by wishing me a happy 49th birthday.

Yet pleasing thought that was, it became clear there was a disconnect between the tension among Israeli government ministers, and ordinary Israelis, back home and the relaxed, self-assured, at times even jovial mood of the President and his inner circle. Their primary focus was clearly not on Israel, but on the overwhelming success of their air attacks on Iraq and the approach of a ground offensive that they were confident would finish the job. That didn't seem to change even after a truly extraordinary interruption to our meeting, when one of Misha's aides passed on the news that a Scud had struck the Tel Aviv suburb of Savyon, where Misha himself lived. He immediately excused himself and went to phone his wife, Muriel, to confirm she was fine. When he returned, despite their *pro forma* words of empathy, it seemed almost as if the Americans thought we had cooked up the entire thing for political effect.

Bush did say the right things as the discussion turned to the missile attacks on Israel. He told us he understood our frustration, and the pain the Scud launches were inflicting. He appreciated our restraint. I have no doubt that all of that was true. But the message we'd been sent to deliver clearly wasn't hitting home. As politely but as clearly as I could, I told President Bush that while we didn't want to do anything to undermine the coalition, unless someone else took care of the Scuds, we would have no choice but to act.

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The President responded by suggesting we go to the Pentagon and talk in greater detail about how, for both our countries' benefit, that could be avoided. When we convened in Secretary Cheney's office, I delivered the same message, but more forcefully. I felt it was essential not only to make it clear we serious about taking action, but that we had the military *capability* to do so. So I told Secretary Cheney and Colin what we were planning. I said we intended to launch a combined air and ground assault by an air-mobile force and our best paratroop units. At that point, Colin, who was clearly worried, suggested the two of us withdraw to speak "soldier to soldier." We retreated to his office. Spreading out a map of western Iraq, I went into greater detail, explaining how we would remain in the Iraqi desert on a search-and-destroy mission against the mobile launchers. Colin stressed the efforts the Americans were making from the air, and the commitment they'd shown to Israel. Not only had they delivered the Patriots. They had allocated their best fighter jets, F-15E's, to the task of taking out the Scuds. It helped that he and I had got to know and respect each other, so it wasn't an all-out argument. But I reiterated that if the Scud attacks kept up, we would have to act. "We *will* act," I said. For a few seconds, he said nothing. But as we headed back to join the others, he told me that only a few hours ago, he had briefed American commanders on an anti-Scud operation by "allied forces" like the one we were planning. "It will happen," he assured me. "Within 48 hours."

That task fell to Britain's SAS. The operation was almost exactly the same as the one we'd planned. A force of nearly 700 commandos was helicoptered in to Iraq's western desert, equipped with Jeeps and Land Rovers, and anti-tank missiles and laser targeting capability. They were also able to call on attack helicopters and F-15 jets if necessary. The operation did not prove easy, quick, or entirely successful. The British troops blocked the main roads and patrolled them. But they did not find or destroy a single mobile launcher. They ended up in gun battles with Iraqi troops. The SAS lost something like two dozen men. Five were part of a group that got separated from the others and ended up freezing to death in the February cold. All of the men risked their lives, with incredible determination and bravery, in an operation to secure the safety of Israel's civilian population. And I have no doubt that the outcome, like the plan, would have been almost identical if we had done it ourselves.

And it *did* have an effect. As I'd told Prime Minister Shamir when briefing him on our attack plan, the very fact of a military presence on the ground made a dramatic difference. The number, accuracy and impact of the Scuds dropped off steeply. A few missiles kept coming, however. Since we did not yet have a

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fully detailed picture of the progress of the SAS action, skeptics and hawks in the cabinet were inclined to see a glass half-empty. They continued to press for Israeli military action.

In a rare public statement, I tried to reassure the country we did have a military option, but also to urge restraint. I pointed out that the number of Scuds had begun decreasing. Though the threat had not been eliminated altogether, we had "very good operational plans" that would be "carried out when and if the Israeli government instructs us to implement them." Yet I added a caveat. "On the political level, fingers are itching to carry out operations which, in our opinion, can remove the threat. But in the complex situation created by this war, neither anger, hurt, nor itchy fingers can replace rational thinking."

The American ground invasion did turn out to be swift and decisive. In Israel, Scud attacks continued for a few more days. But the last two missiles fell in the Negev before dawn on February 25, among the very few to cause neither casualties nor damage. We turned out to have been right in our pre-war assessment about the number of missiles: around 40. Fortunately, the casualties were far fewer than we'd anticipated. Not 120 dead, but fifteen, only one of whom died directly because of a missile blast. The other deaths were the result of understandable panic: the misuse of gas masks or the gas antidote drug atropine, or from respiratory and cardiac failure. The physical damage, however, was far greater than I'd anticipated. Buildings were destroyed. Cars were crushed. Glass and debris flew everywhere. In financial terms, the cost ran to hundreds of millions of dollars. The true impact was greater: on families who saw the destruction not only their homes, but a lifetime of prized possessions. For Holocaust survivors in particular, there was the almost unimaginable terror of having to huddle in sealed rooms for fear of gas. And all Israelis had experienced a new sense of vulnerability to a faraway enemy whom they couldn't see nor, apparently, stop.

* * *

I was due to become Israel's 14th chief-of-staff at the start of April, barely a month after the last Scud attack. As the handover drew nearer, I felt fortunate, in a way, to have missed out on the job four years earlier. Not only had Dan excelled as *ramatkal*. I'd benefited from his range of experience, his judgment, and his trust as well. We had worked together truly as a team.

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I was grateful not only to Shamir for naming me chief-of-staff, but to Rabin and Misha. Both had honored the assurance Yitzhak had given me that I'd be Dan's successor. I also discovered Misha had played an even greater role than I'd assumed. I knew there would be other candidates for the job. The strongest turned out to be Yossi Peled, who was the head of the northern command and possessed the undoubted credentials to be an excellent chief-of-staff. What I hadn't been aware of was the sentiment among some in the Likud that I was the wrong choice *politically*. Not only had been born on a Labor kibbutz. There was the small matter of the article in *Hadashot* several years earlier, imagining me as a Labor leader going head-to-head in a future election against Bibi Netanyahu for the Likud.

Yossi was assumed to be more of a Likudnik, and a few weeks before Dan left office, I learned how Misha had rebutted the suggestion I was politically unfit to lead the armed forces. He was visiting the north and was taken aside by a group of Likud activists who asked how he could possibly be thinking of supporting *Barak* – a Labor guy – for chief-of-staff. At first, Misha didn't reply. But one woman kept pressing him.

"Do you have children in the army?" he asked.

"Yes. I have a son in the Golani Brigade," she replied proudly.

"So let's assume your son is going on a raid across the border. Would you want his company to be led by the best commander in the battalion? Or by a commander who's Likud?"

"The best commander, of course," she said.

To which Misha said: "Well we do, too."

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Chapter Fifteen

On the morning of April 1, 1991. I got up even earlier than usual, to visit the graves of the men who had lost their lives in my battalion in the Yom Kippur War. I also went to pay my respects to Uzi Yairi, killed when he'd rushed from his desk in the *kirya* to join the Sayeret Matkal attack at the Savoy Hotel. Then Nava and I drove to Jerusalem. At Israel's national military cemetery on Mount Herzl, we stood before the resting place of Nechemia Cohen, Yoni Netanyahu, Dado, and Avraham Arnan. From there, we went to the Prime Minister's office. With Dan Shomron and his wife looking on, Shamir presented me with my third star and formally made me chief of staff.

For years, I'd developed the habit of carrying around a notebook in which I'd jot down thoughts on things I thought that the Israeli military, and I as an officer, could have done better: errors, oversights, and how we might fix them. In the weeks before becoming *ramatkal*, I'd filled dozens of pages on issues large and small I hoped to address as the commander of the armed forces. A lot of them dealt with what I sensed was an erosion of cohesiveness in the army, and, since ours was a citizen military, a fraying of the relationship between the army and Israeli society. To some degree, this was inevitable in a country now nearly 45 years old: developed economically and free of the kind of existential threat we'd faced in the early years of the state. But the political divisions over the war in Lebanon, and morale-sapping need to quell the violence on the West Bank and in Gaza had further strained our unity of purpose.

Militarily, we were now indisputably strong enough to defeat any of the Arab armies, even if they launched a joint attack as in 1973. Our most important overseas ally, the United States, was committed to helping us retain that position – what both we and they called Israel's "qualitative edge" – in the interest of our security and their own. But we were facing a series of new, *unconventional* challenges. One of them, which had come on to Dan Shomron's and my radar over the past year, was Iran. Though geographically distant, it was potentially the most serious in the longer run, as Dan himself warned Israelis in his final interview as chief of staff. Iran was likely to become even more assertive regionally now that the Gulf War had weakened its neighbor and rival, Iraq. We also knew, from our intelligence sources, that the Iranians were making preliminary efforts to develop a nuclear weapon.

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Yet the most immediate security concerns were right next door. In Lebanon, Hizbollah fighters were being armed and financed by the Iranians and by Syria as well. They were mounting increasingly effective operations against the Israeli troops we'd left in the security zone. Even closer to home, Palestinian attacks on both troops and civilians, though on nowhere near the scale of the first months of the *intifada,* showed no sign of ending. I had my own views on both. In Lebanon, I still believed we should pull out all our troops and focus our security arrangements on what really mattered: protecting the citizens of northern Israel. As for the lessons to be learned from the intifada, my view that we needed a political dialogue had inadvertently become public, from remarks I made in Moshe Dayan's honor at a memorial event a few months before becoming chief of staff. "We are currently in a struggle with the Palestinians – a long, bitter and continuing struggle," I said. "A people cannot choose its neighbors. But we will have to talk to the Palestinians about matters, especially about issues that are vital to them."

Still, I was the commander of the armed forces, not a politician. Though all chiefs of staff had political influence, if only as part of the decision-making process on all major security questions, making *policy* was for our elected government. My main focus was on how to improve the military's fitness to respond. I'd lived through, and more recently fought in, all of Israel's wars. I felt that we had yet to apply some of the critical lessons from those conflicts. Leading tanks into battle against the Egyptians' deadly Sagger missiles in 1973, and a decade later watching whole Israeli armored columns stalled and attacked by small bands of PLO fighters or Syrian commandos in Lebanon, had hardened my conviction that Israel needed a leaner, more mobile army, with more specialised strike units, as well as more easily targeted, less vulnerable weapons systems. I wanted to shift the emphasis to weaponry that relied on Israel's strengths in new technology, invention and engineering. In a sense, this was the macroscopic equivalent of one of the guiding principles of Sayeret Matkal: brains, not just brawn.

While cost-saving wasn't the catalyst, I did realize that a change in strategy would mean a change in how we allocated our resources. When Israel bought its first Mirage jets from France in the 1960s, they cost about a million dollars apiece. The price tag of an F-16 was now closer to *fifty* million dollars. The cost of a tank had increased tenfold. I wasn't going to deprive the air force of state-of-the-art aircraft, key to our ability to fight and win a war. But while we still needed a strong armored corps, it was important to realize that units like the

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new air mobile division we'd planned to use against Saddam's Scud launchers were likely to be a lot more important than tank formations in future conflicts.

Six days into the job, I called together every officer in the army, from the rank of lieutenant-colonel up. I said we needed to remind ourselves of the army's purpose: to protect Israel's security and, if a war came, to win it. My budgetary rule of thumb over the next four years would be simple: anything that didn't directly contribute to that mission was expendable. In fact, I put it a bit more bluntly: "We need to cut anything that doesn't shoot."

My first attempt failed utterly. I proposed to close, or sell off, the army's radio station, *Galei Tzahal*. Running it cost serious money. If we were going to cut everything that didn't shoot, it was an obvious candidate. But what I failed to take into account was its popularity with the listening public. Although other radio stations had opened recently, for many years it had been the only major alternative to the state-funded Kol Yisrael. It also provided a training ground and employment feeder for future journalists. *Galei Tzahal*'s alumni included some of the country's top media figures, and more than a few members of the Knesset. Within weeks, a lobbying effort was underway to "save" the station. I went to see Misha. He agreed that, from a military and budgetary standpoint, closing it was the right thing to do. But in an early lesson in how different politics were from the army, he told me that *politically*, it simply wasn't going to fly. "Drop it, Ehud," he said. So I did.

Still, I did end up fundamentally retooling the armed forces during my time as chief of staff. We developed agile new strike forces and high-precision, high-tech weapons systems with "stand-off" munitions designed to be fired from many miles away. In the 1973 war, and for the decade or two that followed, Saggers, and the US-made TOW missiles that Israel acquired after the war, had the capability to transform a battlefield. Now, Israeli developers came up with small, ground-launched missiles that could take out a tank from five to 10 miles away, even without a direct line of sight to the target. Of even more long-term military significance, I pushed ahead with developing pilotless drones – so-called UAVs – making us the first army in the world to produce and deploy them.

Yet for a security challenge like the intifada, even the most advanced stand-off munitions or UAVs offered no practical answer. The latest stage in the violence involved knife attacks by Palestinians against Israeli civilians, both on West Bank settlers and inside Israel. Days after I took over, a 26-year-old from Gaza, wielding a butcher's knife and shouting *Alahu Akhbar*, killed four people,

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including a kindergarten teacher, in Jerusalem. On the morning of May 24, 1992, a 15-year-old Israeli schoolgirl named Helena Rapp was on her way to catch the bus to school south of Tel Aviv, when another Gazan stabbed her to death. To the extent Israelis were looking for someone to blame, there were obvious candidates. The army, the primary defense against the intifada, was one. The police even more so, since many of the attacks were now taking place inside Israel. And in ugly rioting after Helena Rapp's murder, bands of Israelis took to the streets, some of them yelling: "Death to the Arabs". Still, most people understood that criticizing the army or the police, or going on a rampage against "the Arabs" – hundreds of thousands of whom were Israeli citizens and had lived among us since the birth of the state – would not help. Most, in fact, placed the blame, and lodged their hopes, with the government.

By the time of the next election, in June 1992, the combination of Palestinian violence and the still-traumatic memories of Saddam's Scuds, left Israelis doubtful that Shamir could fulfil the most basic responsibility of government: ensuring their day-to-day security. Labor had once again placed its electoral fortunes in the hands of Yitzhak Rabin, following Peres's several failed attempts to lead the party back into power. Knowing that Rabin had a record of military command unmatched in Israeli politics, Labor strategists did not so much need to convince voters as to reinforce their fears and frustrations. One of the campaign slogans, a direct appeal to the anger over the stabbing of Helena Rapp, was "Get Gaza out of Tel Aviv!" Labor ended up gaining five Knesset seats, and now had 44. The Likud lost eight and was left with only 32.

That meant that my last three years as chief of staff would be with Rabin back as Prime Minister – and, like Ben-Gurion before him, as Defense Minister as well. He and I had been in touch only occasionally since his departure from the unity-coalition government two years earlier. But I had, of course, spoken with him after my appointment as *ramatkal*, in which he'd played an important part. Though he was 20 years older than me, our relationship had become steadily closer over the years, especially when I'd worked with him as Defense Minister. In some ways, we were alike. We'd both been forged by Labor Zionism. We were career military officers, uncomfortable with flights of political rhetoric and convinced that Israel's security and its future depended less on words than on action. In large groups especially, both of us tended to be men of a few words. Over the next few years, we would become even closer, speaking not only in the *kirya* or at Yitzhak's office in Jerusalem, but also, with Nava and Leah, around the dinner table at Rabin's apartment in Tel Aviv.

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But there were times of crisis, and high tension, as well. Only five months after the election, Rabin and I faced one of the most painful periods during my entire time as chief of staff. It began with the gruesome death of five Sayeret Matkal soldiers during a training exercise in the Negev desert. I'd made preventing such accidents a top priority. By the end of the 1980s, they were claiming as many as 80 lives a year. During Dan's tenure, we'd brought the number down to about 35. But I knew we had to do more. When I'd addressed the officers after becoming chief of staff, I told them: "Parents are giving us their children in order to allow us to protect the country. They know there is risk involved. But they expect their children not to be brought home in coffins because of our own negligence, or stupidity." What happened at the military base of Tze'elim in the Negev on November 5, 1992 was not only a reminder of how far we still had to go, however. It occurred during a dry run for an operation unlike any that Israel had ever considered. For that and other reasons, it would erupt into a major political controversy.

Though the reason for the exercise was meant to have remained a closely guarded secret, foreign newspaper reports in the weeks after the training accident made secrecy impossible. We were planning to infiltrate a Sayeret Matkal unit into Iraq, and to kill Saddam Hussein.

The Gulf War had blunted any immediate threat from Iraq. But Saddam had proven he could launch missiles into the heart of Israel. We knew from our intelligence reports that, in addition to his unabated desire to acquire nuclear arms, he retained facilities to produce chemical weapons. He was trying to acquire and develop new biological weapons. In fact, the Iraqis had actually acknowledged a biological weapons program to UN inspectors, claiming it was for "defensive purposes."

The idea for an attack on Saddam had first been raised a year earlier, when my former Sayeret Matkal comrade, Amiram Levin, asked to see me. He was between military postings, but had come up with the outline of a plan he felt would allow us to isolate Saddam during a public appearance and kill him. With my approval, he and a small group of officers in the sayeret began working further on the idea, with the initial aim of seeing whether it was really workable. Since Misha was still Defense Minister, I briefed him on what we were doing. I

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also briefed Rabin after the election. At that stage, there was no discussion of whether we actually would, or should, target Saddam. I asked Misha, and then Yitzhak, only whether such an operation might seriously be considered by the government. If not, I said, we'd drop it. Both replied that we should go ahead with the planning and preparation. The November 1992 exercise was intended as a final test of its viability – before deciding whether actually to do it.

A few weeks earlier, Rabin and I had talked through the arguments for and against. The arguments *against* it were obvious. Yes, in the past we had abducted, or even killed, leaders of groups involved in terror attacks. But we'd never contemplated targeting a head of state. Crossing that line risked being seen not just as attacking a dictator with a record of ruthlessness and murder at home, and aggression towards Israel, but long-accepted norms of international relations. The arguments in favour began with the fact that Saddam was a meglomaniacally ambitious dictator. He had also fired missiles on our towns and cities. He retained the capability to arm them with chemical warheads, possibly biological agents, and conceivably a nuclear warhead in the future. Both Rabin and I agreed there were two key tests of whether an attack would be justified: was it was the only realistic way of confronting the threat from Iraq, and would killing him end, or at least exponentially reduce, that threat.

Though there was no final decision at our meeting, Rabin was clearly inclined to go ahead. An Israeli TV program two decades later unearthed a summary of the discussion, written by his military aide. "The Prime Minister approves the target... This is an operation we should go for when the probability of success is very high," it said. "Thus, we have to build the operational capability in the best possible way, and continue preparations." In another part of the record, Rabin is quoted as having defined the elimination of Saddam as a "meaningful objective" with implications for "the very security of Israel." He added: "I do not see anyone similar to him in the Arab world."

I, too, was on balance persuaded we should do it. In the years since, I've sometime reflected on what happened with Saddam still in place: the 2003 invasion of Iraq, led by the younger President Bush, the tens of thousands of lives lost, the trillions of dollars spent on a war without any clear end, and the near-disintegration of Iraq. But with the complexities of Iraq then and now, there can be no simple answer to how the situation would have changed if we'd killed Saddam. Our view, based on detailed intelligence analyses, was that the likely result would have been a fairly rapid takeover by a few top security and Baath Party figures and that, while the new Iraqi leadership might try to retaliate

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with terror attacks, a major military response was highly unlikely. Saddam's successors were never going to be Zionists. But we were persuaded that his uniquely central role meant the threat to Israel would be dramatically reduced.

I'm much less sure whether the elder President Bush, whose election defeat to Bill Clinton came just two days before our final exercise in the Negev, would have agreed with the attack. After the victory in the Gulf War, Bush had deliberately stopped short of sending American forces on to Baghdad. He was also vice-president, under Reagan, when Israel had bombed Saddam's nuclear reactor – an attack publicly condemned by Washington. I did ask him some years ago whether the Gulf War might have been handled differently if Israel *hadn't* taken out Saddam's nuclear program a decade earlier. "What if he'd had a couple of crude nuclear devices," I said. President Bush smiled in response. He said he didn't deal with "hypotheticals."

Yet any idea of an Israeli attack on Saddam became instantly irrelevant once foreign media reports had disclosed the reason for our ill-fated military exercise in the Negev. Inside Israel, the focus, and the controversy, shifted to the accident itself.

The foreign media reports of the operation we were planning proved remarkably accurate. Some of the details still remain classified, but we were going to use one of our new "stand-off" weapons systems: a camera-guided missile that could be fired from a considerable distance away and, in coordination with one of the Sayeret Matkal soldiers nearer in, maneuvered in for the strike. After months of planning and intelligence work, we were confident that we'd found a way to get the sayeret unit into Iraq, target Saddam at an event we knew he would be attending, isolate and kill him with minimal danger of any other casualties, and get our unit out safely again. The Negev exercise was a run-through of the entire operation. It lasted nearly 48 hours. And it culminated in a simulation of the missile attack on Saddam.

I was there as an observer along with Amnon Lipkin, my deputy chief-of-staff; as well as the head of military intelligence, the head of operations and Amiram Levin. We assembled at dawn for the simulation of the missile attack. We watched from a few hundred yards away as a group of young Israeli soldiers walked into a wide area in front of us: posing as Saddam" and his entourage. We – and they – knew that this was just the first part of the exercise. In a Land Rover more than five miles away, a member of the sayeret strike unit would be confirming coordinates and, in rapid succession, "firing" two of the precision missiles. But this was just to confirm that the targeting system had worked

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perfectly. No missiles would actually be shot. This stage was for the telemetry. Once that was done, the soldier-actors would be replaced with wooden targets and the real munitions would be tested.

The young soldiers stated chatting to one another, and milling about, simulating as best we could the circumstances in which we expected to target Saddam if the operation got final approval. In theory, within a minute, two minutes at most, we would get word that the preliminary mock-firing sequence had gone perfectly – at which point the artillery-range targets would be brought in for the live test. But suddenly, there was an explosion. A split second of silence. Then pandemonium. There was no need to know, and no time to wonder, what exactly had gone wrong, or how it had been allowed to happen. It was obvious to all of us that the *live* missiles had been fired. We sprinted forward. When we got to the group of soldiers, we could see that four of the young men were dead. Another was fighting for his life. Several others were also wounded.

A sayeret medic and several senior officers were trying to save the most badly injured man, but I knew I needed to get military doctors and medical evacuation helicopters in immediately if we were to save the lives of the injured soldiers. I had a mobile phone, but couldn't get a signal. I ran toward a slightly higher area a few dozen yards away and managed to get through to the *kirya*. I issued orders for the nearby training base in Tze'elim and an air force near Beersheva to dispatch helicopters to treat and evacuate the wounded.

We heard the first chopper about 25 minutes later, but it seemed initially unable to see us, because it flew on before returning and landing two minutes later. By that time, a medical team from the base in Tze'elim had arrived. Ten minutes later, two other medevac choppers landed. But the soldier who had been worst wounded could not be saved. After the doctors had been there about 20 minutes, I again retreated to the area where I could get a mobile signal, and phoned Rabin to tell him what had happened. We agreed I should come back to brief him in detail. It was now about 50 minutes since the missiles had hit. The wounded were all being treated. One of the helicopters had taken off for Beersheva Hospital. Another two, including a heavier Sikorsky transport helicopter, were preparing to leave. I arranged for Amnon, military intelligence chief Shmuel Arad and me to return to the *kirya*. I told Amiram to stay until he had confirmed all the injured had been evacuated, and talk to everyone involved to get a preliminary idea of why and how the tragedy had happened.

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When I got back, we immediately met with Rabin and agreed on the need to launch a formal investigation. Rabin then asked me to brief the "editors club", a group of about 15 media figures that operated on a gentleman's agreement that there would be no publicity or leaks. He believed we should not make public the fact that I and other generals were there when the accident occurred. At this stage, we still hoped to hide the purpose of the exercise if possible, something Rabin knew would be harder if it was known the top military leadership had observed the exercise. When I briefed the editors' club, I did tell them in confidence that I'd been there. Though not specifying the reason for the exercise, I told them it was for a major operation. The time-honored understanding was that this information would go no further. But it did, presumably at first because of leaks by Israeli journalists, then in a series of detailed reports in the foreign press. Even more frustrating on a personal level, some of the Israeli reports insinuated that far from giving the editors the full story of who had been at the Negev exercise, that I'd tried to *hide* my presence in order to protect my reputation or shirk responsibility.

Two official inquiries followed: the one we'd agreed with Rabin and a standard army legal investigation. They found the cause of the tragedy to be a mix of fatigue after some of the soldiers had spent nearly 48 hours awake, pressure, confusion and negligence. Astonishingly, it turned out the codeword for the mock-firing of the missiles in the first stage of the exercise was the same as for the live missiles. Formal charges were brought against two Sayeret Matkal officers, and reprimands issued to Amiram Levin and Uri Saguy. I was also subject to criticism because, due to the unique complexity of the plan, I'd put Amiram and senior officers within Sayeret Matkal in charge of different aspects of the preparations. This was viewed as possibly reducing the clarity over who was ultimately responsible for each aspect of the planning. Neither I, nor of course Rabin, had played a direct role in what went wrong in the exercise itself. To the extent I'd been involved, it was to make sure the medical teams were helicoptered in, and that the injured soldiers were cared for and evacuated as soon as possible. But politically, the tragedy at Tze'elim would dramatically resurface for both me and Rabin several years later – after I'd left the military and was on the verge of joining his government.

I was getting to know Yitzhak much better. The Defense Minister's office in the *kirya* was just down the hall from mine. Almost without fail on Friday afternoons, he'd ask me in to chat before going home. We would sit around a low table in the corner of the room, each of us sipping coffee, or sometimes beer, and Rabin invariably puffing on a cigarette. He never raised questions of

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party politics. But we talked at length about Israel's immediate security concerns, as well as the country's longer-term challenges in finding its place in more stable, peaceful Middle East. How, over time, we might manage to extricate ourselves from the escalating violence with Hizbollah; reach a land-for-peace deal with the enigmatic President Hafez al-Assad in Syria; and find some form of coexistence with the Palestinians.

He also spoke about international politics. I remember one afternoon in the summer of 1992 when he mentioned the then US presidential candidate Bill Clinton. He'd met Clinton for the first time in Washington, after two days of talks with President Bush at his summer home in Maine. Rabin was naturally more comfortable dealing with Republicans. Almost all his experience in public life – as a military officer, ambassador to Washington, Defense Minister and Prime Minister – had coincided with Republican administrations. The irony was that he would go on to forge a much closer relationship with President Clinton than between any previous Israeli and US leader. But his first impression was more skeptical. "Clearly, Clinton is very intelligent," he said. "He is surprisingly sharp politically for someone his age. But also, I fear, a little bit too slick."

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We did not have long to focus on the lessons and implications of Tze'elim. For weeks before the training accident, a crisis had been building in south Lebanon, with a sharp escalation of the now-familiar mix of clashes inside our "security zone" and cross-border rocket attacks. Hizbollah was now armed not just with Katyushas but Saggers, American-made TOW anti-tank missiles and an increasingly sophisticated array of roadside bombs. A combination of Hizbollah attacks and "friendly fire" incidents or firearms accidents involving our troops meant that Israelis were still dying in Lebanon a decade after the formal end of the war. It was demoralizing for the Israeli public, for the soldiers who we rotated into the security zone and for the government as well. The difficulty was that it was also a situation that perfectly suited Hizbollah.

In late October, a Katyusha rocket had claimed the life of a 14-year-old boy in the northern Israeli town of Kiryat Shmona. Hizbollah escalated its rocket fire in the days that followed, forcing tens of thousands of residents into their shelters. Predictably, there was pressure from Likud politicians to hit back hard.

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Raful Eitan, who had founded a small right-wing party called Tsomet, went further. He called the attacks "an act of war" and said we should "respond in kind." We did move troops and tanks to the border. But my view, which Rabin shared, was that a major ground operation would risk miring ourselves more deeply without fundamentally improving the situation. Hizbollah was the kind of nonconventional enemy I had in mind when I'd taken stock of Israel's changing security imperatives on becoming chief of staff. It was a small force, entrenched and well armed, increasingly supported by Iran and Syria. Its tactics rested on quick-hit attacks on our soldiers in south Lebanon. Far from fearing military retaliation, Hizbollah knew that short of a 1982-scale war – and maybe even then – it would survive. It also didn't care whether Lebanese civilians died in the crossfire. In fact, like the PLO fighters who had controlled the area before 1982, Hizbollah deliberately fired into Israel from civilian areas.

Neither Rabin nor I had abandoned the idea of a large-scale military operation at some point, particularly if the cross-border rocket fire didn't subside, which for a while it did. But we were determined that, if and when we did decide to strike, we would avoid anything on the scale of the 1982 war. It would have to be with a clear, finite and achievable goal.

That point finally arrived in the summer of 1993. In addition to renewed Katyusha strikes, there was a series of deadly Hizbollah attacks in the first two weeks of July inside the security zone. Each used what was becoming the tactic of choice: a remotely detonated bomb by the side of the road on which our military vehicles were travelling, followed by an ambush of soldiers who survived the blast. Six Israelis had been killed in all, making it the largest monthly toll in three years. When I went to see Rabin with our plan for a military response, I recognized the risks. It would be the largest military operation in Lebanon since the war. But I believed we could limit civilian casualties, and that it was the only approach that might lead to a significant reduction in the missile attacks on northern Israel. I began with the assumption that, left to its own devices, Hizbollah would have no incentive to stop firing. Since the two Arab governments with the potential to rein in the attacks – Lebanon's and above all Syria's – were showing no interest in doing so, we had to find a way to hold them to account.

The operation I proposed was intended to send a message to Beirut and Damascus. It would not be a ground invasion as in 1982. Most of the attacks would be from the air, in two stages. The first would target Hizbollah, both in southern Lebanon and in the Bekaa Valley further north, near the border with

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Syria. We could halt at that stage, in the unlikely event Hizbollah showed signs of de-escalation. But if it didn't, the air strikes would intensify. The aim was not target the nearly 250,000 Lebanese civilians who lived in the immediate border area. It was to use our attacks, along with leaflet drops and radio messages, to encourage them to flee north. My assessment was that this would bring pressure on the Lebanese government and, through the Lebanese, on the real power in Lebanon, the Syrians. I doubted Damascus would respond directly by telling Hizbollah to cease fire. I did believe they'd be ready to engage with American efforts to stop the fighting, and that Rabin and the government could then secure terms we were prepared to accept.

On July 25, we began our heaviest air strikes since 1982. Far from producing a sign of a climb-down by Hizbollah, it responded with intensified rocket fire. We escalated over the following 24 hours, but still with no indication of any change from Hizbollah. So as planned, we expanded our bombing to wider areas of south Lebanon. Sadly, some Lebanese civilians were killed, which I'm sure was a much greater cause of concern to us than to Hizbollah. Thankfully, however, the majority fled north. In south Lebanon, this meant that our jets and artillery had much greater freedom of operation against Hizbollah, which had now lost its human shields. In Beirut, a government suddenly overwhelmed with the need to provide shelter for the large number of refugees from the fighting did press Syrian President Assad to help bring it to an end. Critically, the new Clinton Administration, especially Secretary of State Warren Christopher, reinforced that message.

Our military operation lasted just a week. It did *not* end Hizbollah attacks on Israeli troops in the security zone, something I think even most Israelis were coming to realize was impossible as long as our soldiers remained in Lebanon. But the rocket attacks on northern Israel did stop, with very few exceptions, for a period that lasted nearly two years.

The intifada, however, had not stopped. Nor, as I knew from my increasingly frequent meetings with Rabin, had the search for a way both to control the violence, and seek out any realistic prospect of a *political* path to resolving our conflict with our Arab neighbors.

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Rabin had inherited a peace process, put in motion by the Bush Administration after the Gulf War. But since both Prime Minister Shamir and our Arab enemies had reasons of procedure, politics or principle to resist the talks, merely getting them off the ground had required the same combination of deftness and determination President Bush had brought to assembling his wartime coalition and defeating Saddam. After a formal opening session in Madrid, the "bilateral tracks" – between Israel and negotiators from Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and the Palestinians – had quickly stalemated and stalled.

Yitzhak came to office saying he was not interested in a peace *process*, which seemed to him a license for endless talk with no set endpoint, but in *peacemaking*. Since I had the good fortune to be part of the informal inner circle with which he discussed the potential opportunities, pitfalls and frustrations along the way, I know that he wasn't assuming we could necessarily achieve a peace agreement with any of our neighbors. But after the twin shocks of the Lebanon War and the Scud missiles, he was concerned that Israel would retreat into a mix of political caution and military deterrence which he rightly believed was short-sighted. He believed we needed at least to try to seize a "window of opportunity" with those enemies who were at least open to compromise, if only because we were facing new threats from enemies for whom talk was not even an option. An increasingly assertive Iran, with nuclear ambitions, was one. But the intifada had also thrown up new Palestinian groups grounded not in nationalism, but fundamentalist Islam: Hamas in Gaza, which opposed Israel's presence on any part of "Muslim Palestine," and Islamic Jihad on the West Bank. And in Lebanon, we were confronting the Iranian-backed Shi'ite militia fighters of Hizbollah.

Each of us in the small group on whom Rabin relied for input on the peace talks brought something different to the mix. In addition to me, there were four other generals: Uri Saguy, the head of military intelligence; Gadi Zohar, in charge of civil administration for the West Bank and Gaza; my own former sayeret deputy, Danny Yatom, who was head of the central command; and Rabin's military aide, Kuti Mor. Also included were longtime political and media aide Eitan Haber, and another trusted political adviser thousands of miles away: Itamar Rabinovich, our ambassador in Washington and Israel's leading Syria expert. But I'm sure we weren't chosen just for our insights. It was

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because we were people with whom Rabin felt *comfortable* – a counterpoint, I suspect, to the old Labor Party rival whom he had made Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres. Though the two men had grown to respect each another over the years, Rabin neither trusted, nor much liked, Shimon. In fact, though Peres's support inside Labor had secured him the foreign ministry, Rabin had stipulated that all peace talks would remain under his control.

Yet as I'd discover nearly a decade later, when I was Prime Minister, even the most carefully planned negotiating strategies were always subject to setbacks, diversions, or simply what former British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan once called "events, dear boy, events." Rabin's initial plan was not to start with the Palestinians. He did feel it was essential to try to reach a political settlement with them. In one respect, the prospects looked slightly better than before. Arafat's political position had been weakened: first by an intifada driven as much by local insurgents as by the PLO in faraway Tunis, and then by his decision to break with his longtime Gulf Arab financial supporters and support Saddam Hussein the Gulf War. In 1988, as the entry price for a formal dialogue with the Bush Administration, he had also agreed to a statement in which he renounced terrorism and accepted the principle of a two-state peace agreement with Israel. Still, there remained a yawning gap between the "self-rule" envisaged in the Camp David accords of 1978 and the Madrid conference, and the independent state the Palestinians wanted. Negotiations to bridge it were likely to be fraught and long.

So he'd decided to begin with Syria. President Assad was obstinate, and publicly opposed to the idea of making peace with Israel. But he'd been in power for more than two decades and, crucially for Rabin, had lived up to the few, indirect agreements Israel had made with him. The *substance* in any agreement, though politically difficult, was also more straightforward. We knew what Assad wanted: the recovery of the Golan Heights, in return for the absolute minimum level of political normalization with Israel. We knew what we wanted: security guarantees and assurances regarding water resources, and a full and final peace treaty. For Rabin, there was an additional attraction in beginning with Syria: if we *did* reach a deal with our main Arab enemy, the pressure would intensify on the Palestinians to follow suit.

The dramatic turn of events that ultimately forced him to change tack began in January 1993 in the sitting room of a villa outside Oslo, at an ostensible "academic seminar" convened by the Norwegian diplomat Terje Larsen. It included two Israeli academics with personal ties to prominent Palestinians:

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Yair Hirschfeld, and the historian and former *Haaretz* journalist Ron Pundak. Three PLO officials were there, led by Arafat's closest economic aide, Abu Ala'a. Though both of the Israelis were friends of Yossi Beilin, a protégé of Peres and our deputy foreign minister, even Peres didn't know about the meeting until Yossi told him the following day. Rabin knew an hour later. I first learned of it from Uri Saguy, after Unit 8200 intercepted Arabic-language traffic concerning a briefing the Norwegians had given their Arab contacts. At first, even Peres was skeptical that the paper agreed at the "seminar" – calling for international aid to the West Bank and Gaza on the scale of the Marshall Plan, and an initial Israeli withdrawal limited to Gaza – would lead to serious negotiations. But Rabin authorized follow-up sessions in mid-February, late March and again in April. Our intelligence teams continued to provide detail, and occasional color. Uri Saguy and I even began to use the Arabic shorthand, from the intelligence reports, for the two Israeli academics. The burly, bearded Yair Hirschfeld was "the bear". The slighter Ron Pundak was "the mouse". Yet the main *political* impetus in driving the process forward came from two men who were not there: on our side, Yossi Beilin, and for the Palestinians, Arafat's trusted diplomatic adviser, and eventual successor, Mahmoud Abbas, or Abu Mazen.

Since Rabin knew I was following the ostensibly secret talks, we discussed them often. For quite a while, he remained dismissive. He believed the chances of a breakthrough were remote. He was also suspicious of the involvement of Peres and Beilin, whom he called "Shimon's poodle". And he deeply distrusted Arafat. The PLO had been founded with the aim of "liberating" every inch of Palestine. The fact that Arafat had agreed to the Bush Administration's demand to accept the principle of land-for-peace struck Rabin as mere sleight-of-hand.

By the third Oslo meeting, it was clear that the Palestinians were open to an agreement that would fall well short of "liberating Palestine". Still, Rabin was leery. He tried briefly to return the focus to the stalemated Madrid-track talks with the Palestinians. Yet when, with obvious PLO encouragement, the Palestinian negotiators stood their ground there, he seemed almost resigned to supporting Oslo. When we discussed it, he used a battlefield metaphor. "When you have to break through, you don't necessarily know where you'll succeed. You try several places along the enemy's lines. In the sector of the front where you *do* succeed, you send in your other forces." It was a matter of "reinforcing success."

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"It's the *opposite* in this case," I replied. "In a battle, the enemy is doing everything it can to stop you. When you break through, it's against their resistance. Here, the other side will choose to make it easiest for us in the place *it* prefers. If Arafat thinks he'll get more from the Bear and the Mouse than from the other talks, it's hardly a surprise we're finding that only Oslo seems to offer a way forward."

Rabin did make one more move, not so much in a bid to end the talks in Oslo as to slow them down and create a context more favorable for the kind of agreement he wanted. He shifted his attention to his original peacemaking priority: the Syrians. In an effort to remove a roadblock to even beginning serious talks, he offered the Americans what they would later call his "pocket deposit." He authorized Secretary of State Warren Christopher to tell Assad that *Washington's* understanding of our position was that, assuming all our own negotiating concerns were addressed, we accepted that peace with Syria would include withdrawing from the Golan. The formula was agreed in a meeting in Israel between Rabin and the Clinton Administration's Middle East negotiator, Dennis Ross. Rabin didn't tell Peres or other ministers about it, though Itamar Rabinovich did know. I did as well. Since acceptance of the need for a withdrawal had security implications, Rabin and I talked about it in detail before Ross's visit. We formulated the "deposit" together. We used an English acronym: IAMNAM, "if all my needs are met." The point was to convey to the Syrian president that if he addressed our requirements for a demilitarized zone and early warning facilities; non-interference with our critically important water sources; as well as a full peace including embassies, open borders and joint economic projects, we knew the trade-off would be to return the Golan.

It was by diplomatic accident that the Syrian overture went nowhere. The reason even the Americans had called our proposal a "pocket deposit" was that it was to be kept in the Christopher's pocket, to be pulled out as *an American understanding* of our position if he felt it might lead to a breakthrough. Our intelligence accounts of the Christopher-Assad talks, however, suggested it had been presented as a straight message from Rabin to the Syrian president, giving it the status of Israel's new, formal opening position in negotiations.

The distinction may seem minor. But for Israel, it mattered greatly. In any agreement with Syria – or, indeed, the Palestinians – there was bound to an imbalance. Both parts of a "land-for-peace" exchange were important. But land was not just the more tangible asset. Once given up, short of resorting to all-out war, there was no going back. The "peace" part of the equation was more

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difficult. Genuine peace, and trust, would inevitably take years to reach fruition. That was no mere academic problem in a conflict where, for decades, our enemies had defined Israel's mere existence as illegitimate. The reason for Rabin's reluctance to have his "deposit" presented as a set negotiating position was that it meant dealing away our only card – territory – before the hard questions about peace had been answered. When he phoned Christopher, I don't think I've ever heard him as angry. That was *not* what we agreed, he insisted. He said it had spoiled any prospect of serious negotiations on the *peace* side of the balance. Christopher didn't agree there had been any real damage, nor that Assad had failed to understand the context.

It might not have changed things anyway, since by this stage, the Oslo talks had almost completed a draft agreement. In mid-August, Rabin gave Peres the go-ahead to initial this "Declaration of Principles." It provided for a period of interim Palestinian self-government; the start of a phased Israeli withdrawal from Gaza and the West Bank with the creation of a Palestinian police force to deal with internal security; and a commitment to reach a full peace agreement within five years. In early September, ahead of the formal signing of the Oslo declaration, there was an exchange of "letters of recognition" between Arafat and Rabin. Arafat's letter also renounced "terrorism and other acts of violence" and declared invalid "those articles of the Palestinian Covenant which deny Israel's right to exist." A few days later, the signing ceremony was hosted by President Clinton in Washington. Thus emerged the famous photo of Rabin and Arafat shaking hands, on either side of Clinton, who was beaming, arms outstretched in conciliation. They say a picture is worth a thousand words. In this case, you needed barely a dozen. Rabin's demeanor, his posture, the look on his face, all seemed to say: "I would rather be shaking the hand of anyone on earth than Arafat." Still, the image was on front pages worldwide. The news stories spoke of a new spirit of hope. Now that these old enemies had grasped hands, surely a full peace agreement was within reach.

My feeling, as I watched it on TV in the *kirya*, was more guarded. I did hope for peace, of course. I also recognized that the signing on the White House lawn was just a beginning, and that my role would be to ensure that Israel's security needs were met under whatever formal peace agreement might eventually be reached. And the security omens were hardly encouraging. Despite Oslo, Palestinian attacks were continuing. Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and other dissident factions saw Arafat's concessions as treachery, and were setting out to drive home that point with violence.

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Yet as I approached my final year as chief of staff in early 1994, we were suddenly confronted by an appalling act of *Israeli* violence: mass murder, committed by a West Bank settler. Terrorism, no less than the worst Arab attacks on Israeli civilians. The settler was named Baruch Goldstein, a physician, who lived in Kiryat Arba. One of the first post-1967 Jewish settlements, it sat on a hill outside the West Bank town of Hebron. At the heart of Hebron lay the burial place of the patriarchs and matriarchs of the Jewish faith: Abraham and Sarah; Isaac and Rebecca; Jacob and Leah. Since Abraham is also revered as a prophet in Islam and a mosque had stood on the site for nearly a thousand years, our post-1967 arrangements set out separate times of worship for Muslims and Jews. Goldstein chose to attack during a holiday period for both faiths: Purim for the Jews and the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. He arrived shortly after the Muslims' Friday prayers began on the morning on February 25. He was dressed in his reserve army uniform and was carrying an automatic rifle. He opened fire on a group of nearly 800 Palestinian worshipers. He had killed 29 and wounded 125 others by the time several of his intended victims knocked him unconscious and beat him to death.

I rushed to Sde Dov airport in north Tel Aviv, a few minutes from the *kirya*, and boarded a helicopter for the old British fort near Hebron, used by the Jordanians until 1967 and now Israeli headquarters. After visiting the scene of the killings, I sought out local Palestinian leaders, to voice my condolences and the sense of outrage I shared over what had happened, and to urge them to do all they could to maintain calm. I then went to Kiryat Arba and conveyed the same message.

Our immediate task was to prevent more deaths, on either side. It was a frustrating, and violent, week. Protests reminiscent of the first days of the intifada erupted around the West Bank, in Gaza, in east Jerusalem and in several Arab neighborhoods and towns inside Israel. While I had no trouble understanding the Palestinians' anger, I also had a responsibility to prevent the violence spiraling out of control. We turned to the same tools we'd used at the beginning of the uprising – though with even greater emphasis on the need for soldiers to use the only the necessary force to restore order, and to avoid causing fatalities wherever possible. We closed off the West Bank. We imposed curfews

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on the main West Bank and Gaza towns and refugee camps. We also imposed a curfew on Kiryat Arba and, for the first time, were given the authority to use administrative detention orders not just against Palestinians, but specific Jewish settlers. We arrested about a half-dozen leaders of Kach, the far-right, anti-Arab political movement founded by the American Rabbi Meir Kahane, of which Baruch Goldstein had also been a member. Still, there were repeated clashes anyway – and dozens of deaths as a result – before things finally began to subside a week or so later.

The massacre had made me feel more strongly than ever that our responsibility to protect the security of the settlers could not extend to allowing them to defy the government or the law. The principle would be put to the test within a few weeks. A settlement near Hebron, called Tel Rumeida, had been set up without government approval in 1984. As part of the response to Goldstein killings, Rabin was thinking of closing it down. That prompted a number of right-wing rabbis to issue a formal religious ruling against any such action. Rabin called me in to ask whether it would be operationally possible to dismantle Tel Rumeida and remove the settlers. I said yes, by sending in a Sayeret Matkal force after midnight, as long as news of the operation did not leak ahead of time. "We'll take over the area, close it off and get control." Given the tensions in the wake of the massacre, I did add that I couldn't promise that our soldiers would hold fire. "There are people in there with weapons," I said. "If someone shoots at *them*, they will shoot back."

"*Should* I do it?" he asked me. Maybe I should have given him an answer. But I didn't feel it was my place to add to the pressures around what was clearly a finely balanced call, especially since my inclination would have been to tell him to go ahead. I said it was something only he could decide. "What I *can* tell you is that we can do it." When I left, my sense was that he was sufficiently angry over what had happened in Hebron that he felt it essential to draw a line – the line of law – over what settlers were allowed to do. But the Passover holiday was now a couple of days away. I think what happened is that he realized the operation would not be possible until after the holiday period. By then, he was concerned he would have lost the clear political logic for moving against Tel Rumeida. The settlement has remained in place, a flashpoint in the conflict between settlers and Palestinians in the area around Hebron.

The wider repercussions, and the controversy, from the massacre reverberated widely. Rabin and his cabinet immediately decided to establish an inquiry, under Supreme Court Chief Justice Meir Shamgar. It would look into

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every aspect of the killings – including any failings by the army, the Shin Bet, the police or other authorities that might have allowed the tragedy to happen. The commission interviewed dozens of witnesses, Israeli and Palestinian, in 31 separate sessions. I knew early on that the inquiry would throw up difficult issues. I was especially upset to learn that two soldiers and three border guards scheduled for guard duty at the mosque had shown up late on the morning of the killings. By the time I testified in late March, the inquiry had heard from a range of senior and local commanders and individual soldiers. A picture had emerged of a series of security breakdowns, equipment malfunctions, oversights and confusion around the site where the murders took place.

I did not try to dodge the fact that security lapses around the Cave of the Patriarchs that day had contributed to what happened. In addition to the fact that the guard unit was not at full strength until after the murders took place, several of the security cameras weren't working. I acknowledged that if the cameras and the guards had done their job, at the very least some lives might be have saved. Yet I also made the point that this specific act of *mass murder* was something the army could not have anticipated. I told the commissioners to remember that they were judging things after the fact. They *knew* how the tragedy had ended. In the context in which we were operating, the prospect of an Israeli settler, a reserve soldier, walking into a place of worship and deliberately killing defenseless Palestinians had come as "a bolt from the blue."

The commission's report did not apportion blame to any of the army officers or commanders. But an inescapable conclusion from the testimony of the many witnesses was that the way in which we'd become conditioned to viewing the settlers had blinded us to the kind of crime Goldstein had committed. Even before I testified, I'd been disturbed to hear soldiers saying that even if they had *seen* him shooting a Palestinian, their orders were not to open fire on a settler, so they wouldn't have intervened. When asked about this by the commission, I said it was a fundamental misunderstanding of our rules of engagement. "In no case is there, nor can there be, an army order that says it is forbidden to shoot at a settler even if he is shooting at others... A massacre is a massacre. You don't need special orders to know what to do."

Yet I also knew that the soldiers' "misunderstanding" was all too understandable. As I acknowledged to the inquiry, the army on the West Bank and Gaza was predisposed to see Palestinians who were carrying weapons as potential terrorists, especially since the outbreak of the intifada. The settlers, by contrast, were assumed to be carrying arms in self-defense. One lesson I took

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from the massacre was that the mix of Jewish settlers, some of whom felt they were on a messianic mission to resettle all of Biblical Israel, and restive Palestinians who wanted sovereignty and control over their own lives was potentially toxic, for both sides. Ideally, the process which had begun with Oslo might start to disentangle it, though I remained far from confident that anything resembling full peace would come any time soon.

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Rabin, and even more acutely Shimon Peres, believed it was important to press ahead with the opening phase of the handover of Israeli authority mapped out by Oslo. In May 1994, a draft of the so-called "Gaza and Jericho First" agreement was completed. Once it was ratified, the five-year interim period would begin, with further withdrawals and parallel negotiations on the "permanent status" of the territories. In this first step, Israel would transfer civil authority in Gaza Strip and the Jordan Valley town of Jericho to the Palestinians, and local security would be in the hands of a newly created Palestinian police force.

My primary concern, and my responsibility, was the security provisions in the agreement, since the Israeli army retained its role in charge of overall security. When I went to see Rabin a few days before the cabinet meeting to approve the Gaza-Jericho agreement, I told him I was worried that it left room for potentially serious misunderstandings, friction and even clashes on the ground. There was no clear definition of how our soldiers would operate alongside the new local police in the event of a terror attack, violence by Hamas or Islamic Jihad, or, for that matter, a car crash involving an Israeli and a Palestinian. He agreed this needed to be addressed, although it was clear he intended to do so with Arafat, via the Americans, not by reopening and delaying the formal agreement.

But I had a deeper concern about the entire Oslo Agreement, which I also now raised with Rabin. I did not doubt the importance of reaching a political agreement, and ideally a peace treaty, with the Palestinians. But I'd now read the Oslo Declaration in greater detail, and discussed it with lawyer friends of mine. I'd also re-read the 1978 Camp David framework on which the self-rule provisions were based. The endpoint was pretty clear, just as it had been at Camp David: Palestinian authority over the West Bank and Gaza, defined as a

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"single territorial unit" under Oslo. In essence, and very probably in name, this meant a Palestinian state. I wasn't opposed to that in principle, if it was in return for a full and final peace. But the Oslo *process* meant that we would be handing back land, and control over security, in an ever-larger portion of territory *before* we'd reached any so-called permanent-status agreement. In fact, before we even knew whether that would prove possible. It wasn't "land for peace." It was land for the promise, or maybe only the hope, of peace. It was the same problem Yitzhak had faced over the Americans' misuse of our "pocket deposit" on the Golan. I realized that, having come this far with Oslo, neither he nor the government was likely to back away from approving the Gaza-Jericho accord. But he did say he thought the points I'd raised were important, which I took as meaning he was comfortable with my raising it with the cabinet.

I spoke near the end of the four-hour cabinet meeting to ratify the Gaza-Jericho plan. The ministers seemed attentive as I ran through the security concerns I'd raised with Rabin, even nodding when I compared the agreement's security provisions to "a piece of Swiss cheese, only with more holes." But then I said that I wanted to say a few words which I recognized were beyond my responsibility as chief of staff. "I'm speaking just as an Israeli citizen," I told the cabinet, "and as a former head of military intelligence." Referring to specific provisions in Oslo, and in the Camp David framework agreed by Begin and Sadat 15 years earlier, I said it was important for ministers to realize that, even though permanent-status issues were yet to be resolved, "you will be taking us nearly the whole way toward creating a Palestinian state, based on the internationally accepted reading of Camp David." The reaction to my comments was a mix of defensiveness and hostility. In the latter camp were ministers from Rabin's left-wing coalition partners, Meretz, who seemed especially angry when I quoted from Camp David. The Prime Minister motioned them for calm. "Ehud had a responsibility to talk about security questions, and we had a responsibility to listen. As for his additional remarks, they are not a surprise to me," he said. "He made these points to me, and I said he could repeat them here. It is right that he should raise them." He said there was no need for ministers to agree with me, but that it was proper that the points I'd raised should be heard.

Many clearly *didn't* agree with me, or simply believed the Gaza-Jericho agreement still had to be ratified, which it was. But my remarks did lay the groundwork for my objection to the next, more far-reaching stage in the Oslo process barely a year later. By then, I was no longer chief of staff. I was a member of Rabin's cabinet.

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It was still my responsibility to ensure that Gaza-Jericho was implemented, and that the initial withdrawals and redeployments went ahead smoothly. And they did. But I also was soon playing a part in a renewed effort by Rabin to use the momentum of Oslo to achieve peace agreements with our other Arab neighbors: the Syrians, although he knew that would be tough, and first the Jordanians. I would always have had some role, by virtue of the need for a chief of staff to weigh in on security issues. But as Yitzhak had done from the start, he involved me and others in his inner political circle in wider discussions on the whole range of negotiating issues. Especially after Oslo, he seemed determined to keep Peres's role to an absolute minimum.

No peace talks are ever completely straightforward, but the process with Jordan was very close to that. The main issues on the Jordanian side involved ensuring a proper share of scarce water supplies; and dealing with Israel's *de facto* control of a fairly large area near the southern end of our border. A number of kibbutzim and moshavim were farming the land there. But under the post-1948 armistice, it had been allocated to Jordan. Israel's priorities were to put in place a fully open relationship of peace and cooperation, and to get assurances Jordan would not allow its territory to be used by Palestinian groups to launch terror attacks.

I was struck by how much more easily compromises can be found if you truly trust the party on the other side. From my earlier meeting with Hussein in England, before the Gulf War, I'd been impressed by the king's thoughtful and measured, yet warm and open, demeanor. That, in itself, inspired trust. But ever since 1967, even in times of high tension, Israel and Jordan had kept open secret lines of communication, and both sides had generally demonstrated a shared desire, and ability, to steer clear of conflict. The main trade-off in the search for a formal peace turned out to be not too difficult. We agreed to ensure water provision, and to accept Jordanian sovereignty over the 1949 armistice area, in return for which the king allowed the Israelis who had been working the land to stay in place as lessees. On the final Wednesday of October 1994, near our border crossing in the Arava desert, I watched as Rabin, King Hussein, and President Clinton formally seal the full "Treaty of Peace Between the State of Israel and the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan."

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Syria was always going to be harder. But Rabin had moved past his anger over the "pocket deposit", and we began a new effort via the Americans. Our aim was to lay out a comprehensive, staged proposal to trade nearly the entire Golan for peace. With Rabin, Itamar Rabinovich and the rest of the team, we put together a framework limiting Syria's military presence on the Heights. We envisaged phasing out the restrictions as Syria took steps toward the kind of peace which had proved possible with Egypt and Jordan. But indirect exchanges in the autumn of 1994 produced little progress. In December, Rabin proposed to the Americans that I meet with a Syrian representative, and President Assad agreed. Later that month, I was sent to Washington for talks with Syria's ambassador, Walid Muallem. With the Americans' Mideast envoy, Dennis Ross, as host, we met in Blair House across the street from the White House.

I began by explaining the security provisions we envisaged for the Golan, which included early-warning provisions, force limitations and other means of safeguarding Israel against any surprise attack. Muallem's response was formulaic, almost icy, with no indication he was ready to discuss any of the specifics, much less offer ideas of his own. But then Dennis led us out into the garden, where the atmosphere, if sadly not the weather, was a bit warmer. I told Ambassador Muallem I believed Israel's issues with Syria ought to be resolvable. Both sides understood the broad terms of an eventual peace. But we needed a context of *trust* in which to negotiate. President Assad, and we as well, were always going to be reluctant formally to commit ourselves to a position until *each side was be satisfied that the other side understood its core needs*. Politically, both sides also faced constraints. "In formal meetings, a record is taken and negotiators have to explain and justify every last word back home," I said. "I think our negotiators can get further in conversations like the one we're having now." Though Muallem nodded agreement, he did not explicitly say he believed that informal exchanges were the way forward. Still, he did obviously pass back a broadly positive message to Damascus. Before the Blair House discussion, our understanding had been there would probably be a kind of mirror arrangement for a follow-up meeting: between *our* ambassador in Washington, Itamar Rabinovich, and a high-ranking army officer from the Syrian side. Instead, we received word that Assad wanted me to meet directly with General Himat Shihabi, who was not only my counterpart as Syrian chief-of-staff but Assad's oldest and closest political ally and the effective number-two man in the régime.

General Shihabi and I met over a period of two days at Blair House. He had greater authority, and thus a greater sense of self-assurance, than the

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ambassador. But not for the last time in negotiations with Syria, any real progress was blocked by an apparent combination of misunderstanding and miscommunication. The discussions were lively. Shihabi had served as Syria's liaison officer with the UN force set up along the cease-fire line after the 1948 war. "Go check with the UN," he said at our first meeting. "You'll see almost all the exchanges of fire in the late 1950s were provoked by Israel." I didn't respond directly, though I did note it was the Syrians who had tried to divert water from the Jordan River in the early fifties. "You did it first," he retorted. So it continued. Only later did we learn that while Muallem had sent back a generally encouraging impression from our garden talks, and his conclusion that Israel was ready for substantive talks, he had neglected to convey our expectation that any early progress would occur in *informal* exchanges. The result was probably to raise General Shihabi's expectations, which made him reluctant to show any real engagement. After a phone call with Rabin after our first day of talks, I became equally cautious. He agreed that we wanted to avoid a repeat of our experience with the Golan "deposit". We did not want to put concessions on the record before we got an indication that the Syrians were genuinely ready for peace talks.

Still, the fact that we'd established the precedent of a "chief-of-staff channel" was a step forward. My successor as *ramatkal*, Amnon Lipkin, would meet again with Shihabi in early 1995.

* * *

I was confident Amnon was inheriting an army stronger, better prepared and better equipped than at any time since the Six-Day War. We also had peace treaties not only with Egypt, but now Jordan, and none of the substantive issues with the Syrians seemed insurmountable.

But the main security challenges were the unconventional ones. In the long term, a resurgent Iraq, and very likely Iran, might make strides towards getting nuclear weapons. There was every sign that Hizbollah in Lebanon; and Hamas, Islamic Jihad and their supporters in Gaza and the West Bank, would escalate violence and terror. As the negotiations with Jordan were entering their final phase in early October, a further Hamas attack – this one, a kidnapping – had brought home that threat. On Sunday, October 9, Hamas men dressed as Orthodox Jews abducted an off-duty soldier named Nahshon Wachsman near

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Lod. Two days later, Israeli television received a videotape showing the 19-year-old, hands and feet bound, pleading for his life in return for the release of the founder of Hamas, whom we had arrested and jailed in 1989. "The group from Hamas kidnapped me," he said. "They are demanding the release of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and another 200 people from Israeli prison. If their demands are not met, they will execute me on Friday at 8 pm."

As soon as we got word he was missing, I spoke to Rabin. Since we assumed he was being held in Gaza, I ordered a unit from Sayeret Matkal to head south and co-ordinate efforts to locate him with the Shin Bet and the southern command. But it gradually became clear he might be much closer to where he'd been seized. The Shin Bet got a description of the kidnappers' car, and found it was a rental that had been picked up and returned in east Jerusalem. They tracked down the man who rented it. A little before dawn the morning of October 14, barely 12 hours before the Hamas deadline, Shin Bet established that Wachsman was being held in a village on the road to Ramallah, north of Jerusalem, in a house owned by a Palestinian who was living abroad.

The hostage soldier's ordeal was made even worse by the fact his mother, Esther, was a Holocaust survivor, born in a displaced-persons camp in Germany at the end of the war. Rabin had been ready to approve a rescue attempt from the outset, assuming we could locate Wachsman and come up with a plan that might work. But as with Entebbe, he said that if we couldn't be reasonably confident of success, we would negotiate. Now that we knew where Waschsman was being held, I ordered Shaul Mofaz, the commander with responsibility for the West Bank, to prepare for a possible rescue.

Before going to brief Rabin, I arranged for another commando unit to begin visible preparations for an operation in Gaza, in an effort to reassure Hamas we still believed he was being held there. Assuming we could retain the element of surprise, there were several things working in our favor. The house was relatively isolated. It was in an area where Israel, not the incipient Palestinian authorities, still had control. And Sayeret Matkal had expertise and experience in this kind of mission. Still, no plan could be foolproof. I told Rabin that the fact Hamas was holding a single hostage meant that if our assault teams were delayed for any reason at all, the kindappers might kill him before we got in. But I said we had to weigh the risks of *not* acting. We were no longer trying to find a missing soldier. We knew where he was. We had a unit ready. Unless Hamas relented, he was facing death within hours. In those circumstances, the

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precedent of doing nothing would, in my view, be very serious. I recommended that he approve the operation, and Rabin agreed.

I attended the final briefing shortly afterwards. I was impressed by the determined faces of the men in the two sayeret teams. One of the officers was 23-year-old Nir Poraz, whom I remembered from operational briefings in the *kirya* on previous sayeret missions. Wachsman was being held in a room on the first floor. The commandos would simultaneously detonate explosives on three doors: at the front, on the side, and a third one leading through a kitchen to the room where the kidnappers had their hostage. The attack began fifteen minutes before the Hamas deadline. The explosive charges went off, but only the one in the front blew open the door. Poraz and his team rushed in, but one of the kidnappers opened fire, killing him and wounding six others. The other team had by now made it to the first floor. But despite firing at the metal lock, they had trouble getting the door to open. By the time they got in, Wachsman had been killed, shot in the neck and chest.

I was in the command post a few hundred yards away. I called Rabin and then went to see him in the *kirya*. The head of personnel for the army had gone to see the Wachsman family and break the news to them. Now, we had to tell the country. Rabin and I appeared on television together. Rabin insisted – wrongly – on saying he bore full responsibility. What had gone wrong, I had tried to impress on him, was not the *decision* to attempt the rescue. It was the rescue itself. That was not his responsibility. It was mine.

The next day, I visited Wachsman's parents, and tried to convey how painful the failed rescue was to me, Rabin and every one else involved. I was inspired and humbled by their response. His father had told a reporter he wanted to convey his condolences to the parents of Nir Poraz. "This added loss has shaken me terribly," he said. He told me he also believed that the Prime Minister had approved the rescue using his best judgement on the information that he had available. I spent time separately speaking to Mrs Wachsman. I tried to explain that in fighting an enemy like Hamas, people who not just threaten to kill but had proven they had no hesitation in doing so, I'd felt there was no choice but to attempt the rescue. I admitted we'd known the risks. But we'd tried to do the right thing, both for the country and her son. I think she understood, though I knew that nothing could alter the terrible sadness of her loss. The pain would take years to heal. Some part of it never would. Still, I felt it was important she and her husband know that we, too, felt their loss. For years afterwards, Nava and I continued to visit them.

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By then, however, I was no longer chief of staff. In fact, barely ten weeks after the kidnapping, I handed over to Amnon Lipkin. I left the *kirya* proud of all I had sought to accomplish during my 36 years in uniform. I also realized there had also been failures and setbacks, none more painfully fresh than our inability to rescue Nahshon Wachsman. But I was about to find that the area of Israeli life which I now chose to enter – national politics – could be a battlefield as well. And that when trouble hit, even your allies sometimes ducked for cover.

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Chapter Seventeen

It was an ambush. It came in July 1995, six months after I'd left the army and only days before I was expected to named as Interior Minister in Yitzhak Rabin's government. The effect, and clearly the intention, was to threaten my political career before it had even begun – by reviving, and lying about, the tragic training accident at the Negev army base of Tze'elim, during our preparations for the operation against Saddam Hussein.

When the "story" broke, I was nearly five thousand miles away. I was accompanying Nava's brother, Doron Cohen, on a business trip he was making to China – and savoring my last few days as a private citizen between my three decades of military service and my entry into politics. I'd got a hint of the storm that was about to engulf me a few days before we left for the Far East. It was a letter from a reporter at *Yeidot Achronot*, Israel's largest-selling newspaper, with a list of questions about Tze'elim. The thrust of the questions made clear the case Yediot seemed intent on building: that after the live missile strike which killed the Sayeret Matkal men, I had abandoned the injured and immediately "fled" to Tel Aviv. I probably should have answered the letter. But I assumed even rudimentary checks would reveal the story to be false. I'd had similar questions from a TV journalist a few months earlier. I did phone him back. I explained the true details of what had happened. I suggested he talk to others who were there, like Amnon Lipkin, the current chief of staff and my former deputy, to confirm my account. The story was dropped.

But *Yediot* evidently decided not to let the facts get in the way of the "exclusive" it ran in its weekend edition on July 7. Under a banner headline – an undeniably clever Hebrew pun, *Ehud Barakh*, "Ehud Ran Away" – it accused me of having stood by, paralyzed with shock, when the missiles struck and then, as other officers tended to the wounded, rushed away by helicopter.

Doron and I were having dinner in Beijing when Nava phoned. She'd just seen the newspaper story, and read it to me. I'd never been angrier. As best I could work out, it had been concocted from a patchwork of accounts long after the fact. To the extent the notion of my "fleeing" had been raised, I could only imagine that *Yediot*'s "sources" had misunderstood the arrival of the first medical helicopter, when the pilot was unable to see us and flew on before returning a couple of minutes later. But in every single detail about my actions after the tragedy occurred, it was a pure and simple lie.

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I was not just angry, but frustrated at my inability to rebut the story in person. Doron and I immediately made arrangements to return to Israel early, which, since there was no direct air connection, meant finding the first flight out through London. But before we left, Nava phoned again, almost sputtering in fury. She told me that she'd just received a call from Aliza Goren, Rabin's media spokesperson. "Does Ehud know about the *Yediot* story?" she'd asked. When Nava said yes, Aliza told her: "It is important that Ehud knows that we are not going to get involved in getting him out of this."

Welcome to politics, I thought. Rabin knew that the story was untrue. I'd still been in Tze'elim when I'd phoned him about what had happened. He knew I'd remained there to order in the medical helicopters and arrange for the evacuation of the wounded before returning to brief him. Still, he did not say a single word in public – nor, for that matter, speak to me – as the controversy continued to gather force.

During our stopover in London, I sat with Doron and talked through how to get my voice heard. I telephoned Yoni Koren, the officer who'd been my top aide in the *kirya* and whom I'd asked to work for me in the Interior Ministry, assuming I now actually got there. I told him to phone Amnon Lipkin and say that I had expected him to answer the fabrications. Not only had he and I been at the site of tragedy together. We'd *left* together, on the same helicopter. Amnon did now issue a statement saying that he knew *Yediot*'s allegations were wrong. But the story had been allowed to stand for too long. His rebuttal caused barely a ripple.

As I read the latest Israeli newspapers before landing in Tel Aviv, I found that at least I wasn't totally on my own. Reporters had been phoning politicians for comment. Most responded like weathervanes, going with the prevailing wind, which was gusting against me. But three Knesset members dissented. One was Ori Or, a friend even before we'd both gone into the army, and who had now joined Labor. The other two were leading members of Likud: Dan Meridor and Benny Begin, Menachem Begin's son. All three said they were sure the allegations were false. Did they know the details about the accident, they were asked. No, they replied, they didn't need to. They knew *me*.

Now all I had to do was convince the rest of the country. It had been nearly a week since the Yediot's "exposé". It was Yoni Koren who passed on a request from Channel 1 television, our equivalent of the BBC. They were proposing that I appear with Nissim Mishal, the man who had interviewed me 10 years earlier, at the urging of Rabin's political aide, on my first TV appearance. For Mishal,

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the interview would be a journalistic coup. For me, it was a risk. He was a famously combative questioner, a bit like Sam Donaldson at White House briefings, or Jeremy Paxman and John Humphreys in Britain.

On the night of July 13, I drove to the television studio in Tel Aviv. Mishal confronted me with *Yediot*'s version of events. I was angry, and showed it. "This report was not some night editor's mishap," I said. "It was authorized by the highest levels of a mass-circulation newspaper which is power-drunk, corrupted by power, and manipulative. The so-called 'story' was an amateurish and distorted depiction of a chief-of-staff who sees wounded soldiers, turns his back, deserts them and flies away. That is an evil, vain falsehood." As Mishal pressed me about the allegation that I had fled, I cited, by name, other officers who had been there with me and had confirmed precisely the opposite. I had left Tze'elim, along with Amnon Lipkin, a full *50 minutes* after the missiles struck, I said. And only *after* the helicopters had arrived, the injuries had been treated and the choppers were evacuating the wounded. "A chief of staff's job is not to treat the wounded, when others are doing that already," I added. My responsibility was "to keep my head, and ensure a safe and speedy medical evacuation." That was what I'd done. "I've given years of my life to serving this country," I said. "I have been shot at. I have shot men dead from as close as I am to you now. How did the hand that wrote these things against me not tremble?"

It was certainly high drama. But it was not an act. The way that I'd gone after *Yediot* prompted some pundits to suggest my skin was too thin. One commentator even said I was obviously not suited to politics. Yet what mattered most to me was what the *rest* of Israel felt: people who were not reporters or editors, commentators or politicians. Opinion polls the day afterwards showed that something like 80 percent of Israelis believed what I'd said. I think this was only partly due to the details of the argument I made. When you're under such close, direct scrutiny, I'm sure viewers have an innate sense of whether what they are hearing is the truth.

Almost as soon as I'd got home from the interview, the phone rang. It was someone who, of course, already knew it was the truth: Yitzhak Rabin. "Ehud," he said, "you did well. Let's move forward."

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I later worked out why he'd wanted to steer clear of the whole thing. *Yediot* had been planning the story for months. It had been ready to go with it earlier, when it was assumed I would be joining the government as early as April. The editors had held it to coincide with my arrival as a minister. That, I suppose, was simply what newspapers did. But it turned out that at least two influential Labor politicians had played a part in steering *Yediot* toward the story, and urging the newspaper to run with it: Haim Ramon, a veteran party figure and cabinet minister, though he'd quit the government the year before over the party's failure to follow through on health-policy reform; and Shimon Shevess, one of Rabin's top advisers. Ramon would later say that they hadn't wanted to "*kill* Barak" as a new minister. "Just fire some bullets at this legs, so he'll enter politics with a limp." It was a way of cutting me down to size.

I suppose that was understandable. I was by no means the only former general to enter Israeli politics. Other chiefs-of-staff had gone on to play prominent roles in government: Dayan, Motta Gur and, of course, Rabin. But the fact that I was going directly into the cabinet, and so soon after leaving the army, was seen by the Israeli media – and a number of Labor politicians – as a reflection of my close relationship with Rabin. Some commentators had even been speculating I might eventually be a candidate to succeed him as party leader and Prime Minister.

It was true that Rabin had personally urged me to join the government, starting with a lighthearted remark only days after I'd ended my term as chief of staff. It was at a farewell organized by my staff. The event began with film clips from my years in the army, and a series of entertaining cameos from men I'd served with and led. Rabin spoke at the end. He said he'd recently been on an official visit to South Korea. He'd met the president, who told him he was the first Korean leader not to have been an army general. Rabin said he'd replied that *he* was the first Israeli Prime Minister who *was* a general. Then, smiling and looking straight at me, he added: "*Nu*, Ehud?"

I did want to join his government. But I had been in the army since the age of seventeen and was now in my early fifties. For my family's sake, as well as my own, I had figured on taking a year or two to explore other things. Two options appealed to me especially. One was business. My brother-in-law, in addition to having a successful law practice, was involved in a number of business ventures, and we'd discussed areas we might jointly explore. But I had also received offers from think tanks in the United States.

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Despite Rabin's quip about ex-generals and Prime Ministers, I was surprised when, a couple of days later, he asked me to come see him. He smiled as I entered his office. Then he said: "Ehud, now that you are out of uniform. I would be glad to see you come into politics, together with us, and be a member of the government." He said he'd discussed it with Peres. "It's a joint invitation." Though I did, of course, say yes, I also told him I was planning to take some time off, probably at first with a think tank in the US. Though I wasn't exactly sure about the legal provisions for officers leaving the army, I reminded him that there was a set period of time during which they could not enter politics. He replied, a bit enigmatically, that he would be sending an "operative" to talk to me further about the timing.

The operative was Giora Einy, a uniquely important figure in Labor because he was trusted both by Rabin and Peres. I liked him immediately. Throughout my years in politics, I would come to rely on him for his experience, good humor and good judgement. He did know about the rules for former army people going into politics: there was a 100-day moratorium. "Rabin wants you immediately," he said. "I guess we'll tell him that 'immediately' will have to mean sometime in April." In fact, I told Giora that I'd hoped it would be much longer. So we agreed that in order to give me at least a few months in the US, he'd tell Rabin he could get in touch at any time from March 1996 with his invitation to join the cabinet. As soon as he did so, I would formally cut my ties with the military, meaning I could join the government in the summer.

Nava, the girls and I left for Washington in January. I joined the Center for Strategic and International Studies and was given the delightfully overwrought title of Distinguished Visiting Statesman and Senior Associate. The reason the CSIS had invited me was to write and speak on the Middle East. About two months in, I presented a paper. I began by welcoming the constellation of changes which seemed to offer at least an *opportunity* for stability, security and peace: the unravelling of the Soviet Union; the Oslo Agreement; the peace treaty with Jordan and the continuing talks with the Syrians. As long as we had partners committed to reaching an agreement, I believed Israel would be ready "to consider major compromise and to take upon ourselves significant calculated risks." But with a frankness which seems surprising even to me in retrospect, I delivered much the same message as I had to ministers on the potential dangers inherent in the Oslo process as we moved forward.

I pointed out that Arafat had made no move to rein in groups like Hamas, and that more Israelis had actually been killed by terror since Oslo than in the

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year before. "We signed a three-phase contract with Arafat," I said. "Try to imagine one of you selling me three pieces of property. If I fail to pay for the first one on time, you might not immediately cancel the contract. You might even be ready to help me collect the necessary money. But you would never proceed to deliver the second property before I paid for the first one, unless you were a fool." I also warned of longer-term dangers: "terrorism, radical Islamic fundamentalism, the proliferation of surface-to-surface missiles and weapons of mass destruction, and threats to the long-term stability of the more pragmatic Arab regimes." I singled out Iran, because it was determined to export its brand of fundamentalism Islam, sponsor terror and develop a nuclear weapon.

I also accompanied CSIS colleagues on speaking engagements to other American cities. I was about to board a flight to Seattle in April when I got a message saying Rabin wanted to talk to me. After we took off, I used the on-board phone facility and, with a swipe of a credit card, was soon on the line to the Prime Minister. Since the exchange was in Hebrew, I'm fairly sure anyone overhearing me had no idea what we were talking about. "I need you to come back as soon as possible," Rabin said. I already knew, from Giora, that he was anxious to find a long-term replacement as Minister of Interior. The leading light in the Sephardi religious party Shas, Arye Deri, had had to leave the post under allegations of bribe-taking. After Rabin had taken on the portfolio himself four 18 months, he had placed Labor's Uzi Baram there, but only as a temporary arrangement. I didn't feel I could refuse outright. But I reminded him that under army rules, "as soon as possible" still meant another 100 days. And ideally, I said I wanted to finish the best part of a year in Washington. I asked whether it would be possible to join the cabinet in the middle of November instead. "What difference will a few more months make?"

Rabin said he needed me now, and that mid-November would be too late. "Ehud, in politics, you can never predict what will happen by then." Neither of us could have known how terribly prophetic his words would turn out to be.

* * *

I was not only new to cabinet politics. I wasn't even a member of the Knesset. But in addition to naming me as head of a major ministry – in charge of everything from citizenship and immigration to planning, zoning, and the funding of local government – Rabin made me a member of his "inner cabinet"

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on security and foreign affairs. Barely three weeks after I joined the government, we had to decide on the most important agreement with the Palestinians since Oslo. Dubbed Oslo II, it involved a major transfer of authority and territory. The process would begin with our pulling out from more than a quarter of the West Bank, including the major Palestinian towns and some 450 smaller towns and villages. After that, there would be three further redeployment phases, at six-month intervals, in so-called "Area C" of the West Bank – a mix of unpopulated land, settlements and a number of points we'd designated as strategically important. Under Oslo, and its parent agreement Camp David, it was all part of ensuring the Palestinians could exercise their "legitimate rights" in the "single territorial entity" of the West Bank and Gaza – in other words, a path to statehood. But only by the time the final three phases of redeployment were *complete* were we required to begin the "permanent-status" talks on issues like land and borders, Israeli settlements, the future of Jerusalem: the *real* core of a peace agreement.

By the time I joined the discussions on Oslo II in August 1995, the main points had already been agreed. Rabin was in favor, as were virtually all the cabinet ministers. Whatever scant influence I might exercise would have to come at the decisive cabinet meeting, set for August 13. From the objections I'd raised to the Gaza-Jericho deal as chief of staff, Rabin knew I'd be concerned not only to ensure the security provisions avoided potential misunderstandings on the ground, but about the longer-term implications, especially since the scale of the Israeli withdrawals was much larger this time. In fact, the agreement could be interpreted as requiring us to cede Palestinian control over virtually all of Gaza and West Bank by the end of the third redeployment phase –quite possibly before talks on the permanent-status questions had even *begun*.

I went to see Rabin a few days before the cabinet vote. I explained why I thought the agreement was flawed. I argued we should either delay some of our redeployments or bring the permanent-status negotiations forward. He listened to me. He barely spoke. He knew I'd be against Oslo II, and knew the reasons why. But we both knew something else: having been brought into government by Rabin, I would be expected, on a vote of this importance, to be in his corner.

The cabinet vote wasn't happening in a political vacuum. Likud's defeat in 1992 had meant the end of Yitzhak Shamir's leadership. The new Likud leader was the former Sayeret Matkal officer with whom I'd shared a newspaper cover in 1986 predicting that he and I would end up facing each other at the ballot box: Bibi Netanyahu. Positioning himself as the fresh young face of Israeli

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politics and vowing to defeat Labor, Bibi had seized on Oslo II to accuse Rabin of "surrendering" to Arafat, and by extension to Hamas terrorism.

I couldn't sleep the night before the cabinet meeting. I had no desire to be disloyal to Yitzhak. I certainly didn't want to add to the pressures on him, much less add further impetus to Bibi's rhetorical onslaughts. But the more I thought of it, the less I could see the point of entering politics if I wasn't going to vote with my conscience. The cabinet meeting lasted for hours. It was near the end that I spoke, calmly and in detail, about my reservations. Many of the ministers seemed barely to be listening. They'd long since made up their minds. But when I'd finished, two ministers passed me notes. Both said the same thing: Ehud, don't do anything crazy. Don't vote against it. So I didn't. But I couldn't vote for it either. I abstained.

Rabin was bitterly upset. He didn't tell me directly. But when the meeting broke up, his longtime political aide, Eitan Haber, took me aside to tell me how that what I'd done was "terrible". Giora Einy came to see me the next day, after Rabin had phoned him in a mix of anger and disbelief. "What *is* this," he'd asked Giora. "The first big vote, and Barak *abstains*?" It wasn't until a few weeks later that Rabin and I spoke alone, over a beer in his office. He didn't raise the question of the vote. So I did. "Yitzhak, I understand it's caused you pain," I said. "But I think you understand I was acting out of what is genuinely my belief and my position." I asked him why, unlike the other ministers, he hadn't passed me a note before we'd cast our votes. "Ehud," he said, "I never write requests or orders on how to vote. Ministers must vote according to their conscience." He didn't mean what I'd done was right. He meant my conscience should have told me, given the importance of the issue, to vote yes.

The tension between us did ease somewhat in the weeks ahead. But the tension *around* us escalated after the cabinet vote. Opinion polls showed the country split down the middle. Settlement leaders and extremist rabbis launched a campaign against the legitimacy of the government, and of Rabin as Prime Minister. Right-wing religious leaders issued a decree rejecting the planned redeployments on the West Bank – "the evacuation of bases and their transfer to the Gentiles" – as biblically prohibited. A new group called *Zu Artzenu* organized a campaign of civil disobedience to try to bring the government down.

The sheer venom hit home during a pair of events I attended with Rabin, to award of the status of "city" to towns which had crossed the required threshold in population and economic activity. By tradition, this was marked by a

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ceremony with both the Interior Minister and the Prime Minister present. The first was in Ofakim, near where I'd worked in the fields with Yigal Garber in the 1950s. Shortly after we arrived, a group of protestors started shouting at Rabin. *Manyac*, they yelled, "maniac". *Boged*: traitor. At the second event, near Haifa, busloads of protestors from right-wing religious schools shouted abuse at Rabin when he rose to speak.

As the Knesset vote on Oslo II approached, the hatred reached new levels. The day before, thousands of protesters packed into Jerusalem's Zion Square. Some shouted "Death to Rabin!" Others burned pictures of him, or passed out photos of him dressed in an Arab keffiyeh, or even a Nazi uniform. Bibi had publicly declared that opposition to the agreement must remain within the bounds of the law. Yet as he addressed the baying mob from a hotel balcony, he uttered not a single word of reproach. In fact, he called Rabin's government "illegitimate", because it relied in part on the votes of Israeli Arab Knesset members.

The day of the vote, the mob descended on the Knesset. Rabin had called a government meeting beforehand. When I got there, the crowd was so large that I was taken in through a special security entrance away from the front of the building. But the Housing Minister, Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, arrived late and tried to drive through the main gate. Protestors pounded furiously on his car and tried to break the windows. Our meeting had already begun when he arrived. He had spent nearly as long as I had in the army, but he was shaken. Interrupting Rabin, he banged his fist on the table. "I've been on battlefields," he said. "I've been shot at. I know how to read a situation. I *saw* their faces. It's insane! It is beyond anything rational, this kind of hatred." Pounding the table again, he shouted: "I warn you. It will end with a murder! It will end with a murder!" Rabin motioned for calm. He, too, was concerned by the rhetorical violence, even more so now that it was becoming *physical* violence. But as he would tell an interviewer a few weeks later, he simply didn't believe that "a Jew will kill a Jew." Nor, at that point, did I.

After the Knesset vote, which passed by a margin of 61 to 59, plans got underway for a rally in defense of the peace process, and against the tide of hatred on the right. It was the idea of two people: Shlomo Lahat, a Likud mayor of Tel Aviv who now backed Oslo, and a French Jewish businessman named Jean Frydman, a friend of Shimon Peres whom I had got to know and like. But in several of the early planning discussions in which I was involved, Rabin was against the rally, which was to be held in the huge Kings of Israel Square in the

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heart of Tel Aviv. He was worried that not enough people would show up, and that those who did would be from the left: Meretz, not Labor, people who would be there mainly to *criticize* him for not going far, or quickly, enough in pulling out of the West Bank.

In the end, he was persuaded it should go ahead. In fact, by the time the date approached – Saturday evening, November 4 – he seemed to be feeling more energized, and upbeat. I wouldn't be there, because I was going to New York as the government's representative at a fundraising dinner that same night for the Yad Vashem Holocaust memorial. A few hours before leaving, however, I met with Rabin. We'd found a 15-minute window in his schedule, but we ended up talking for an hour. He said he knew that, in some ways, the difficulties surrounding the peace talks were likely to get worse. Hamas would not abandon terror. The kind of intolerance we were seeing from the right wing was not going to go away. He was furious at Bibi, who in his view was hypocritically going through the motions of calling for restraint and pretending to be unaware that the mobs were full of Likud voters. "They're his people," he said, "and he knows it."

But he was relishing the idea of taking on Bibi in the next election, due in about a year's time. Though Rabin was trailing in the polls, he was confident of turning that around once the campaign began. "The main thing is that the party isn't focused. We have to get serious about preparing," he said. He was worried about the effect of inevitable tensions between his supporters and Peres's over how to run the campaign. "Bring back Haim Ramon," I suggested. I knew by now that Haim had helped orchestrate the false story which *Yediot* had run about Tze'elim. But I also realized he was a Labor heavyweight and that, although he'd left the government, he remained personally close to Yitzhak. "Yes," Yitzhak replied, nodding, suggesting that we talk through the idea in detail when I returned from New York.

I was in my room at the Regency Hotel, on New York's Upper East Side, when the phone rang on Saturday afternoon. I was dimly aware that the Tel Aviv rally had been going on back home, but was more focused on preparing my speech for the Yad Vashem event. "Ehud, *Ehud*!" It was Nava, her voice barely understandable through the sobs. "Rabin has been shot!"

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Danny Yatom called me a couple of minutes later. He said Rabin was still alive. But from the details he gave me, I knew it would take a miracle for him to pull through. "Three shots, from close range," Danny said. "From an *Israeli*, a *Jew*." Like Rabin, like me too until this had actually happened, it was something Danny was struggling to believe. He said that he'd call me back when he knew anything more. But I had the TV on in the room. Before he did, I watched Eitan Haber announce that Yitzhak Rabin was dead.

Although I hadn't known it until I'd arrived, Yossi Beilin was also in New York, for meetings and a speech of his own. Though he was a Peres protégé, and I was seen as closer to Rabin, the two of us had become friends. We immediately made plans to get the next flight home. But before leaving for the airport, I phoned Leah Rabin. However inadequate I knew it would be in helping her even begin to cope with the loss, I told her that my, and Nava's, thoughts were with her. That Yitzhak's death would leave a tremendous hole, in all of us, in every single Israeli. "They shot him," she kept murmuring. "They shot him. They shot him. They shot him." I called Peres, too. "Shimon, you have a mountain on your shoulders," I said. "But your task is to carry on. All of us will be with you, supporting, helping however we can."

It was the saddest flight I'd ever taken. Yossi and I barely spoke. Each of us was deep in thought. I found myself lost in memories of Rabin – from the very first time I'd met him, in the sayeret, to that last, long talk we'd had in his office a couple of days earlier. For some reason, I kept wondering whether, when the shots had been fired, he'd been turning to look behind him. It was an idiosyncrasy he had, whenever he was leaving a meeting or an event – even, as I now recalled vividly, when the two of us were leaving the municipal ceremony in Ofakim. I was behind him as we left. "Ehud," he said, turning back, "are you there?" It was a senseless detail. It wouldn't change anything. But I still felt torn up inside thinking about it.

After we landed at Ben-Gurion, I went with Nava to the Rabins' apartment in Ramat Aviv. There were hundreds of people outside, and nearly a hundred crowded inside the flat. Leah looked exhausted, her face ashen. "They shot him," she said over and over as Nava and I hugged her. "Three shots. In the back. *Why*?" I said there was no sane answer, but that with Yitzhak's death, Israel seemed different, the world seemed different, and emptier. Before we left, we added our candles to the forest of flickering memorial lights outside the apartment block. Then, we drove the Kings of Israel Square. Thousands of people were huddled in small groups throughout the plaza, sitting around

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thickets of candles and chanting, almost prayerlike, anthems of mourning and of peace.

For reasons I couldn't explain, I felt the need to see the place, near the front of the square, where Rabin had been murdered, by a 25-year-old Orthodox Jew and settlement activist named Yigal Amir. Standing there with Nava, I felt even more strongly what I'd told Leah by phone from New York after hearing Yitzhak was dead: his murder would leave a huge hole – in me, in all Israelis. He was an extraordinary mix of qualities: a brave officer, first in the pre-state Palmach and then the new Israeli army; a chief of staff and defense minister at critical periods in our history. Shy, even at times uncertain or hesitant, and naturally cautious. Decisive, too, when he felt that he, and Israel, needed to be: whether on Entebbe, or the prospect, with all its risks, of launching an operation to kill Saddam Hussein. Humane, too: ready to negotiate with terrorists to save the lives of those they were planning to kill, unless he was confident our soldiers could save them first. Underpinning it all was a dedication to fighting and defeating Isael's enemies, yet a mindfulness that the real victory, if and when it was possible, would be genuine peace with our neighbors. He and I had had differences over particular policies: leaving our troops in Lebanon, for instance, or more recently the architecture of Oslo. But I never doubted that we were lucky to have Yitzhak leading Israel on the inevitably fraught road to a negotiated peace. I never ceased to believe there was no politician more suited to the role: that he would do everything he could to achieve it, yet would step back if he saw that he was putting Israel's security at risk.

On Sunday evening, Peres called a cabinet meeting in the *kirya*. He said our task was to continue what Rabin had begun, and that at least for now he would fill Rabin's shoes not just as Prime Minister but Defense Minister as well. The whole country stood still, shocked, until the state funeral two days after the assassination. It was attended by dozens of leaders from around the world. My role was to escort King Hussein and Queen Noor. On our drive into Jerusalem, we passed the Old City walls. We were barely a mile from the stone terrace, above the Western Wall of our ancient temple, where the golden Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa mosque stand. I knew Hussein had been there as a boy when his grandfather, King Abdullah, was shot and killed by a Palestinian amid rumors he was contemplating peace with Israel. Now, Rabin had been murdered, by an Israeli. "To me, it's like the closing of a circle," Hussein said. "Those who are murdered because they are not extreme enough. Because they look for normalcy, and peace."

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Yitzhak's murder had acted like a kind lightning strike, freezing Israelis in a mix of disgust over what had occurred and awareness of the dangers this brand of hatred and extremism posed. I was concerned the moment would be allowed to pass. My hope was that we could seize the opportunity to bring together all those Israelis – on left and right, secular and Orthodox, Ashkenazi and Sephardi – who were prepared to stand up against the fanaticism, the violent messianism, of which Yigal Amir was just a part. That was the main reason I wanted Peres to call an early election, an issue that would be discussed, off and on, over the next few months. I felt the time was right to present the country with a choice: not just between those for and against specific compromises being contemplated in pursuit of peace, but between those who wanted a tolerant, functioning democracy and those who were ready to use demagoguery and violence to get their way.

Peres's first order of business was to put in place a new cabinet. He did, briefly, consider giving up the Defense Ministry and putting me there. But instead, he made me Foreign Minister. Like Rabin before him, Shimon stipulated that he, as Prime Minister, would retain authority over the peace negotiations. Still, with his agreement, I was involved in all the discussions around the peace talks, and in meeting many of the Arab leaders we'd have to negotiate with if we were to find a lasting resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Just a few weeks after the assassination, I represented Israel at a Euro-Mediterranean Partnership conference in Barcelona. Its only real diplomatic work consisted of ironing out the wording of the communique. The real value was in the corridors, and at the dinner held at one of King Juan Carlos's palatial estates, and, for me, a first opportunity to meet not only Arab foreign ministers but Yasir Arafat.

My first, brief encounter with Arafat began a bit embarrassingly. I'd arrived a few minutes early for the conference dinner and was led into an impressive hall that was almost empty except for a wonderfully cared-for royal Steinway. I sat down to play. Lost in the beauty of a Chopin sonata, I was completely unaware of PLO leader's approach behind me. A bit awkwardly, I rose to greet him. I grasped his hand. "It's a real pleasure to meet you," I said. "I must say I have spent many years watching you – by other means." He smiled. Our hosts had set aside time after dinner for the two of us to talk at greater length, with no aides present. But my hope was to begin by establishing simple, human contact; to signal respect; to begin to create the conditions not to try to kill Arafat but, if he shared the same goal, to make peace with him. "We carry a great

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responsibility," I said. "Both of our peoples have paid a heavy price. The time has come to find a way to solve this."

In the half hour we spent together later, I could see that, physically, the Fatah leader from Karameh was not just older. He had a frailty about him. His skin seemed almost translucent in places. His hands shook slightly, with the early signs of Parkinson's. He spoke softly. But despite this ostensibly vulnerable exterior, I could see how daunting, and frustrating, he must be a negotiating partner. Henry Kissinger has described how Mao Tse-Tung, rather than engage directly in discussion or debate, tended to wrap his remarks in parables. Without stretching the parallel too far, Arafat was like that. While I tried to engage him on how each of us might help cement the Oslo process, and ensure that the interim agreement indeed led to a full peace, he responded with stories, or off-topic remarks, which I was left to unwrap and decipher.

He began our discussion by saying that now that I was Foreign Minister, he was glad to meet me. He said that he'd heard "reports" from his intelligence people that when I was chief-of-staff, I had organized a kind of dissident band of generals who were working to torpedo the Oslo agreements. He compared this to the OAS, the military cabal in France that had opposed De Gaulle. I could only laugh. I told him I'd actually spent two months with OAS men years earlier, in Mont Louis, but that Israel was different. Even at times of the toughest of disagreements, we were a family. An "Israeli OAS" would never work, even if I had been crazy enough to contemplate such a thing. Which, I hastened to add, I was not.

There was another idiosyncrasy I encountered in Arafat. He was constantly writing notes as we spoke. I didn't mind that. But it did strike me as slightly diluting the kind of frankness and openness I would find in most of the one-on-one meetings I went on to have with foreign leaders as Peres's Foreign Minister. Maybe he did it just as a kind of aide-memoire. But certainly in later meetings I had with him, it did have the effect to making me choose my words more carefully. That, I believed, reduced the prospect of exploring more creatively the boundaries of each of our official positions. It also helped Arafat to argue, as he did on more than one occasion, that Rabin, or Peres, or whatever Israeli interlocutor he chose to name had promised him such and such. He always implied this was based on his written record, though he never produced any evidence to that effect. He also never seemed to have recorded anything that *he* had promised Israelis.

I tried, with only partial success, to engage some of the other Arab foreign

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ministers when we'd arrived in the banqueting hall. I did have a good talk with Egypt's Amr Moussa, and the foreign ministers of Morocco and Tunisia. When I tried to start a conversation with Syria's Farouk al-Sharaa, however, he pointedly, though politely, said he felt that would not be appropriate. President Assad had broken off talks with us earlier in the year, insisting that we first commit explicitly to honor Rabin's "pocket deposit" on the Golan Heights. Still, in my formal remarks at the dinner, I urged both sides to resume our effort to negotiate an Israeli-Syrian agreement. Sharaa's response was, again, unencouraging. But I did notice, and take heart from, the fact that it was neither polemic nor overtly hostile towards Israel.

When I returned to Israel, I found that Peres, too, wanted to restart the negotiating process with the Syrians. The effort took on fresh momentum after a meeting at Peres's home in Jerusalem in early December, ahead of his visit to Washington for talks with President Clinton. Itamar Rabinovich and I had each met with him separately a few weeks earlier to brief him on how the talks with the Syrians had gone under Rabin, and why they'd reached an impasse. We emphasized Assad's insistence on a preemptive agreement on our leaving the Golan. Peres now came forward with a plan. It was the diplomatic equivalent of what the Americans, a few years later in the second Gulf War, would call "shock and awe." This was "dazzle and befuddle." As Peres explained it, we would flood Assad with proposals: not just on land or security, but everything from water and electricity to tourism and industrial zones. Assad was in personal control of the Syrian side of the talks. The mere volume, range and complexity of the simultaneous engagement Peres had in mind would, he hoped, dilute his focus on the Golan. "The best results are extracted from confusion," he said. Having watched President Assad operate for years, when I was head of intelligence and chief of staff, I said I was skeptical. I used the image of a bulldog. "It comes into your living room with one aim: to lock on to your ankle. You can throw fireworks, cookies, balloons, a tasty bone. But it's a bulldog. It's still going to move another step toward your ankle." For Assad, the ankle was the Golan.

I understood why Peres wanted to make a new effort to get peace with Syria. Obviously, it was something to be desired in itself. It would transform the terms of our conflict with the Arabs, and maybe even bring within reach the hope of ending it altogether. But there was a political consideration as well. For all his other accomplishments, Peres had a record of repeated electoral defeat as head of Labor. This next election would be the first held under a new set of rules. Instead of merely choosing lists of Knesset candidates, Israelis would cast two

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votes: one for a party list and one for a directly elected Prime Minister. This would be a *personal* test, an opportunity for Shimon to build on the still-tenuous achievement of Oslo and finally secure the endorsement of the Israeli people.

It seemed, for a while, I might even have a role. A few days later, Peres and I met again. In Israeli elections, the campaign manager is called head of *hasbarah* – media and public-information planning. He told me he still didn't know exactly when he would call the election. But he asked me to take on that role.

* * *

Both Peres and I proved to be right about the Syrians. The negotiations did resume, and two rounds of talks were held at Wye River, on Maryland's eastern shore, in December 1995 and January 1996. They did focus on the whole range of issues in an eventual peace, just as Peres had hoped, and some progress was made in identifying areas of potential agreement. But the bulldog never took its eyes of our ankle. There was no escaping the fact that without addressing the question of our withdrawal from the Golan Heights, we weren't going to get to the next stage. So a decision had to be made.

Peres, no less than Rabin, knew what the trade-off would be. Israel needed a series of ironclad security arrangements, and a *genuine* peace, rather than just agreement to a cessation of hostilities. Syria would demand to get back all, or at least virtually all, of the Golan. Peres now focused on clarifying, in his own mind, whether we should be willing to agree to trade the Golan for a peace treaty. Our key meeting took place in early February, in the underground bunker in the *kirya*. Peres asked Amnon Lipkin, as chief of staff, and our other top generals for a presentation on their view of the security arrangements required with Syria under a peace deal. They recommended that Israel insist on keeping a sizeable part of the Golan, as well as a range of demilitarization provisions which reached pretty much to the edge of Damascus. I'd been asked for my view by Rabin when I was chief-of-staff. Obviously, from a purely military standpoint, the ideal situation would be to keep the whole of the Golan Heights. No chief of staff was going to recommend pulling out. But I'd always added a rider: to withdraw as part of a peace agreement, with all its other likely benefits, was not a *military* question. It was a decision for the government. The relevant question for a *chief of staff* was whether we could ensure the security of Israel if the government decided on a withdrawal, to which I answered yes.

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I suspect Amnon would have said much the same thing. But that wasn't the question he'd been asked. As the proceedings wound down, Peres looked glum. Maybe he was anticipating the potential leaks of army concerns about a Golan withdrawal if we did get closer to a deal, and the venomous political attacks he could expect from the right. Bibi's stated view on a deal with Syria at the time was that we could get peace *and* keep the Golan. It was classic Bibi, spoken with verve and conviction as if simply saying it would make it true.

When the presentation was over, Peres called us into a small room in the bunker reserved for use by the Defense Minister. As Foreign Minister, I was the only cabinet member with him – along with Uri Savir, Peres's senior deputy for peace negotiations and several other Peres aides. If there had been a discussion, I would have told him that as long as he felt the talks were progressing, he could ignore Amnon's presentation. If we didn't get a deal, it would be irrelevant. If we did, the military could find ways to deal with the security issues. But he just looked at us and said" "We're going for elections." A few days later, the date was set for May 29, 1996. Yet that would turn out not to be the end of Peres's doubts or difficulties. It was only the beginning.

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The first attack in the wave of Hamas suicide bombings destroyed a Jerusalem bus at 6:42 a.m. on February 25, 1996. It left 26 people dead, and nearly 80 injured from nails and shrapnel packed into the explosive charge. The second was near Ashkelon. The bomber, dressed in Israeli uniform, joined a group of young soldiers and blew himself up, killing one of them. A week later, a third suicide attack blasted the roof off a bus on the same Jerusalem commuter route, leaving 19 more dead. And on March 4, a 24-year-old Palestinian walked up to the entrance of Tel Aviv's busiest shopping center, on Dizengoff Street, detonated 30 pounds of explosives, and killed 13 people. At the bomb scenes, bloodied survivors and crowds of pedestrians surveyed a hellscape of twisted metal, shards of glass and mangled body parts. While most Israelis were too shaken to worry about the immediate political repercussions – and Bibi was careful, at least in the immediate aftermath, not to try to score political points –Peres's reelection campaign seemed to lie in tatters almost before it had begun.

The attacks were not a surprise. As I'd argued to the Washington think-tank audience before joining the government, the peace promise of Oslo had been assailed from the start by a new alliance of Islamist Palestinian violence: mainly Hamas, and Islamic Jihad on the West Bank. They saw Arafat as a traitor who had sold out to Israel. For them, the issue wasn't just Israel's capture of the West Bank and Gaza in the 1967 war. It was *1948*: they opposed any Jewish state, anywhere in Palestine. In a campaign of terror that made the first weeks of the intifada seem almost easy to deal with, they began sending self-styled holy warriors to murder Israeli civilians, and sacrifice their own lives, in the expectation of Allah's rewards in the world to come. During the two years following Oslo, they'd mounted ten suicide attacks, leaving nearly 80 Israelis dead. The attacks had actually stopped since the summer of 1995. But when the election date was announced – with Peres holding a roughly 15-per-cent lead in the polls – political commentators both in Israel and abroad began speculating about a resumption of terror. For Hamas, the election presented not just an opportunity to kill innocent Israelis but, by helping defeat Peres and Labor, perhaps to kill Oslo as well.

Even before the bombings, our campaign was struggling for focus, energy and even purpose, beyond the aim of getting more votes than Bibi Netanyahu. Despite

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Peres's assurance that I'd be the campaign manager, that hadn't happened. I wasn't really surprised by that, however. When he offered me the job, I wondered how he'd managed to clear it with much more established Labor politicians. It turned out he hadn't. Haim Ramon, the veteran whom I'd urged Yitzhak to bring back for the election, was put in charge. Shimon did ask me to head a small advisory team which reported directly to him, but all the key decisions were taken at weekly strategy sessions chaired jointly by him and Ramon. I still hoped to make the campaign a referendum on Yitzhak's murder, and on the need to recommit Israel to democracy and dialogue over vitriol and violence. But Haim began with the assumption that, given Peres's lead in the polls, we should simply play it safe, ignore the issue of the assassination, and try to ignore Bibi, too. He described it as a soccer match. We were leading by two goals, he told our first strategy meeting. The other side was never going to score unless we screwed up. "To win, we do what all good teams do. We play for time. We kick the ball around. We kick the ball into the stands. We wait for the final whistle." I tried, without success, to argue that we were underestimating Bibi. "He may be young and inexperienced in national politics. But I know him from when he was even younger. He knows how to analyze a task, break it down, work out a plan and execute it systematically and tenaciously. If we play it safe and don't *define* the campaign, he'll seize on every error we make and *he* will define it."

I wanted us at least to connect with Yitzhak's legacy. I argued to both Peres and Ramon that we should promote Shimon as the candidate with the background, experience and vision to take forward what he and Rabin had begun. I also wanted us to echo a core assumption in all that Yitzhak did as a military and political leader: that peace was achievable only if Israel and its citizens felt secure. Even before the renewed terror attacks, I argued that we had to recognize that, much as Israelis yearned for peace, many were conflicted and fearful about the Oslo process. I said our central campaign message should be *bitachon ve shalom*. Security and peace. "In that order," I added. "We should tell voters openly that we expect groups like Hamas to try to launch attacks. But they don't *want* a secure Israel. They don't want peace. *Don't play their game*."

Yet the scale and intensity of the bombings threw everything into crisis. After the bomb in the Dizengoff shopping mall, Peres called an emergency cabinet meeting at the *kirya*. He knew that we had to find a way to reassure Israelis we were getting a grip on the situation. We had got a start in our regular Sunday

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cabinet meeting the day before, by reviving an idea I'd supported under Rabin: to build a security fence all along the edge of the West Bank, with a series of controlled crossing points for people and goods. Yitzhak had said no at the time, because he was worried it would be seen as a *de facto* border and undermine the idea of building coexistence. My view then, and even more so now, was that we would never get to the point of negotiating a final peace with the Palestinians unless we could stop at least most of the terror attacks before they happened. Peres, too, had been worried about "undermining coexistence." But now, he and the rest of the cabinet were so shaken by the carnage Hamas had left that they approved the idea of a security barrier.

At our *kirya* meeting, hours after the latest bomb had exploded less than a mile away, Peres recognized we had to go further. Under Oslo, we had begun giving the Palestinians control over internal security in Gaza and parts of the West Bank. Since the new Hamas attacks, Arafat had been *saying* the right things. After the first bomb in Jerusalem, he'd phoned Shimon to offer condolences, telling reporters afterward that this was "a terrorist operation. I condemn it completely. It is not only against civilians, but against the whole peace process." Yet when it came to *action*, we saw no sign that he was willing, ready, or perhaps able to crack down on the Islamist terror attacks. So Peres now announced that, if necessary in order to detain known terrorists, we would for the first time send Israeli troops back into areas where control had been handed back. If Arafat didn't act, we would.

On the political front, Peres did get some good news: President Clinton, anxious to preserve the progress he'd worked so closely with Yitzhak to achieve, organized an unprecedented show of international condemnation of the terror attacks. With Egypt's Hosni Mubarak, he co-chaired a "Summit of Peacemakers" in Sharm al-Sheikh with the participation not just of an equally concerned King Hussein, and of course Arafat, but leaders of Arab states from North Africa to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf. The only significant holdout was Syria's Hafez al-Assad. He objected because he said the conference was too focused on Israel. As Foreign Minister, I accompanied Shimon to the summit. A single day's meeting was never going to end terror. But it was unprecedented in the breadth of Arab engagement in an initiative that, as Assad had anticipated, didn't just condemn terror in general. It specifically denounced the attacks being launched inside Israel.

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I'd met President Clinton briefly once before, when he received Syrian chief-of-staff Hikmat Shehabi and me after our Blair House talks in 1994. But the Sharm conference provided my first opportunity to spend time with him face-to-face. When Peres and our delegation were about to leave, a Clinton aide approached and said the President had asked whether I'd like to join him on the flight back to Israel. Though as surprised as I was by the invitation, Shimon nodded at me to signal it was okay, so I headed off for Air Force One. I spent most of the brief flight talking to the President in the office space carved into the middle of the plane. I would later discover that he quite often tried to engage with foreign leaders' colleagues or advisers on overseas trips, and not limit himself to summit negotiations. It was part of his voracious appetite for information or insights which he believed were essential to get a rounded understanding of the complexities of the issues he was trying to address. Still, it was an extraordinarily fascinating 20 minutes. I got my first real look at Clinton's natural gift for person-to-person politics, as well as his mastery of both the detail and nuance of Israel's predicament, and of the wider conflict in the Middle East. Looking straight at me, almost never breaking eye contact, he encouraged me to feel I had something of value and importance to share with him. In fact, he created the impression that I was the first sentient, intelligent human being he'd ever met. He made no grand policy statements. Mostly, he asked me questions: what were the prospects of Arafat reining in Hamas and Islamic Jihad? How were our relations going with King Hussein? What was my view of the chances of concluding a peace with Hafez al-Assad, despite his boycott of Sharm al-Sheikh? If Shimon did go on to win the election, what new diplomatic opportunities could he as president, and we, exploit in the search for peace? And, finally, what if *Bibi* won? I dare say this first meeting was more memorable for me than for the president. But it would turn out to provide a foundation for our joint efforts, in a few years' time, to resolve the very issues we'd talked about on Air Force One.

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Though the summit restored a small opinion poll lead for Peres, that merely reinforced Haim Ramon's soccer-game strategy. I was more convinced than ever it was wrong. Haim still wanted to ignore Bibi, but I pointed out that for at least one

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reason, that was absurd. Near the end of the campaign, there was going be a head-to-head television debate. In the meantime, though Bibi might be many things, he wasn't stupid. He was already telling voters that while Peres was making deals with Arafat, ordinary Israelis were being left to wonder where the next terrorist would strike. He would surely ramp up the accusations that Peres was "weak on security," especially if there was more violence. To assume that if we just sat back we would win seemed to me complacent and risky. Yet when I mentioned to Shimon that a couple of our internal polls still actually had Bibi slightly ahead, he just laughed. "I have good polls," he said. "Why should I believe the bad ones?"

Then, however, violence intervened again. It was not Hamas this time. Beginning on March 30 and escalating sharply 10 days later, Katyusha rockets rained onto towns and settlements in northern Israel by Hizbollah – the first sustained attack since the cease-fire in 1994. It was pretty obvious that, like Hamas, the Iranian-backed Shi'ite militia in Lebanon was not just targeting Israeli civilians, but Oslo, and Peres's chances of winning the election. The last thing Shimon wanted was for tens of thousands of people in the north of Israel to be cowering in shelters during the final stretch of the campaign. So on April 11, he ordered a major military operation in Lebanon.

I wasn't party to the discussions about the operation. But the model chosen was similar to the one I'd drawn up in 1994: a large-scale air and artillery assault designed to hit Hizbollah hard, force civilians to flee and persuade the Lebanese and Syrian governments to commit to a US-mediated end to the rocket attacks. Again, all of that happened. But not before a tragic accident which brought a storm of international criticism and hastened the end of the operation. An Israeli special-forces unit was ambushed while providing laser targeting support for an air force strike. When it called in artillery support, four of the shells fell on a UN compound near the Lebanese village of Qana, killing more than 100 civilians seeking shelter inside.

Peres phoned me a few hours later, distraught not just because the wayward artillery strike had laid us open to charges of "targeting" civilians in an operation designed to try to avoid doing so. Also, because the accident seemed likely to deal a further blow to his efforts to convince Israel's voters that he, rather than Bibi, was the man best placed to lead the country. "We're in trouble," he said. Yet within days, it became clear that our basic campaign strategy – ignore Bibi and "kick the ball into the stands" – was not going to change. I did make one last

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attempt to help put us on the political offensive, after I was asked to record on of Labor's TV campaign messages. I knew what I wanted to say. I'd talked it over with the small group of campaign experts Peres had asked me to assemble alongside Ramon's main team. Rather than ignore Bibi, I was going to use my position as his former commander in Sayeret Matkal, someone who knew him well, to explain why *Peres* should lead Israel.

"How many of us can really understand what it means to be a Prime Minister?" I began. "As head of intelligence, and chief of staff, I have seen, close-up, what it takes to be a Prime Minister. It is not a game. We've had good Prime Ministers: Ben-Gurion, Peres, Rabin, Begin... Bibi, we know each other well, from the days when you were an officer under my command. A young officer, and a good one. Prime Minister is the most important and serious role in this country. Bibi, it's not yet you. We need an experienced leader, who will know how to guide us with wisdom, strength and sensitivity. Shimon Peres is that man."

Yet we were never going to be able to avoid engaging with Bibi altogether. The face-to-face television debate between the two candidates was set for May 27, two days before the election. By American standards, the format was fairly tame. No direct exchanges were permitted, only a series of questions directed at each candidate by a leading political journalist, Dan Margalit. Still, it would place Shimon and Bibi side by side. We spent two days prepping Peres, with Avraham Burg – an early Peace Now supporter, former Peres aide and Knesset member – standing in for Bibi. Avraham played the role well, anticipating the lines of attack Shimon would face. But as I watched, I worried that even he couldn't replicate one of Bibi's key advantages. During his time at the embassy in Washington, and especially as UN ambassador, Bibi had become a frequent presence on American television interview shows. Always articulate, he was now also an experienced, and completely comfortable, television performer. In our debate rehearsals, Peres sounded well versed on all the issues. Yet I sensed his problem wasn't going to be the message, but the medium. He sounded a bit distant, unengaged, almost as if the TV debate was something he knew he had to go through, but which he thought slightly sullied the proper purpose of politics.

In the real debate, Shimon seemed to convey the sense that merely being in the same studio with a pretender as raw and untested as Bibi was offensive. When each of the candidates was given the opportunity at the end to ask a single question of the other, Peres didn't even bother. He did come over as the man with much more

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experience, gravitas, substance. He also had what was probably the best line in the debate, saying that if Israeli voters were choosing a male model and not a Prime Minister, Bibi might indeed be their man. Yet Bibi was much the more polished performer, and the more focused. No matter what question Margalit asked him, he almost invariably answered with the driving message of his campaign: that because of Peres, Israeli citizens were living in *fear*, wondering where the next suicide bomber would strike or the next Katyusha would land. And unavoidably, there was another contrast as well: Bibi, who, after all, was 26 years younger, projected greater youth, energy and confidence. When it was over, and Peres asked us how he'd done, we all hemmed and hawed. Only Avraham Burg was prepared to offer a clear verdict. He told Peres that Bibi had been the clear winner.

Still, it remained possible that Ramon's football-game strategy might work. Though Peres's poll lead had been narrowing by the day, he was – just – ahead. With a large number of voters undecided, however, Bibi pulled one final trick out of his campaign bag. Under Israeli law, election spending is tightly regulated and nearly all campaigning is barred during the last 48 hours before polling day. Yet with the backing of wealthy overseas supporters, the Netanyahu campaign suddenly flooded Israel with blue-and-white banners under the slogan: *Bibi, Tov la Yehudim*. "Bibi is good for the Jews." Would it swing tens of thousands of votes among the Orthodox voters who were the main target? It was impossible to say. But it seemed clear it was going to be a very close election.

I had worried for some time we might lose. That was why Nava and I had persuaded Michal, our eldest daughter, to bring forward her wedding. She was marrying her teenage boyfriend, a wonderful young man named Ziv Lotenberg. They had originally planned it for a week later. But we did want to risk having it overshadowed by an election defeat. The wedding took place in a beautiful area of lawns and gardens called Ronit Farm, north of Herzliya. It was how weddings are meant to be, full of smiles, good food and dancing. Near the end, Shimon showed up. As he walked over to greet us, one guest after another shook his hand, patted him on the back, hugged him, wished him luck. It was as if all the pressure and tension of the campaign had suddenly flowed out of him. He smiled, returned the embraces, even joined in the dancing. When he left, I told him that he'd done all he could to secure victory, and that I hoped the voters would make the right choice.

The first exit polls suggested he was going to win. But our internal polling was less clear. As more and more votes were counted, Shimon's margin inexorably

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narrowed. It wasn't until the next morning that the final result was clear: Bibi Netanyahu had won. By 29,000 votes. If a mere 15,000 of the three million ballots cast had gone in our column instead of his, Shimon Peres would have remained Prime Minister.

I knew he'd be feeling crushed. Not just on a personal level, because this latest electoral defeat had been in was a direct, head-to-head vote for Prime Minister. He, like all of us who had campaigned for him, knew what was at stake for the country. It had been barely six months since Rabin was gunned down in Tel Aviv's main square, by a fellow Israeli riding a tide of hatred so blinkered that it could paint Yitzhak – who had worked all his life to create, defend and help develop the Jewish state – as a traitor, even a Nazi. All because he had decided to try to make peace with the Palestinians, at the price of ceding control of part of the biblical land of Israel. Bibi had gone through the motions of urging restraint. But politically, he had ridden their wave. It was hard not to see his victory over Peres as a triumph for the ugly intolerance and the venom that had claimed Yitzhak's life. In policy terms, it was in large part a rejection of both men's vision of an Israel that, while still ready to fight if necessary, could explore compromise in the search for the ultimate prize of peace. The last time Yitzhak and I had talked, he'd been confident of defeating Bibi at the polls, and I do believe he would have won. But despite his differences with Peres, I'm equally certain he would have wanted *Shimon* to win, not just for his sake but for Israel's.

I had got to know Shimon, too, during my years in the *kirya*. In fact, he was the Labor leader who first spoke to me openly about one day moving into politics, something Yitzhak was always punctilious in not broaching before I'd left the army. Shimon had also taken to including me – usually along with Yossi Beilin and Shlomo Ben-Ami, a bright young historian who would become our ambassador to Spain before entering politics himself – in a coterie of "youngsters" he would bring along to meet visiting dignitaries from abroad. He occasionally invited me to chat about military and security issues in his and Sonya's flat in Ramat Aviv. My personal ties to Rabin were stronger, of course. After I joined the government, Shimon's and my relationship became slightly more circumspect. But since the assassination, some of the old warmth had returned. Not just as his foreign minister, but in discussions on wider questions of security as well, we worked closely together.

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Within days of the election, however, there was a new source of potential friction between us: Shimon's future, and possibly mine, in leading our opposition to Bibi and bringing a Labor government back to power.

* * *

The question of Peres's leadership was unavoidable. Labor's constitution mandated a vote for party chairman within 14 months of an election defeat. But the widespread assumption was that Shimon would run again. A little before midnight on election day, with the returns beginning to show we might lose, I was invited to a morning-after breakfast by two senior Labor ministers: Fuad Ben-Eliezer, the man who had delivered the table-thumping warning that the hatred on the far-right would lead to a murder, and Avraham Shochat, Finance Minister under both Rabin and Peres. Both had been in the Knesset since the 1980s. Both were part of two of Peres's earlier, failed, election campaigns. Both now said that they weren't prepared to see him lead us into electoral battle the next time around. "Everyone in the party understands the meaning of this defeat. Shimon is done," Shochat said, as Fuad nodded his agreement. "You will have to go for the leadership."

Though their endorsement was a surprise, it would be disingenuous to pretend I hadn't been thinking, at some stage in the future, of running for the party leadership. But my election-campaign differences with Ramon and Peres were not just for the sake of intellectual argument. I badly wanted us to win: both for Peres's sake and the country's, and to redeem and continue all that Yitzhak had sacrificed. Despite my misgivings about some aspects of the Oslo process, I did believe there was a possibility of achieving peace with the Palestinians. I knew, from my involvement in the talks with the Syrians, that the outline of a possible peace agreement with Assad was already in place. I frankly wasn't confident that Bibi was the man to lead it forward. Yes, he was smart. He was organizationally astute. He'd been a good sayeret officer. Yet as I'd said it my TV spot, being Prime Minister required much more than that. I was now an elected Knesset member. But I had gone into politics in the hope of making a difference to how Israel confronted its defining challenges of war and peace. The prospect of spending the next few as a mere opposition foot soldier, making speeches and sitting in committee sessions,

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seemed to defeat the purpose of going into politics in the first place.

Still, I had no appetite for rushing into a challenge to Peres's leadership, both because it was bound to be difficult for both of us, and frankly because it seemed rash, premature and maybe even unnecessary. Bibi was beginning the negotiations to form a government, and that process was likely to take at least a few weeks. Shimon had yet to signal whether he did intend to stay on. Still, when he invited me for a late-night chat at his apartment a week after the election, I was concerned *he* might raise the leadership issue and I knew that, if he did, I would have to be honest and open with him.

The conversation went very differently than I'd expected. After he'd poured each of us a glass of Armagnac, and offered me a plate of Sonia's cakes, he spoke for a while about Bibi, though he could not even bring himself to utter the name. *This man,* he said, knew nothing about leadership, much less about running the country. He would be outmaneuvered, overshadowed and ultimately controlled by the "real strongman" in the Likud: Arik Sharon. I said I thought we were again underestimating Bibi's strength, as well as the effect of the country's new electoral system. He was the first Prime Minister to enjoy a direct, personal mandate. That turned upside down the balance of power and influence in our politics. As he assembled his coalition, the other parties, if they wanted to be in government, would have to deal with him on his terms. So, to a much greater extent than before, would potential internal rivals.

As we talked, I was struck that Shimon seemed resigned to the election defeat, relaxed, more at ease with himself than at any time since the start of the grueling campaign. Then, quite suddenly, he said: "Ehud, I understand the meaning of the election result. "You will have to take on the leadership, and lead the party." He said he didn't plan to spend the rest of his years hanging around the apartment. He would remain active – "working for peace" – but no longer in the party political arena. "I understand the meaning of what has happened," he repeated. "I will pass the Labor leadership torch to you. We should find a way to do it quickly, and in the right way."

It was nearly three in the morning when I left. I was not just surprised, but touched, by what he'd said. Shimon was now nearly 73. He'd had a life in our country's politics, and in Labor, stretching back to before the state, when he'd been a favored protégé of Ben-Gurion. Walking away was going to be hard. I was

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touched as well by the fact that he had decided to "pass the torch" to me, someone more in the mold, and closer to, Rabin. But I remained cautious, too. When I got back home, Nava, knowing where I'd been, was still awake. I told her everything that Shimon had said. I told her how extraordinary it felt to have the prospect, at least, of leading Labor in opposition to Bibi, without the need to confront, or to inflict personal hurt, on Shimon. But I added: "It seems a bit too good to be true."

It was. The next morning, I joined other ministers and party officials with Peres in his office. It was as if our conversation a few hours before had never happened. Shimon set out his strategy for Labor going forward. And the first thing he said was that the party needed to push back any leadership election beyond the mandated 14 months."It's too early," he said. He said we needed to focus on two other strategic imperatives: to reconstruct the party, and consider the issue of joining a possible "unity" government with Bibi.

Though Bibi went on to form his government without us, in alliance with a number of smaller Orthodox parties, the idea of a Labor leadership change seemed off the agenda, at least for now. In early August, I was standing next to Giora Einy – the "political operative" Yitzhak had sent to help bring me into his government, and a friend of Peres as well – when Shimon rose to speak to the dozens of well-wishers at his 73rd-birthday celebration in Tel Aviv. He was at his old, self-confident best. With just a few thousand extra votes, we would have won the election, he said. He was sure Bibi's coalition – "a coalition against peace" – would not survive for long. Giora, smiling, turned to me and said: "It doesn't sound like a farewell speech. It seems like he's ready for the next round. He lost twice to Begin. He lost once to Shamir. And only once to Bibi. He's not going to stop without giving it another go."

Another of Peres's old friends, a few weeks later, urged me to press him on the need to step aside. I'd become closer to the French Jewish businessman Jean Frydman during the election campaign. Since he had helped organize the fateful peace rally at which Rabin was shot, he felt – wrongly, but powerfully – a sense of responsibility for what had happened. He wanted to do everything possible to ensure that Rabin's political legacy, and Shimon's, survived. He invited Nava and me to visit him for a few days. When he asked about the birthday celebration, I told him what Peres had said. "He's making a huge mistake," Jean told me. "After every election, he goes through the same process. Always, he's convinced that next time he will win." I said how I dreaded the prospect of being part of an effort to

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force Shimon out. But Jean said he'd been giving a lot of thought to everything that had happened since Rabin was killed. He felt I was the only potential Labor leader who could defeat Bibi in an election and "bring back sanity to Israel, lead it to peace." He said he was convinced that Peres's time had passed. "I can say that. I'm from his generation. And as a very close friend of Shimon, I will be the first in line to help you."

Early in September, having let Shimon know through Giora and then phoning him directly, I declared publicly that I would be running for the Labor leadership. Though he'd thanked me for telling him beforehand, he said he thought I was making a mistake, and was still against having a leadership election at all. That made his public response to my announcement puzzling. He went on Israeli TV and said he would *not* be a candidate for Prime Minister in four years' time. "The time has come for a change," he said. But while everyone took that to mean he was reconciled to a change of party leadership as well, it turned out that we had jumped the gun. He intended to stay on as chairman.

During the early months of 1997, Shimon and I held a series of late-night meetings at his apartment to thrash out an agreed course. It was a process that was hard for both of us, and hurtful for him. He was now at least reconciled to the inevitability of an election for a new party leader, if only because his protégé Yossi Beilin had also put his name forward. But he kept proposing to push back the vote. I insisted that since the deadline under party rules was June 3, it was only right that all of us abide by that. I do remember a particularly poignant moment from one of our sessions. Peres had left the room for a minute, and Sonia came in. "Ehud," she said to me, "keep your nerve. You're the only one who can talk to him this way. He should have retired from politics years ago. You're the only one around him who tells him the truth."

We ended up with a compromise. Shimon accepted that the leadership election would be held on June 3. I agreed that in the unlikely event Bibi decided to invite us into his coalition during the three months after the leadership vote, Peres would select the Labor ministers. Our last meeting ended at nearly four in the morning. He told me he'd arranged a reception for the party leadership at 10 a.m., in barely six hours' time. He suggested we meet in his office an hour beforehand. I didn't know what to expect. After months of discussions, I hoped he understood that I had wanted the process to go differently. I had been open and honest with him throughout. But I knew that, deep down, he still wanted to stay on, that he believed

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that his long record of service should have earned him that right, and that it would be painful for him to accept that, by June, there would be a new Labor leader.

He was relaxed and gracious when I arrived. We went through the details of what we'd agreed, and worked out what each of us would say to reporters. What came next, as the party faithful filed in, was simple human nature, I suppose. Seeing some of his oldest supporters, he had second thoughts. His comments to reporters afterward were more hedged than what we'd discussed. Giora told me that after all of us had left, Peres turned to him and said: "Look what Barak is doing to me. What have *you* been doing?" Giora, who had been a conduit between us at the very beginning of our discussions, replied: "You *asked* me to bring Barak to you." At which point, Shimon said: "OK. So probably I made a mistake."

At a convention of 3,000 party activists in mid-May, a few weeks before the leadership election, he made a final attempt to mitigate that "mistake". Nissim Zvili, the secretary-general of the party and a longtime Peres ally, introduced a motion to vote him into a new post of party president. A couple of Shimon's friends urged me to back the idea, describing it essentially as a ceremonial role. But I feared it was a recipe for prolonging the agony. Whatever powers "President Peres" would have, the idea of two captains on a ship would almost certainly mean trouble. I was especially reluctant to go along with it because our *particular* ship had been in rough waters for so long. Labor needed to steer a calm, decisive course toward the next election if we were going to defeat Bibi.

What followed was one of the most painful spectacles I've ever witnessed. When Peres rose to make his case for becoming party president, he said: "I don't want powers. I don't want honors. But I also don't want insults. I *announced* my decision to resign from the position of party chairman. Did someone push me into it? Am I trying to hold on to my job?"

"Yes!" many hundreds of the delegates shouted back at him.

Stung, he reminded the meeting that it was he who had led Labor back from the battering it took in the 1977 election against Begin. In 1981, he'd helped us recover a dozen of our lost seats. Even so, because he hadn't succeeded in forming a Labor government, people had called him a loser! "*Mah? Ani* loser?" he asked, using the English word. "Am I a *loser*?"

"Yes! Yes!" came the shouts.

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Yet the saddest note came at the end. "I apologize for being healthy, for not getting old according to plan," he said, adding that even *without* the title of president, he would keep working for peace.

There were three other candidates for party chairman: Yossi Beilin; Ephraim Sneh, the friend who'd been the paratroopers' chief medic when we'd fought at the Chinese Farm in 1973, and at Entebbe too; and Shlomo Ben-Ami, the academic and diplomat whom Shimon had taken along with Yossi and me to meet visiting foreign politicians, and who was now also a newly elected member of the Knesset. When the vote came, it was assumed by most political commentators that I was going to win. The only question was whether I'd get the 50 per cent of votes needed to avoid a run-off, where the outcome might be less predictable. But I got 57 percent against Yossi's 28, with the remaining 15 percent split between Ephraim and Shlomo-Ben Ami.

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Now, we had to put ourselves in a position to defeat Bibi and the Likud. Policy priorities were ultimately what would matter most: strong and credible steps to confront terror and safeguard our security, allied with the leadership and will to try to negotiate a peace with Syria and the Palestinians; and, at home, a recommitment to the values of an open, tolerant democracy. But in at least one important way, I approached my new role as if it was one of our operations in Sayeret Matkal, or the need to reshape our armed forces when I was chief-of-staff. My first priority was to put in place the *practical* foundations for a successful election challenge against Bibi. Through Jean Frydman and other business supporters with the means and the desire to help, my brother-in-law, Doron Cohen, assembled sufficient funding for us to begin engaging with the strategists who had helped deliver electoral success for a trio of other centre-left political leaders overseas: Bill Clinton, Tony Blair in Britain and later Gerhard Schroeder in Germany.

My main early political focus was on holding Bibi and the government to account in the Knesset, above all on the torturous process of ensuring our security while implementing the West Bank redeployments agreed in Oslo II. We'd made a small start under Rabin and Peres, but the three major withdrawal phases due in the

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five-year interim period had yet to begin. In one respect, I had some sympathy for Bibi's predicament. The reason I'd tried to get Yitzhak to alter the terms of Oslo II was that it required us to hand back control before we knew what a "permanent-status" peace deal would look like. But where my sympathy ended was in how Bibi handled the situation. Despite my concerns about the way the Oslo process had been designed, I never doubted that killing it off would be by far a worse alternative. Bibi had been elected to *lead* Israel. Instead, he acted as if he was playing some sort of pinball match, flipping the ball first one way, then the other, with no obvious aim beyond keeping it in play – and, where Oslo was concerned, simply stalling for time. Rather than setting out any vision of where he hoped to move the negotiating process, he seemed more concerned with keeping the right-wing of Likud and the smaller, even more extreme parties from turning against him.

In late September 1996, Bibi and the Likud mayor of Jerusalem, Ehud Olmert, decided to go ahead with the festive opening of an archeological tunnel that provided access to a larger portion of the Western Wall of the ancient Jewish temple. It was a decision that, under both Rabin and Peres, we'd delayed out of concern about inflaming tensions with the Palestinians. As Shimon rightly said publicly after the three days of violence that followed, we understood that, at a minimum, it would need to be coordinated beforehand with Arafat. As the unrest spread into the West Bank and Gaza, there were media warnings of a "new *intifada,"* the difference this time being that the Palestinians newly established police had entered the fray. By the time urgent US diplomacy, our efforts and Arafat's, brought it to a close, 25 Israeli soldiers and nearly 100 Palestinians had been killed. He did not slam the brakes altogether on the American-led efforts to move ahead with the Oslo. In early 1997, in fact, he and Arafat reached a separate agreement on the critically important question, and potential flashpoint, of Hebron. It stipulated that about 80 percent of the area would be under Palestinian authority, with Israel retaining control and responsibility for nearby settlements and key security points. Despite right-wing and settler opposition, it was approved by a wide margin in the Knesset, with Labor's backing. But a few months later, in the spring of 1997, Hamas launched a new campaign of suicide bombings in shopping areas of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, leaving 24 people dead. While not suggesting that Bibi took the human cost of terror lightly, he did use the attacks to drag out further US-mediated talks on the details of implementing the Oslo II redeployments.

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By November, even his Foreign Minister, David Levy, was making noises about quitting. He said it would be a waste of time to stay in the cabinet if it was going to bring the peace process to a halt. I warned Bibi, both in the Knesset and in a series of speeches, about the alternative on the Palestinian side if those who *wanted* a negotiated peace had nothing but stalemate to show for it. And lives, I insisted, were at stake. Both through closed-door sessions of the Knesset's security and foreign affairs committee, and my own contacts in military intelligence, I was convinced that the result would be a second, much more deadly, intifada. Not with Molotov cocktails, but guns, and suicide bombs.

I was not out to score political points in keeping the pressure on Bibi to move forward. In fact, I announced that if Bibi *did* go ahead and finalize the terms for our Oslo redeployment, Labor would once again provide the extra Knesset votes needed for him to get it approved.

Early in 1998, he sent word that he wanted to talk. The message came through Yaakov Ne'eman, his Finance Minister and a prominent lawyer whom I knew and liked. He and I held an exploratory meeting at which he proposed talks with Bibi on the prospect of a unity government that would help move the peace process forward. I said I'd talk, with one proviso: the discussions would be genuinely secret, with no leaks. I was not prepared to engage in political gamesmanship. In May, Bibi sent an assurance of confidentiality through Ne'eman. The first of about a half-dozen meetings came a few days later at the Prime Minister's residence in Jerusalem. Then, we shifted venue, meeting at a Mossad-owned villa north of Tel Aviv. I brought along Bougie Herzog, a bright young lawyer, and Labor Party member, who was working in the same law firm and Ne'eman. It was by no means clear we'd agree on a unity government. To my amusement, if not altogether to my surprise, I got word that Bibi was putting out separate political feelers to Shimon Peres. But before long, it became clear there was a specific political motivation behind his approaching me. It was indeed the peace process. But it wasn't the *Palestinian* peace process, something Bibi still clearly wanted to avoid as much as humanly possible. It was an attempt to engage with Syria.

He asked me about the talks under Rabin and Peres, and my views on the possibility of a deal with President Assad. He also wanted my assessment about whether the army could work out arrangements to safeguard the country's security if we handed back most, if not all, of the Golan Heights. If so, what kind of security arrangements, with what timeline? We met through the summer, as the

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talks with the Americans on the further West Bank redeployments meandered ahead. We also discussed in detail how a unity government would work. We agreed it would be presented, like the Shamir-Peres partnership in 1984, as a cross-party response to an important challenge for the country: in this case, security and the peace process. I would be both Defense Minister and "Vice-Prime Minister", with the understanding that Bibi and I would jointly discuss all major issues before jointly agreeing to bring them to the full cabinet.

But in August, the talks ended, after news of our talks finally leaked. I immediately phoned Ne'eman. I reminded him that at the outset, I'd said that would mean the discussions were over. He did call me back later in the day to say Bibi insisted that he'd had nothing to do with the leak. My guess was that the source was my old comrade from the Chinese Farm, Yitzhik Mordechai, who had presumably heard that Bibi was ready to make me Defense Minister as part of a unity government. There was, of course, already a defense minister: Yitzhik.

Bibi's idea to reopen efforts to get peace with Syria didn't last either. Although I'd learn of this only a few years later, he'd approved a visit to Damascus by the American Jewish businessman Ronald Lauder to meet President Assad. The visit made it clear to Bibi what successive Israeli leaders had learned: a deal might be possible, but only if Israel was willing to commit in advance to pulling out of the Golan. Assad told Lauder to come back to him with a detailed map setting out Bibi's view on delineating the Israeli-Syrian border under a peace agreement. Though no one in the cabinet knew the initiative was underway, Bibi realized that before sending back the map Assad wanted, he would need to tell the two senior ministers directly affected: Arik Sharon, who had replaced David Levy as Foreign Minister; and Yitzhik Mordechai. Both of them said no, with Yitzhik pointing out that a signed map would inevitably become part of the negotiating record. It was a step that, in future negotiations, could not be undone.

Bibi's coalition was now creaking. The Syrian option was off. David Levy had already jumped ship. Yitzhik, increasingly concerned about Bibi's delay and drift on Oslo II, seemed to be thinking of leaving as well. Right wing ministers and Knesset members were no happier: they opposed even the slightest prospect of movement on Oslo. In October, Bibi did finally try to seize the initiative. He wrapping up the redeployment details in a summit with Arafat and Clinton and Arafat in Wye River. But as soon as he got back home, he started backtracking, rather than risk facing down his right-wing critics in the cabinet. Implementation of

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the deal was due to begin in early November, but he kept putting off a vote in the cabinet. When the vote came, on November 11, Bibi squeaked through by a margin of 8 to 4, but with five abstentions. That meant less than half of his ministers had voted for it.

The easy part for him was Knesset ratification, since I had committed Labor to supporting Bibi on any move towards continuing the peace process. The day after the Knesset's vote, Bibi won the cabinet's clearance for actual implementation to begin. But it didn't. With hard-line ministers threatening to bring down the government if it did, Bibi again stalled. That was the turning point. I'd made it clear our parliamentary support would remain for as long as Bibi moved ahead with what had been agreed at Wye River. It was not intended as a blank check, or an offer to prop up a Prime Minister who now seemed to be looking for any way possible *not* to implement the agreement.

My key ally in what came next was Haim Ramon. Despite our differences over the direction of the Peres election campaign, we had become effective parliamentary partners. He had a depth of political experience and knowledge I still lacked. While I found the details of how the Knesset operated arcane and often tiresome, Haim knew all of it instinctively. When it came to the need for discreet discussions or bargaining with other parties, not only could he draw on his personal relationships with Knesset members across the party divide. He had the additional advantage of being able to avoid the scrutiny that would follow a direct approach from me. Before Bibi had gone to Wye, Haim and I had discussed how we might move to force early elections. The peace process, and the country, were drifting. There seemed no point in waiting, if we could be confident of lining up the necessary votes among the growing number of others who were also convinced Bibi should go. After the Wye summit agreement, I put all that on hold. But now that Bibi had shifted into reverse, I told Haim to resume his efforts.

In early December, he told me he had enough votes for a no-confidence motion, under his name, to dissolve the Knesset and pave the way for early elections. The axe fell on December 20. Bibi had lost the support of the right-wing, who wanted Oslo ended altogether. He had now lost me, too. I felt his approach to the peace process was leaving Israel rudderless. The way we were heading, we would not just forfeit any potential benefits from Oslo. We would be leaving a political and diplomatic vacuum at a time when a serious new explosion of Palestinian violence was becoming ever more likely. In the Knesset debate, Bibi made one final bid to

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save himself: by suggesting a delay of 72 hours for talks on a "unity" government. I said that I was all for unity. But I reminded him that, time after time, we'd saved his government in order to continue the peace process. We could no longer help out a "government that is not interested in upholding the Wye agreement, but only in its political survival."

The vote of no-confidence went against him by the yawning margin of 81 to 30, with nine Knesset members abstaining or staying away. A few days later, the date for the election was announced: May 17, 1999.

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Chapter Nineteen

A few hours before Haim Ramon introduced his no-confidence resolution, he came to see me in my office in the Knesset. He was worried. Not about the vote, but about what would come after. "Ehud, I'm sure we can topple the government," he told me. "But only you know whether we're ready – whether *you're* ready – to defeat Bibi in an election."

"I'm ready," I said. "We are going to win."

Few agreed. In fact, there had been times during my first year-and-a-half as Labor leader when I wondered if I'd be able to hang on to the job. I was in charge of a party whose grassroots were on the left. I was, by intellect and instinct, a pragmatist and a centrist. I did share Labor's vision of a socially just and democratic Israel. Especially after seeing far-right rabbis egg on the fanaticism that ultimately killed Yitzhak Rabin, I felt strongly that we needed to separate organized religion from our day-to-day politics. But I'd been raised with a deeper respect for our Jewish traditions than many on the left. Right after Yitzhak's murder, I'd gone to see Zevulun Hammer, the leader of the National Religious Party. It had been part of both Labor and Likud governments ever since 1948, though not Rabin's. The NRP, too, had been drifting steadily rightward. But it still basically subscribed the idea of a strong, democratic Israel under the rule of law. I wanted to bring the NRP back into the government under Peres, as part of the widest possible political alliance against the assassination and the campaign of hatred that had fostered it. Sadly that didn't happen, in part because of the anger against all Orthodox politicians after Rabin's murder. Yet in my readiness to engage politically with Orthodox leaders who did not reject the very idea of peace negotiations – whether in the NRP, or the increasingly influential Sephardi religious party, Shas – I was outside Labor's mainstream, and its comfort zone.

On my approach to peace as well, I differed from many on the left. Though I was determined to pursue any realistic avenue to negotiations, I was convinced that security considerations had to be paramount in what we were prepared to give up or accept in negotiations. I was cautious about ceding too much too soon, in case the Palestinians or the Syrians proved either unequal to, or uninterested in, making the hard decisions required for peace. That was an approach with, like Yitzhak

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before me, provoked more left-wing parties like Meretz to suggest that if I *really* wanted peace, I'd be ready to give away more, and more quickly.

My position wasn't helped by the way I had come over in the media during my first months as Labor leader. A number of newspaper commentators wrote that while they found talking with me stimulating, I seemed to be operating in a world of my own, either unable or unwilling to give straight answers and a single, clear message. They were right about that. If asked a question, especially one which obviously involved an issus of nuance, my instinct was not to come up with a sound bite. It was, as best I could, to answer fully and accurately. The difficulties that could sometime cause hit home in an interview with a leading Israeli journalist in the spring of 1998. He asked how my life might have turned out if I'd been born and raised not as a kibbutznik, but a Palestinian. I answered: "At some stage, I would have entered one of the terror organizations and fought from there, and later would certainly have tried to influence from within the political system." I did hasten to add that I abhorred terrorists, describing their actions as "abominable… villainous." But that was lost in the political storm that followed. All I'd done was answer as honestly I could. What if I had been one of the Palestinian babies in Wadi Khawaret, but with the same mind and same impulses that had defined my life as an Israeli? I assumed that instead of becoming an Israeli soldier and politician, I would have become the closest thing to a Palestinian equivalent. Still, as even my brother-in-law, Doron Cohen, told me when he phoned a couple of hours later, it was not the most astute thing to say as a potential candidate for Prime Minister.

None of this might have mattered if I'd been able to show I was bringing Labor nearer to defeating Bibi. But the only measure of progress that the media paid attention to was the opinion polls. Briefly, in late 1977, I did pull ahead, during the period leading up to Bibi's agreement to pull out of most of Hebron. But for much of 1998, I was running behind, and questions about my leadership surfaced publicly by the summer. The media commentators spoke of the need for a Labor "liftoff." Why, after a full year as leader, had I failed to deliver it?

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There *was* a part of politics for which I was naturally suited after my life in the army: to plan an operation, prepare and execute it. An ability to get the lie of the land, assess your own and your rivals' strengths and vulnerabilities, and to win. And the "lie of the land" struck me as more encouraging than many Israeli commentators believed. When I became Labor leader, I didn't expect Bibi to fall anytime soon. But I believed it was inevitable that at some point he'd have to make tough choices about the peace process, and I doubted his coalition with the more right-wing Orthodox parties would survive. I also took encouragement from the fact that the political winds in other developed democracies seemed to be blowing in our direction. Bill Clinton had won in the United States. In Britain, which had a parliamentary system much closer to Israel's, Tony Blair, as leader of a party renamed as *New* Labor, had ended eighteen years of Conservative rule and swept to victory. Behind the scenes, I immediately made sure that, with financial help from Jean Frydman and other supporters, we began the practical work of learning from the experience of center-left parties in other countries.

Within weeks of my election as Labor chairman, I used my acquaintance with a British Jewish businessman named Michael Levy to see what lessons our Labor party might learn from Tony Blair's. Levy had been an early supporter of Blair and persuaded the Prime Minister to welcome me through the famous black door of Number 10 Downing Street. After chatting in the front hallway, the British Prime Minister led me into the back garden to discuss how he had refashioned his party and brought it back into government. In addition to modifying or abandoning rigidly left-wing positions that most British voters had rejected, he had created a formidable campaigning team under an ally and adviser named Peter Mandelson. When I asked Blair whether it would be possible to meet Mandelson, he said he couldn't "give me Peter." But he did put me in touch with Philip Gould, the polling expert and strategist who had partnered Mandelson in designing and running the election campaign.

We met at Labor headquarters in Milbank Towers so Philip could show me the "war room" – modelled, in part, on Bill Clinton's campaign operation – from which the victory had been planned and executed. It was a large, open-plan space, nothing like the warren of offices and conference rooms from which Labor in Israel operated. Pride of place went to an advanced computer system, the heart of a "rebuttal unit" which charted every statement from the Conservative Party so it could be answered, neutralized or used to adjust Labor's own campaign. I was

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struck by how different the approach was from our campaign for Peres. As I filled my notebook with the details, Philip added a final bit of advice. "If you want to win, have it run by the best *professionals* you can find. Not politicians. They always have personal agendas. Focus is everything. Distractions and arguments and infighting can be fatal."

Philip recommended one professional, in particular, to get us started: Stanley Greenberg, the pollster who had advised not only Blair's campaign, but Clinton's. Doron used his contacts in New York to put us in touch not only with Greenberg but the strategist behind the Clinton victory, James Carville, and another leading Democratic Party consultant and speechwriter, Bob Shrum. We began working with all of them well before the no-confidence vote in the Knesset. Philip had a wonderfully British understatement and reserve. Stanley, with his eyeglasses and demeanor too, came over as slightly professorial. With Bob, it didn't take long to understand why he was such a gifted speechwriter. He loved words, especially the way they could be used to inspire a connection with important campaign themes: above all with the idea of hope, and new beginnings. Carville was the human equivalent of a volcano. If he hadn't been a campaign strategist, he could have made a living as a hybrid of a cowboy and a stand-up comedian. But they all shared the easy, infectious self-confidence of people who were very good at what they did, and knew it.

When I went to New York with Doron to meet Carville in Feburary 1988, my confidence as Labor leader was taking some fairly hard knocks. But from the moment he walked through our hotel-room door, it was impossible not to like him. He showed up in a T-shirt and tennis sneakers, walked straight across the room, slouched into a chair and said: "General Barak, I don't get it. You're a known public figure, with a great mind and a great military record. It's already been a year-and-a-half since Israel got Netanyahu. What have you done to *go after* him? Why haven't you gone on the attack?" He said it was time for me to wake up, and change tack. "Can you run through your stump speech for me," he asked, motioning me toward the center of the room like a film director.

"I don't have one," I said. To which he replied briskly that I should have had one *months* ago.

When Stanley paid a preliminary visit with Philip to Israel, they, too, urged me to sharpen my message and pay more attention to my image with the public.

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Stanley was worried by polling data that suggested most Israelis saw Bibi as "strong." I argued that strength was one area where we wouldn't have to worry. "No way, in a campaign, he'll end up coming over looking stronger than me." Stanley seemed not entirely convinced.

Both in "strength" and other ways, I think my background did prove an advantage. The 35 years I'd spent in the military had given me a singleminded determination to set goals, follow through and achieve them. After Haim Ramon came to my office before the no-confidence vote to ask whether I was sure I wanted to go ahead, and I answered with an unhesitating "yes," Haim had told a couple of reporters: "Barak has balls of steel." In truth, I was puzzled he'd even asked me. As when I was in uniform, it would never have occurred to me to ask him to try to line up the necessary votes if I hadn't thought it through and intended to go ahead with it.

Still, my military background was not always an asset as I found my feet as party leader and prepared to take on Bibi in the election campaign. In searching for the tools, the structure, and the people I felt would give us the best chance to win, I sometimes failed to pay due attention to the party's existing apparatus and institutions. This alienated a number of established Labor politicians, eventually including Haim himself. So as the campaign approached I tried to shore up my ties with the party establishment. I drafted in Bougie Herzog to act as my regular liaison with leading figures in the party. I was careful to include a number of Labor politicians in our campaign team as well, though, as Philip Gould had recommended, I made sure they didn't actually run it.

The closest equivalent to the role Haim had played in Peres's campaign went to a young businessman, PR professional and Labor supporter named Moshe Gaon. As spokeswoman, we brought in someone who, though she'd been a messenger of doom during the Tze'elim controversy that engulfed me before joining Rabin's government, had undeniable experience and ability which I valued and respected: Yitzhak's former media aide Aliza Goren. As campaign coordinator, I chose Tal Silberstein, who at the time was in charge of a citizens' group called *Dor Shalem Doresh Shalom*: "A Whole Generation Demands Peace." I relied on frequent, less formal input from political friends whose judgement I had learned to trust, like Eitan Haber and Giora Eini. Also playing a key role was a group of four young women, led by Orna Angel, a successful architect and a former soldier in Sayeret Matkal. She built from scratch an army of nearly 20,000 volunteers who helped

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organize events and contact voters during the campaign. We outfitted our own war room in an open-plan floor of offices on the edge of Tel Aviv. Philip called it "Milbank South." As organizational head of the campaign, I chose Chagai Shalom. An industrial engineer by training, he was a reserve army general who, when I was chief of staff, had been in charge of the logistics branch of the military. I gave him Sayeret Matkal backup as well, in the person of Danny Yatom, my longtime friend and former sayeret deputy.

* * *

But all that was process. Winning or losing would come down to how our message, our ability to forge alliances, and my own personal and political appeal, measured up against Bibi.

The new system of separate elections for party and Prime Minister meant that in order to win a majority, I would need the support of voters outside Labor as well. I set out to establish a broader movement, a big tent under which a majority of Israelis could coexist politically. I realized this risked provoking anger among some Labor activists. But I wanted to convey to voters that I was reaching out beyond my core party constituency: to "soft" right-wingers nearer the political center; to the Sephardim who since 1977 had overwhelmingly voted Likud; to the growing number of Russian immigrants who had helped Bibi defeat Peres; and to those among the Orthodox who still subscribed to tolerance and moderation in the mold of the old-style National Religious Party in the first few decades of the state. Though the candidates on our Knesset election list would all be from Labor, I ran the Prime Ministerial campaign under the broader banner of *Yisrael Ahat* – One Israel. I envisaged it as an alliance of at least several different parties with Labor at its center.

I began with Bibi's jettisoned Foreign Minister, David Levy. He was a Moroccan-born 1950s immigrant whose career had begun at the grassroots, in the northern town of Beit She'an, but who went on to become a key part of Begin's victory in 1977. The leading Sephardi figure in the Likud, he was at one point mentioned as a future leader. Many Israelis, especially on the left, now portrayed him as a figure of ridicule. But I'd always had a higher opinion of him. During the

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1982 Lebanon War, with two sons fighting on the ground, he'd been a rare voice of common sense, and caution, in the Begin cabinet. I'd also seen him operate in Shamir's inner security cabinet, when I would come, as deputy chief of staff, to present military operations for approval. I remember one occasion when an air force general laid out the details of a planned helicopter-borne mission into Lebanon. I added a few remarks in summary. Raful Eitan and Arik Sharon were both ministers. Within seconds, they were peppering the general and me with questions. Why were the aircraft taking one route north instead of another? Why not closer to Mount Hermon? Shouldn't they fly lower? Levy interrupted. "Gentlemen," he said, "we are not in company commanders' course. We're in the inner cabinet of the government of Israel. We have a chief of staff and other generals and military professionals. It's their job to decide the operational details. *Our* job is to balance the reasons for doing an operation against the risks as presented to us."

I met with him in the Knesset cafeteria before Bibi went off to the Wye River summit. Levy now headed a small breakaway faction from Likud called *Gesher*, Hebrew for "bridge." Without explicitly suggesting we join forces, I explained my hope to run my eventual campaign for Prime Minister in alliance with a few other parties. I told him I wanted to make my candidacy a legitimate choice for voters from the center-right, the Orthodox, as well as the Russian community. I took a napkin and drew a big umbrella to illustrate what I had in mind. He said he understood – though he did tell me to make sure I tore up the napkin. There came a point, at the end of November when it looked like my overture had failed. Scampering for a way to shore up his coalition, Bibi tried to lure Levy into the fold back by offering him the Finance Ministry. But with resistance from other ministers, Bibi broke off the talks with Levy, leaving him humiliated and furious. I met with him several more times, and we brought in Gesher as our first "One Israel" partner. The second to join us, early in the new year, was a small religious party called Meimad, inspired by an openly pro-peace Orthodox rabbi named Yehuda Amital and including a former Chief Rabbi of Norway, Michael Melchior.

By the end of January 1999, several months before the real campaign, I was feeling better about where we stood, in part because of a series of hits Bibi was taking from former friends and allies. The first salvo was fired by Misha Arens, who had helped engineer Bibi's move into national politics. He announced he was going to put himself forward for the Likud leadership before the election, saying

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that he and others were convinced Bibi couldn't win. A couple of weeks later, Yitzhik Mordechai seemed on the verge of becoming the latest of Bibi's ministers to resign. He was openly flirting with the idea of joining a new centrist party that had been formed by Likud's Dan Meridor. Bibi struck back with a mixture of subtlety and venom. He fired Mordechai, accusing him of being driven by personal ambition. Then he offered the Defense Minister's job to Misha Arens.

Yitzhik did join the Center Party, as did Amnon Lipkin, who had ended his term as chief-of-staff and, with initial opinion poll numbers suggesting he'd do well, even briefly entered the race for Prime Minister. Now, he endorsed Yitzhik Mordechai instead: a man not only with strong military credentials, but of Sephardi background and religiously observant, and a proven politician and cabinet minister. It was clear that he would be going after many of the same votes I needed to win.

That situation wasn't ideal, to put it mildly. But all I could do at this stage was to put our own campaign house in order. I hoped that if we ran the campaign I expected, there wouldn't *be* a run-off.

* * *

At the start of April, the final list of candidates was set. There were five. In addition to Bibi, Yitzhik and me, Benny Begin had decided to run on the right. Also in the contest was Knesset member Azmi Beshara, the first Israeli Arab citizen to seek national office.

When we chose "One Israel" as the name of our campaign alliance, it was not meant just as a catchy phrase. Though now a half-century old, the country had rarely seemed so diverse, and in many ways divided. It was not just the old fault line between Labor and Revisionist Zionism that defined our politics, or even the Ashkenazi-Sephardi gulf that had predominated since the late 1970s. There were new, younger, more assertive, more right-wing and more pro-settlement voices among the Orthodox. There was the contrast between the overwhelmingly secular, politically and socially liberal, and culturally Western Tel Aviv, with its lively cafés and restaurants, and the constellation of wealthy suburbs to the north; and smaller Israeli towns and cities in the interior, Jerusalem as well, not to mention

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the settlements on the West Bank. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, hundreds of thousands of Russians had also flowed into Israel. Most were Jewish in culture more than religious observance, but they were instinctively inclined to support candidates – Rabin in 1992, and Bibi the last time around – who they felt were likely to take a tough line in any peace negotiations with the Arabs.

I was never going to get the backing of many West Bank settlers, or of core supporters of the Likud and parties even further to the right. But I would need to make at least some dent in Bibi's hold on the Russian voters who had supported him by a wide margin in 1996. I focused first on *Yisrael Ba'Aliyah*, the main Russian immigrant political party. It had been set up by the iconic Soviet-era *refusenik* Natan Sharansky – or, as he was then known, Anatoly Sharansky. He'd been an ally of Andrei Sakharov, an outspoken human rights advocate and, until he was finally released and allowed to leave in 1986, a political prisoner in the gulag. Though Natan's party was not going to offer a formal endorsement for any candidate, I met with him to press the case for "security and peace," the message I'd tried to advance with Shimon three years earlier, and to emphasize the need to bring unity and shared purpose back to the country. Though I think he would have been receptive anyway, it didn't hurt that he, like me, was a mathematics graduate – from Moscow's Physics and Technology Institute. He was also a chess aficionado. When I was rash enough to face him across the board, as I recall, it took him all of five minutes, and seven moves, to checkmate me.

But I also made dozens of visits to Russian community groups, and met with individual families whenever I could. Often, I found myself talking to older men and women among the immigrants about the military details of the Great Patriotic War, as the Russians called World War Two. On a number of occasions, I accepted the invitation to sit down and play on a sitting-room piano. I think the first time I got a sense that any of this might be having an impact was in a quote from a *Yisrael Ba'Aliyah* official in an Israeli newspaper. Though still stopping short of a formal endorsement, the official was quoted as saying: "A month ago, young Russians thought Barak was a boring, left-wing socialist party leader who doesn't look good on TV and mumbles a lot... Today, they see him as a high-ranking Israeli general who knows how to play the piano. The Russian immigrants like strong, cultured people." Except for the bit about mumbling, I couldn't have wished for more.

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The next key moment in the campaign involved something I did *not* do. This time, the Israeli television debate came earlier in the campaign, a month before the election. Bibi, Yitzhik Mordechai and I were all invited, as the three main candidates. But I told the TV people I had a conflicting personal engagement. I figured I had nothing to gain by going. To join a three-way debate risked creating the impression this was a genuine three-man race, and I still held out hope it would come down to just me and Bibi. Besides, I thought a debate between the other two would help me. Yitzhik knew Bibi well. He had served in Bibi's government. Though not a natural orator, he was always forthright, and often pugnacious, in making his points. And he couldn't stand Bibi.

Unlike the 1996 debate, this time there was a knock-out blow, and Bibi was the one left on the canvas. It was a bit like Senator Lloyd Bentsen's killer riposte when Republic vice-presidential candidate Dan Quayle compared himself to John F. Kennedy in their debate, a few months earlier: "Jack Kennedy was a friend of mine. Senator, you're no Jack Kennedy…" Bibi entered his television showdown with Yitzhik Mordechai with much the same strategy he'd used against Peres. He went on the offensive. He tried to portray himself as an indispensable bulwark against those, like Yitzhik or me, who he said would cosy up to Arafat and Assad and endanger Israel's security. But Yitzhik was up for the fight. He also knew that only months earlier, Bibi himself had been exploring the idea of giving up the Golan Heights to the same President Assad. He didn't actually refer to the secret mission by Ronald Lauder, or explicitly accuse Bibi of hypocrisy. But his reply – and Bibi's visible discomfort – were just as effective. Smiling sardonically, he said: "I know your outbursts, and they won't do you any good." He challenged Bibi to just "look me in the eye" and admit what he really thought about the future of the Golan. The media verdict was unanimous. Mordechai had won. Which meant I had won.

Though my American and British brains' trust had little input into our day-to-day campaign, they did play a role in the thrust and strategy. I tried to drive home two things as we entered the two-week homestretch in May. My first, broad message was an echo of James Carville's central theme in the Clinton Presidential campaign: "change, versus more of the same." It had worked in the US not because it was clever, but because it resonated with large numbers of voters. I sensed from the start of the campaign that it was true of Israel as well. Different groups had different gripes, and different ideas of what they hoped I would provide as Prime

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Minister. But fewer and fewer Israelis were enthusiastic about four more years of Bibi. But I also was keen to convey the *substance* of what my premiership would be about. Domestically, I spoke of the need to narrow gaps in education and opportunity – particularly, though not only, the continuing disadvantage of many in the Sephardi communities who had arrived in the early years of the state. I wanted to try to build bridges between the secular and religious as well. My hope was to begin to recreate the "One Israel" of my youth.

In terms of policy, I believed my primary job would be deliver "security and peace" – in that order. I declared my commitment to continue, and build on, Oslo and to make a new push in negotiations with Syria. Deliberately following the model Philip Gould had used in Tony Blair's election campaign, we also distributed nearly a million copies of a six-point policy "pledge card". It included a promise to hold a referendum on any peace deal we reached with Syria or the Palestinians, as well as several domestic policy pledges, including an end to discrimination against Russian immigrants whose Jewish religious status had been called into question.

Yet the most widely reported promise was that I would pull out all Israeli troops from Lebanon within a year. I realized that even among those who knew that made sense, voices would be raised both in the Knesset and the *kiyra* against withdrawing. As with the Bar-Lev Line before the 1973 War, the longer the "security zone" was in place, the more difficult that politicians had found it to say it was a mistake. Yet it had now been there for nearly two decades. The main argument for keeping it – that it protected the security of northern Israel – was undermined by the fact that thousands of Katyusha rockets had been fired over it. And in the low-grade war we were fighting against Hizbollah inside the security zone, around 20 Israeli soldiers had been dying each and every year. When I'd first visited our positions in south Lebanon in the early 1980s, chatted with the troops and asked them how they were doing, the invariable response was: we're OK. We're just worried about our young kids back home. Now, those *children* were manning the same outposts, facing the same danger, in a sliver of land on which we had no claim, which we had no desire to hold, and which was, at best, of questionable security value.

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I'd tried not to pay too much attention to newspaper polls during the campaign, perhaps because even the "good" ones, to use Shimon's phrase, had me with just a narrow lead, with Yitzhik Mordechai's 10 or 11 percent still likely to prevent outright victory in the first round. But in the second part of May, our internal polling showed things were moving in our direction. In mid-May, they had me above 40 percent. A final batch of internal polls, on the Friday before election day, had me just short of 50 percent. But I told our pollsters that under no circumstances were they to divulge the results to anyone in the campaign team. This wasn't just because I wanted to guard against complacency. It was because, deep down, still I didn't trust the numbers.

I retreated to Kochav Yair on Friday evening. On Saturday, two days before the election, I had a surprise visitor, someone I knew from Yitzhik Mordecai's team. He said he had a letter for me, with terms of a proposal under which Yitzhik would announce an eleventh-hour withdrawal from the race. I still could not be absolutely confident I'd win, at least in the first round. Yitzhik's pulling out would help. But if I *did* win, I wanted to start the process of assembling a coalition with a blank slate and an open mind. Doing a deal was not the way to begin. I didn't accept or open the envelope. "Go back to Yitzhik," I said. "Tell him, as he knows, that I have a lot of respect for him. But this is a decision that he has to make on his own."

The next day, less than 24 hours before the polls opened, all of the three other candidates announced they were pulling out. Benny Begin and Azmi Beshara were never going to affect the outcome. But Yitzhik's withdrawal very possibly would. When he spoke to reporters, he said it had been one of the most difficult decisions he'd had to make, but that he'd concluded he wouldn't get enough votes to reach his "primary goal" of defeating Bibi. "The prime minister was given a chance and he failed," he said. "We must give Barak a chance."

I got up early on May 17, confident we'd done everything we could to put ourselves in a position to win, but also aware, from Shimon's defeat, that the smallest of details, and the narrowest of margins, might determine the outcome. After the 1996 election, I'd learned of cases where Peres volunteers outside polling stations in the Negev or the north of the country had left early, in order to make sure they'd be back to Tel Aviv in time for the "moment of victory." Now, I sent out word that all our volunteers must stay in place until the polls had closed. After

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Nava and I voted, we attended an event for Labor supporters north of Tel Aviv, before flying to Beersheva to spend the final hours in the Negev. I'd arranged for Shlomo Ben-Ami to go to Kiryat Shmona in the north – emphasizing, as throughout the campaign, our determination to broaden our support beyond Labor's heartland. The polls closed at 10 o'clock. I knew Bibi would be staring at the same Channel One newscast as I was, each of us ready to put the best spin on things, especially if there was no clear sign at this stage which one of us had won. But the exit poll findings came as a shock: Barak, of One Israel, 58.5 percent; Netanyahu, Likud, 41.5 percent. It was a landslide.

The full impact hit me only when I got to the fifth-floor suite in the Dan Hotel in Tel Aviv, our election-night headquarters. My three brothers, and Nava and our daughters, were waiting for me. Leah Rabin, too. Our eyes teared up as we embraced. My parents were by now too frail to come. But I'd promised to phone them, whatever happened. "We did it," I told my father, who said *mazaltov* with a depth of feeling which had become rare as his health began to fail. My mother had always been a bit conflicted about my going into politics, despite her lifelong belief that the *issues* of politics mattered, especially after Yitzhak had been cut down and killed for following the path on which I hoped to continue. Still, I could hear the pride, and relief, in her voice when I said: "Remember, *ima*. I did promise you that if I ran, at least I'd make sure to win."

When we'd finished speaking, Bibi called. He had conceded publicly as soon as the exit poll was out. He had also stunned the Likud crowd by immediately resigning as party leader. "Congratulations," he said, sounding, more than anything, tired. "I accept that the voters have spoken." I thanked him for taking the trouble to call. I said I appreciated the contribution he'd made to the country, and that we'd meet in the next few days to discuss how best to handle the political transition. "Thanks," Bibi said. "And again, mazaltov."

By the time I got off the phone with Bibi, the TV was showing pictures of tens of thousands of people celebrating the results in the central Tel Aviv square, now renamed in Rabin's memory, where he had been murdered nearly four years earlier. Before leaving to join them, I fielded a stream of calls: from friends, other Israeli party leaders and leaders from abroad, including Tony Blair and Bill Clinton, both of whom not only offered warm congratulations but said they looked forward to working with me as I tried to move Israel forward and to finish the work Yitzhak had begun.

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At the start of my brief remarks at the hotel podium before going to Rabin Square, I had to call for quiet when I mentioned the phone call from Bibi. "No," I said, raising my voice to be heard above the boos, "we will not boo an incumbent Prime Minister of Israel… A short time ago, I spoke with Prime Minister Netanyahu and thanked him for his service to the State of Israel." Then – with both Leah and Shimon Peres at my side – I paid tribute to "that one special person who had a unique role in our reaching this moment – somebody who was my commander and guide, and the person who led me into politics: Yitzhak Rabin. I pledged to fulfil his legacy, and complete the work he'd started. And I extended a hand to "secular and religious, the ultra-Orthodox and the residents of the settlements, to Israelis of Middle Eastern origin and Ashkenazi extraction, to immigrants from Eithopia and the former Soviet Union, to the Arabs, the Druze, the Circassians, the Bedouin. All, all of them, are part of the Israeli people."

It was not long before sunrise when I reached the square. As the crowd shouted and sang, I began with a line borrowed from Bob Shrum. It seemed particularly apt: "It is the breaking of a new dawn," I said.

But was it? As I paid tribute to Rabin – "in this place where our hearts broke" – and dedicated myself to completing the work he'd begun, I could feel the thousands in the square willing me on. Even in my more nuanced comments on the talks with the Palestinians: the need to achieve peace, but at least for now by disengaging rather than joining hands with the Palestinians, ensuring we had military and border provisions to safeguard our security, and with the stipulation that Jerusalem would remain our undivided capital, under Israeli sovereignty. But some in the crowd were carrying posters saying "No to the *charedim*" – the strictly Orthodox. Others were chanting, in anticipation of the negotiations needed to put together a coalition: *Rak lo Shas*! Anyone but Shas! It was a reference to the Sephardi Orthodox party, which in addition to being more nuanced and flexible than other religious parties on the issue of peace talks, had been the big winner in the election. It had gained seven seats and now had only two fewer than the Likud.

I did not specifically mention Shas. But I said: "I tell you here that the time has come to end divisions. The time has come to make peace among ourselves, whether we are traditionalists or secularists… We must not be enemies of each other." Paying tribute to all those in the square who had worked for our election victory, I added: "I know it would not have been possible without your support. But I also know it would not have been possible without the support many in the

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Likud. I appreciate that as well. And I undertake to be *rosh hasmemshalah shel kulam*: Prime Minister for *all* Israelis.

Yet as fervently as I hoped to be able deliver on that pledge, I knew, even as I spoke, that actually fulfilling it was going to be much, much tougher.

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Chapter Twenty

As Prime Minister, I would sometimes be criticised as emotionally buttoned up, even stoic, and there was some truth in that. It was partly just a reflection of who I was: a kibbutznik who'd grown up in the early years of the state, and had then spent most of his life in the army. But while it may not have shown, I felt a churn of emotions when I formally presented my government to the Knesset in July 1999 as Nava, our three daughters, her parents and mine looked on proudly from the gallery. Even more so, when I entered the office of the Prime Minister. I'd been there before: as head of military intelligence, chief of staff and a cabinet minister. Yet to sit behind the vast wooden desk and know that the buck now truly stopped with me – to become just the tenth person in Israel's history to have that honor – was very different.

What I felt most powerfully, however, wasn't the honor. It was the *responsibility*. I knew that Israel faced two deepening crises. The first was domestic. Though Yitzhak Rabin's assassin was now in jail, the divisiveness and hatred of which he was a product and symbol had not gone away. Nor had other rifts: between the privileged and disadvantaged, Ashkenazim and Sephardim, and, perhaps most of all, secular and religious. The second, more immediate challenge was on our borders. The peace process was stalled. If we were going to revive it, we were running against the clock. President Clinton, a key player in any hope of turning the promise of Oslo into real peace, had only 18 months remaining in office. In terms of Israel's security, the timetable was even less forgiving. From my very first intelligence briefings as Prime Minister, I was even more convinced of what I'd been warning Bibi for months: without a political breakthrough, a new, much more deadly *intifada* was only a matter of time.

That would have been reason enough to make peace efforts my first priority. But even as I was addressing the victory rally in Rabin Square, I sensed that the simple arithmetic of the election results would leave me no other choice. I was entering office with the largest electoral mandate in our history. But that was because of Israel's new voting system, with separate ballots cast for Prime Minister and party. That system had had precisely the opposite effect on party voting. In previous elections, most Israelis had chosen one of the two main parties, knowing that only they had a realistic chance of forming a government. Now they could directly choose the Prime Minister, giving them the luxury to vote in much greater

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numbers for an array of smaller, issue-specific parties. The result: though I'd won by a landslide, and One Israel had the largest number of Knesset seats, even with our natural left-of-center ally, Meretz, we would have only 36 Knesset seats – well short of the 61 needed for a majority. Even if we included a few smaller parties, there was no choice but to bring in one of the two larger ones: the Sephardi Orthodox Shas, with 17 seats; or Likud, which, after Bibi's sudden resignation, was now led by Arik Sharon, and had 19.

It wasn't just a math problem. It had a critical policy implication. If I wanted to tackle the *domestic* challenge – to reassert the values of secular-led democratic government over increasingly assertive religious involvement in our day-to-day politics – that would mean choosing Likud over Shas. But it would also signal the effective end of the peace process. Even though Arik assured me privately that he understood my determination to reopen peace efforts with Arafat and Hafez al-Assad, I *knew* Arik. The path toward peace agreements, assuming they were even possible, would be tough. Sooner or later – and certainly if we faced the need to consider painful compromises in the negotiations – I was certain that Arik would act as a kind of opposition from within. That was why, over the angry opposition of Meretz leader Yossi Sarid, I decided to go with the Sephardi Orthodox party. I realized that even Shas might walk out if the scale of any land-for-peace concessions proved too high. But it was the least extreme of the major religious parties on the question of peace with the Palestinians. In my conversations with the party's spiritual leader and guide, the 79-year-old rabbi and Talmudic scholar Ovadia Yosef, I was struck by his intelligence, erudition and subtletly of thought – but, above all, his commitment to the core Jewish principle of sanctifying human life over the specifics of Oslo redeployments, where his inclination seemed to be to trust the judgment of those with the experience and expertise to evaluate the security implications.

To Meretz's additional consternation, I included two smaller, right-of-center Orthodox parties in the coalition. It was not just to make good on my pledge to be Prime Minister for *all* Israelis. Knowing that I was going to put top priority on the peace process, I wanted to avoid an undiluted left-of-centre, secular thrust to the government. When I'd stood in front of the tens of thousands of cheering supporters in Rabin Square after the election, I thought to myself: they think that with Bibi gone, peace is around the corner. I wanted a coalition broad enough to keep Meretz, and Labor ministers as well, from forgetting a crucial fact: the

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compromises that we might have to contemplate during peace negotiations were still anathema to many other Israelis.

* * *

Syria was always my first negotiating priority, as it had been for Rabin and, for a brief period, Bibi as well. This was not just because the shape of a final agreement with the Syrians was clearer, to both sides, than with the Palestinians. It was because I was determined to make good on the main specific policy pledge of my campaign: to bring our troops home from Lebanon. No matter what the increasingly emboldened fighters of Hizbollah said publicly, our withdrawal would be bad news for them. It would deprive them of their "anti-occupation" rationale for firing Katyushas into towns and settlements in northern Israel, and free us politically to strike back hard if that proved necessary. It was clear to me that Hizbollah would try to make the withdrawal as difficult for us as possible. But the real power in Lebanon rested with the Syrians, who, along with Iran, were Hizbollah's main backers. If we could get a peace agreement with Assad, there seemed every reason to hope he would rein in Hizbollah, and perhaps open the way to a peace treaty with Lebanon as well.

Still, there was no way of hiding an additional attraction in getting a deal with Syria first: it would increase our negotiating leverage with the Palestinians. That would certainly not be lost on Yasir Arafat – one reason that I realized the importance of an early meeting with him, to convey my commitment to keeping the Oslo process alive, and, if possible, achieving a full and final Israeli-Palestinian peace.

* * *

I went to see Arafat a few days after taking office. We met for well over an hour at Erez, the main crossing point into Gaza. It was swelteringly hot inside. At least I was in an ordinary business suit, but I couldn't help wondering how Arafat

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was coping in his trademark military uniform. Still, the mood music going into the meeting was encouraging. After the election, Arafat had tried to use his ties with the ayatollahs in Iran to get them to release 13 members of the tiny Jewish community in Shiraz who had been jailed on patently absurd accusations of spying for the "Zionist régime." Iran had told him no. Given its support for Hizbollah, and its serial diatribes about destroying the State of Israel, this was hardly a surprise. But it was a gesture nonetheless, and I told him I appreciated it. I also arrived with a gift: a leather-bound volume with both the Hebrew Bible and Koran. I began our meeting with what I felt I most needed him to hear: that both of us were trying to achieve something hugely important, nothing less than a new relationship between Israelis and Palestinians based on trust. As I would discover in the months ahead – as Yitzhak had found as well – Arafat responded warmly to such general appeals of principle. He replied that he viewed me as a partner, and a friend. But the key issue of substance – the difference between how I envisaged taking Oslo forward and what he wanted – was impossible to avoid.

I emphasized that I was committed to the further Wye River summit redeployments Bibi which had agreed, although not implemented, as well as to a release of Palestinian prisoners agreed at Wye. Yet then came the more difficult part: explaining my view of how we could best move toward a full peace agreement. I said I was convinced the prospects would be much better if we delayed the redeployments and brought forward the start of the real negotiations: on "permanent-status" issues like final borders, settlements, Jerusalem, refugees. In any case, I said, I'd need a few months for a thorough assessment of the issues involved, and to reach a settled view with my negotiating team on how to proceed. Arafat seemed to accept the idea of a pause for reflection and planning. But he held firm in his opposition to any further delay in the Wye redeployments. More worryingly for the longer-term prospects of an agreement, he ignored altogether my suggestion that we move ahead toward the permanent-status talks.

Speaking to reporters, I was careful to accentuate the positive. I said the reason I'd come to see Arafat so soon was because of the importance I attached to his role in "shaping peace in the Middle East." I said I would not waver in continuing on the path which Rabin and he and begun. And while the security of Israel would be my paramount concern in negotiations, "I also want each Palestinian to feel secure." Both sides, I said, had suffered enough. The open question, however, was whether *I* had done enough to persuade Arafat that his exclusive focus on

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redeployments – on only the *land* part of a land-for-peace deal – meant we risked ignoring the core issues that would determine whether a full peace agreement was achievable.

More urgently, I knew from our diplomats in the US that the Americans would not necessarily be receptive to a further delay in moving ahead with Oslo, even if it meant focusing on trying to make peace with Syria. That made my first visit to see President Clinton as Prime Minister especially important.

* * *

It was billed as a "working visit" and work we did. After a gala dinner for Nava and me in the White House, we helicoptered to the presidential retreat at Camp David. President Clinton and I spent more than 10 hours discussing shared security challenges in the Middle East, especially terrorist groups and states like Iran that were backing them, and, of course, how best to move forward our efforts to negotiate peace. These face-to-face meetings set a pattern that would last throughout the time he and I were in office. On almost all key issues, my preference was to deal directly with the President, something I know sometimes frustrated other senior US negotiators like Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and Mideast envoy Dennis Ross. This was not out of any disrespect for them. It was because the *decisions* on which negotiations would succeed or fail would have to be made at the top, just as President Clinton and I would ultimately carry the responsibility, or the blame, for errors, missteps or missed opportunities.

Our first meeting ran until three in the morning. When the President asked me how I saw the peace process going forward, he smiled, in obviously relief, at my answer: I wanted to move quickly. He had only a limited time left in office, and I was determined that we not waste it. Much is often made about the personal "chemistry" in political relationships. Too much, I think, because the core issues, and the trade-offs of substance, are what truly matter when negotiating matters of the weight, and long-term implications, of Middle East peace. Still, chemistry does help when moments of tension or crisis arise, as they inevitably do. My first few days with President Clinton laid a foundation that allowed us to work together even when things got tough. I benefited, I'm sure, simply by not being Bibi. The

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president and his negotiating team had spent the previous few, frustrating years trying alternately to urge, nudge and cajole him – and, of course, Arafat – toward implementing Oslo. Clinton did finally succeed in getting the Wye River agreement. But it, too, remained to be implemented.

Nava's presence, and Hillary Clinton's, contributed to an informal, familial atmosphere. Before my first round of talks with the President, we joined Bill and Hillary for dinner. Though I would work more closely with Hillary in later years, when she was Secretary of State under President Obama, this was the first time I'd had the opportunity to engage in anything more than small talk with her. She was less naturally outgoing than her husband. Yet not only was she bright and articulate. She was barely less informed on the ins and outs of Middle East peace negotiations than the President. She, and Bill as well, also spoke with us about things well beyond the diplomacy of the Middle East: science, music, and our shared interest in history. What most struck Nava and me, however, was the way the Clintons interacted with each other. The scandal surrounding Monica Lewinsky was still fresh. I suppose we expected to see signs of tension. Whether they were there, we had no way of knowing. But what the two of them *did* palpably have was a deep respect for each other's intelligence, insight and creativity in looking for solutions where so many others saw only problems. It was impressive.

Still, there was little small talk in the long discussions I had with the President. From the outset, I wanted him to know exactly what I hoped we could accomplish and how, in my view, we were most likely to get there. I wasn't trying to impose "ground rules" on the President of the United States, something I neither would nor could do. But I was explicit with him about my own approach the negotiations. I assured him I was prepared to be flexible. But I said I'd be relying on two critical assumptions. The first was that when we and the Americans agreed a position on a specific issue, there would be no unilateral "surprises" – by which I meant, though didn't say, things like the unfortunate American redefinition of Yitzhak's "pocket deposit" assurance regarding the Golan. The second assumption, I know, may seem overly legalistic. It was that, until and unless we reached a full and final agreement with either Syria or the Palestinians, any Israeli negotiating ideas or proposals would *not* be binding. If no agreement was reached, they would become null and void. I wanted to avoid a situation, as had happened so often in past negotiations, where an Israeli proposal was rejected by the Arab side but then treated as the opening position in the expectation of further concessions in later

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talks. I did realize that, "null and void" or not, our proposals or suggestions would not simply disappear from memory. But I felt the point of principle was essential if Israel was going to be able to consider the kind of far-reaching concessions which final peace deals might require.

In the end, I realized that we might simply discover that Assad, and certainly Arafat, were not willing or ready to make peace. We might, initially at least, have to settle for a more incremental step. "Right here in Camp David, Begin, Sadat and Carter couldn't complete the process," I pointed out. "They signed a 'framework agreement' and it took months of further diplomacy to reach a peace treaty. Maybe we'll end up doing the same." But I told the President I was convinced that if we didn't *try* to get agreements, we'd have no way of knowing whether the will to make peace was there on the other side. Assad, I suspected, was the more likely to reciprocate. That was a major reason I wanted to start our efforts with him. But so far, his true intentions had never been *tested*, beyond his obvious determination to get back the Golan. Nor had Arafat's, beyond his focus on the detail and extent of West Bank redeployments.

President Clinton did not object to an early effort to reopen our efforts with the Syrians. But he was worried about the effects of ignoring the already-creaking prospects of fulfilling the promise of Oslo. If we were going to delay focusing on that, Clinton told me, he needed to be able to assure Arafat the wait would be worth his while. What could we *give* the PLO leader in return for putting off the Wye redeployments further, he asked. And then, the real question on his mind: "Ehud, when we get to the final redeployment and a peace deal, how much of the West Bank are you prepared to hand back?"

I simply didn't know at this stage. Much would depend on whether we could be sure Arafat could or would deliver a final peace. But even if I had known, I would have been reluctant to name a precise percentage. Though I had full trust in President Clinton, I knew that everything he and I said would be shared with at least a few of his closest policy aides and negotiators. Sooner or later, word would get to Arafat. When we did begin negotiations, he'd take whatever number I gave as a mere starting point. Still, I knew I had to signal the President that I was serious about negotiating with Arafat when the time came. I also knew the main source of his concern. In order to get the agreement at Wye, the President had signed on to a provision that the dimension of the third and final redeployment phase would be determined by Israel alone. By that stage, when we got there, Arafat would have

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control of something like 40 percent of the West Bank. That meant – at least in theory – that Israel could limit phase-three to a mere token pullout, leaving the Palestinians with less than half of the territory.

"I don't know what percentage, exactly," I replied. "But one of my cabinet ministers thinks that a formula of 70-10-20 would work, meaning 70 percent for the Palestinians, ten percent to allow us to retain and secure the largest of the settlement blocs, and the rest to be worked out in further talks." When he nodded, I added: "Peres thinks it could end up at 80-20, and says he thinks Arafat would find it hard to walk away from getting control of four-fifths of the West Bank. But it's not about the number. It's about the area needed for the major settlements, and whatever else is required to safeguard our security. Beyond that, we don't need a single inch of the West Bank, and we won't ask for a single inch."

I replied in much the same vein when President Clinton urged me to help kick-start new talks with Assad by formally reaffirming Yitzhak's "pocket deposit" on the Golan Heights. As with the Palestinians, I was not going to cede a major negotiating card – our only real negotiating card – before we had any indication Assad was serious about making peace. But I did feel it was necessary to reassure Clinton that *I* was serious. I told him that, if and when the Syrians showed real signs of readiness to address *our* needs in a peace agreement, I would reaffirm the "pocket deposit."

I'd come to Washington hoping that President Clinton would be with me on the main issues of substance. But what I needed most at this point was his support on the procedural decisions I'd made in order to get to real peace negotiations: engaging with Syria first, and shifting the emphasis on the Palestinian track away from the redeployments toward the core permanent-status issues we'd have to resolve in order to get a peace agreement. What emerged from my first meetings with President Clinton was essentially a trade-off. He knew I would be ready to make concessions in pursuit of genuine peace. I was confident that on the route that I was proposing to take, he would have my back.

But what I couldn't be sure of was whether my own government would have my back. On paper, we had a comfortable Knesset majority: 75 out of the 120 seats. But I knew it was inherently vulnerable, both to friction between the Orthodox parties and assertively secular MKs from Meretz and inside Labor, and to possible defections over the concessions we might have to consider in peace

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negotiations. The first stirrings of discontent had begun even before I went to see Clinton. On the basis of my commitment merely to *try* for peace, Arik Sharon had presented a no-confidence motion in the Knesset. It was never going to pass. But only days after I'd made him Interior Minister, Natan Sharansky let it be known he was going to vote against us. He didn't. He stayed away from the chamber, in effect abstaining. But I'd been put on notice.

I did lose my first coalition partner in September: the small United Torah Judaism party, with five Knesset seats. It wasn't over land-for-peace. In an echo of a similar crisis that brought down the government during Rabin's first spell as Prime Minister in the 1970s, it was over a violation of the Jewish Sabbath. It turned out that Israel's state electric company had been transporting a huge steam-condensation machine from the manufacturing site near Haifa to a power plant in Ashdod. The unit was the size of a small apartment. It weighed 100 tons. It couldn't be driven across the country without bringing weekday traffic to a standstill. The obvious solution was to do it when road use was lightest, on Shabbat. Precisely the same procedure had been followed – *24 times* – under Bibi. But when I asked a United Torah Judaism leader why he'd seemed happy when Likud had waved it through, he replied: "Past sins cannot pardon future ones." Eli Suissa, one of the Shas ministers in the cabinet, took his side, saying: "Every hour is good for the keeping of Shabbat." Most other ministers agreed with me that we should stand firm. So I did. But UTJ walked out of the government. Shas did remain. But I was now increasingly certain that at some stage its ministers, too, would leave.

In the midst of the Sharanksy rebellion, Haim Ramon, who was the minister in charge of liaising with the Knesset, insisted I "punish" him for his political grandstanding. "You should fire Sharansky. Act like a leader!" I just laughed. "The coalition doesn't need a leader," I replied. "It needs therapy." In truth, I suspected that if we ever got near to a peace agreement with Assad or Arafat, even therapy might not help. But that was a main reason that I'd promised a referendum on any final peace deals. I believed that in the choice between concessions, even painful ones, and a genuine peace deal with Syria or the Palestinians, by far most Israelis would choose peace.

I relied on a strong, close team around me, people I knew well and who shared my determination to stay focused on the central goal: to put Israel in a position where its citizens could be given that choice. I made Danny Yatom, my former

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sayeret deputy, my chief of staff. The negotiating team also included Uri Saguy, former head of military intelligence; Gilad Sher, a gifted lawyer I'd known for a quarter of a century and who had been a company commander in my armored brigade in the 1970s; and Amnon Lipkin, the paratroop commander at Chinese Farm and my successor as *ramatkal* when I left the army. Also, Shlomo Ben-Ami, the Moroccan-born, Oxford-educated historian and diplomat who had run against me for the Labor leadership. Shlomo had a gift for systematic analysis and keen judgement, especially on security issues, which I highly valued.

It did not escape the attention of Israeli commentators, or other politicians, that almost all of them were former soldiers whom I'd known from my time in uniform. But that observation missed a more important point: we were all members of the "generation of 1967 and 1973." We had been soldiers during the Six-Day War. In the years immediately after it, like almost all Israelis, we had allowed ourselves to believe that our victory had been so comprehensive, and so quick, that any threat from the defeated Arab states was gone for good. We assumed that inevitably, inexorably, they would realize they needed to sue for peace, and that there was no particular urgency on our part to do anything more than wait. Then, on Yom Kippur 1973, all of that had been turned on its head. We had not only learned the lessons, of 1973. We had internalized them. Even had we not known of the danger of a new Palestinian campaign of terror, the option of simply watching and waiting – and assuming that our military strength, which was now even greater, could make events around us stand still – would not have made sense to us. Besides, as I remarked to Danny and others, to do so would run against the founding purpose of Zionism: to establish a state where Jews would no longer be victims of events, but would take control of their destiny and try to shape them.

* * *

Yet making peace, like making war, takes two. Much as I'd wanted to begin with Syria, until well into the autumn of 1999 President Assad was holding firm on his insistence that without our "deposit," without a prior agreement that he'd get back the Golan, there could be no substantive progress. This was particularly frustrating because I was getting reports from our intelligence services, and

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Western envoys who had seen the Syrian president, that Assad's many years of health problems had left him almost skeletally frail, even at times disoriented.

Even my own negotiating team urged me to concentrate on the Palestinians instead. President Clinton kept stressing the importance of showing Arafat at least some movement on the Oslo front. In September 1999, I took a first, significant step in that direction. I agreed to a timetable that would deliver the Wye redeployments by the end of January 2000, while also committing us to negotiating a framework agreement, on the model of the Begin-Sadat Camp David accords, on the "permanent-status" peace issues. In early November, I joined Clinton and Arafat for talks around an event in Oslo – a deliberate echo of the optimism with which the peace process had begun, held on the fourth anniversary of Rabin's assassination. Both Leah Rabin and Peres came with me. Its centerpiece was a memorial service, at which Leah spoke very movingly of the need for both sides to finish the work Yitzhak had begun, a responsibility I pledged that we would do everything in our power to fulfill. Only Arafat struck a discordant note. He paired a tribute to Rabin with a polemic call for an end to "occupation, exile and settlements."

After the ceremony, he, President Clinton and I met at the American ambassador's residence. I was still struck by Arafat's public comments: by his apparent desire, or need, to play to hardliners back home in what was supposed to be a time to remember and honor Yitzhak. I didn't raise his remarks directly, but I told him that each of us was approaching a moment of truth for the future of our people. The decisions required wouldn't be easy politically, for either of us. "But if we don't have the courage to make them, we'll be burying thousands of our people." Worse, I said, those deaths would not advance his people's position, or mine, by a single inch. When future Palestinian and Israeli leaders did finally prove equal to the challenge of making peace, they'd be looking at the same conflict, requiring the same compromises. "The only difference will be the size of our cemeteries." Arafat nodded occasionally. But he said little, beyond saying that he considered Rabin to have been a friend, and repeating his now-familiar, nonspecific, pledge to "do what is necessary" for peace.

"The hardest part won't be the tough decisions in negotiations," I continued. "It won't be facing each other. It will be facing our *own* people." We would need to make the case openly, honestly, strongly that the peace agreement we reached was in the interest of both Israelis and Palestinians. And in this, each of us had a

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responsibility to support the other. With President Clinton looking on, I steered Arafat toward the window of the ambassador's fifth-floor apartment. "Look down," I said. "Imagine that we each have parachutes, and we're going to jump together. But I have my hand on *your* ripcord, and you are holding *mine*. To land safely we have to help each other… And if we don't jump, many, many innocent people who are now walking the streets of Gaza and Ramallah and Hebron, Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, will die." Arafat again just nodded, leaving me, and the President, unsure whether anything I'd said had struck home.

The true test of that would come only when we got to the stage of negotiations when the "difficult decisions" could not be evaded. Yet only weeks after I returned from Oslo, the focus did finally shift to the Syrians. President Assad suddenly signalled his willingness to resume talks without any preconditions – a message he delivered first to my British Labor Party friend Michael Levy, who was visiting Damascus as Tony Blair's roving Mideast envoy, and then to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Assad said he would send Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Sharaa to meet me for initial talks in Washington in December, ahead of a full-scale, US-mediated attempt to negotiate peace at the start of the new year.

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The broad terms of a potential deal had long been clear, both to us and the Syrians. The danger was always that the process would get derailed, or never really get started, due to domestic political opposition. Syria had a tightly state-controlled media and an intelligence service concerned mainly with crushing any signs of dissidence. That meant Assad's main concern was to ensure broad support, or at least acquiescence, from top military and party figures. In Israel, however, every sign of a concession would risk igniting charges that we were "selling out" to Syria. The Likud and the political right would obviously denounce the idea of giving up the Golan Heights, even though Bibi had been ready to do just that when he was Prime Minister. But even on the left, there was little enthusiasm for returning the Golan. There were far fewer Israeli settlers there than on the West Bank, not even 20,000. But most of them, far from being religiously motivated ideologues, were Labor supporters. And almost no Israel, of any political stripe,

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viewed Hafez al-Assad as a natural partner for peace. For years, he'd been a constant, sneering presence on our northern border, denouncing not only Sadat but any Arab leader who'd shown willingness to engage or negotiate with Israel. Amos Oz, one of our finest writers and a cultural icon for Labor Zionists, probably put it best. He said the Syrians seemed to think that "we will give them the Golan, and they'll send us a receipt by fax." The consensus was: forget Assad. Keep the Golan. In fact, before I left for the US, the Knesset voted on whether it supported my attempt to negotiate an agreement with Syria. We could muster only 47 votes, 14 short of a majority. An opinion poll found only 13 percent of Israelis favored a full withdrawal from the Golan.

The message I drew from this was *not* that we should give up on the chances of a peace agreement. After all, before Begin and Sadat went to Camp David in 1978, an almost equally tiny minority of Israelos had been in favor of withdrawing from the Sinai. Yet once they had seen the other side of the equation – full, formal peace with our most powerful neighbor – the opposition all but evaporated. The problem I saw was that if we and the Syrians couldn't find a way to insulate our negotiations from leaks, speculation and a swirl of opposition to our efforts at home, we'd never *get* to the key issues of substance.

I'd been making that point to the Americans for weeks. At first, I tried to persuade them to hold the talks at Camp David, ensuring the same, media-free isolation that had yielded the historic Israeli-Egypt agreement. But Dennis Ross replied that the very association of Camp David with that breakthrough meant it would be a non-starter for President Assad. I then suggested we consider sites outside of the US: NATO's Incerlik air base in Turkey, for instance, a British base in Cyprus, an American naval ship in the Mediterranean. Even, half-jokingly, an abandoned missile silo in South Dakota. Yet the point I was making was serious, in fact critical, I believed, if the talks were going to have a chance.

In the end, the Americans settled on a beautiful, and undeniably remote, town in West Virginia called Shepherdstown. But from the outset, I was worried it couldn't provide the kind of environment we needed. As soon as our plane landed at Andrews Air Force base outside Washington, I got a call from the head of our advance team. He told me the news media were already there and that reporters – Israeli, Arab, American and European – could be seen chatting with American, Israeli and Syrian officials in the town's coffee shops. I knew the press would have to publish *something* about potential concessions as the negotiations proceeded.

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Whether the stories were true wouldn't matter. They would still make the real bargaining necessary for peace far more difficult, perhaps even impossible.

I also had doubts whether Assad was ready for real peace: embassies, open borders, personal contact between Syrians and Israelis, and ideally an internationally backed free-trade manufacturing area on the Golan to give Syria a tangible stake in ensuring the peace lasted. In earlier talks, under Shimon Peres, Syrian negotiators had at one stage brought a message from Assad. What did we *mean*, he wanted to know, with all this emphasis on peace, peace, peace? Syria had peace with *El Salvador*, but without any of the trappings we were insisting on. Peace, in Assad's mind, seemed to mean merely an absence of war. Plus, of course, getting back the Golan.

I did, however, come ready to negotiate. Though I was still not prepared to reconfirm Rabin's "pocket deposit" as a mere ticket of admission, my position remained essentially the one I had worked out with Yitzhak in formulating the deposit: IAMNAM, "if all my needs are met." Meaning that if Assad showed a readiness to deal with *Israel*'s requirements in a peace deal, I did, of course, recognize we would leave the Golan Heights. In addition to early-warning facilities, we envisaged an open border with a demilitarized area on either side, as well as guarantees that important sources of water for Israel would not be blocked or diverted. As Assad knew, despite his presumably feigned puzzlement about Syria's arrangements with El Salvador, we also needed the agreement to embody a mutual commitment to real peace: through elements like an exchange of ambassadors and the establishment of the free-trade zone. As with the Begin-Sadat peace, we assumed that our Golan withdrawal would come in phases, parallel to the implementation of the other provisions of the treaty.

In our initial meetings in Shepherdstown, Foreign Minister al-Sharaa showed no inclination even to talk about these other issues. So on the second afternoon we were there, I suggested to President Clinton the Americans try to break the logjam by drafting a paper of their own. It would detail all the issues in an eventual agreement, with parenthetical references to those on which we and the Syrians still differed. Then each side could respond with a view toward narrowing the gaps. The President liked the idea. So did Al-Sharaa. Three days later, the President presented the eight-page American draft. With his customary eloquence, he emphasized the need for us to use it as a springboard for peace, not to score political points, and each side agreed to take a couple of days to look through it. It

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seemed to me we might finally be on a path to substantive negotiations. There was obviously not going to be a deal at this round of talks, but I agreed with President Clinton that when they ended, he could phone Assad and tell him that I had confirmed Rabin's "pocket deposit."

Yet by the time we left for home, the prospects suddenly looked much worse – for the reason I'd feared from the moment we arrived. There were two major leaks. The first came in an Arabic-language newspaper in London. Given the thrust of the story, it had presumably come from the Syrians. But it was more annoying than truly damaging. The second leak, however, was in the Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz*, which published the entire US negotiating paper. This was unwelcome for us, since it confirmed we were ready to go far in return for peace. But for the Syrians, the fact the final-border section was still a work-in-progress, with the parentheses to prove it, created the impression that they'd decided to negotiate the details of a full peace without first nailing down the return of the Golan Heights. Assad's image as a strongman, implacably tough on Israel, had been built and burnished over his three decades in power. The embarrassment of being seen as amenable to talking about a Syrian embassy in Israel *without* an agreement on the Golan struck me as a potentially fatal blow to the prospects for a deal, since it dramatically narrowed the scope for the flexibility needed by both sides to negotiate. I can't say I was surprised when Clinton phoned me when we got back to Israel to say that Assad had refused to send Al-Sharaa back, as planned, for a further round of talks in 10 days' time.

I didn't give up, however, and neither did President Clinton. In February, at the Americans' request, I sat down with Danny Yatom and US Ambassador Martin Indyk in Jerusalem to draw up a "bottom line" proposal on a withdrawal from the Golan Heights. Since I'd already empowered Clinton to reaffirm the "pocket deposit", I saw no reason not to do this. If only because of Assad's failing health, I believed it was the only way we could know whether an agreement was possible. We worked on a large satellite map of the Golan and the valley below, and drew our proposed border in red. We marked out a strip of several hundred meters on the far side of the Sea of Galilee. It included, or came near to, a handful of Syrian villages that had been there before 1967. But we were careful to adjust the line to exclude any area where buildings had stood. We compensated – with slightly more territory – by bending the border westward to give the Syrians part of the slope overlooking the lake, in what was now Israel. We also included the hot springs at

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al-Hama, which I knew Assad had said he considered rightfully Syrian during talks held under Rabin.

But the details turned out not to matter. President Clinton agreed to present the map to Assad in what we both hoped would be a step to reopening the path for peace. The two of them met in Geneva in late March. Though the President also came with full details of our positions on the other negotiating issues, he began by telling Assad that I had agreed to the Syrians' longstanding point of principle on our future border: it would be "based on the June 4, 1967 line" before the Six-Day War. Then, the President unfurled the map.

It was shortly after five in the afternoon in Israel when Clinton phoned me. He sounded as if he'd been punched in the stomach. "Ehud, it's not going to work," he said. "The moment I started, he tuned out. He just said: 'Do I get my land?' I tried to get him to listen, but he just kept repeating: 'Do I get all my land?' According the President, Assad would countenance nothing less than being able to sit on the shore of the Sea of Galilee and "dip his feet in the water." Clinton said he'd done his best, and that was true. "I understand the effort is over," I replied. "Probably, he's too frail and ill by now." In fact, Assad would die of leukemia barely two months later. His immediate focus was on ensuring an uncontested succession to his son, Bashar.

When Dennis Ross came to see me in Jerusalem, I think he expected to find me more distraught than I felt. Of course, I was disappointed. But I told him I was grateful that Clinton had stayed with a negotiating effort that had been frustrating for all of us. When I became Prime Minister, I'd assured the Americans that as long as our vital security interests were protected, I was ready to go further than any previous Israeli leader to get peace with Syria, and with Arafat too. I might fail, but it would not be for lack of trying. I believed that even a "failure" would tell us something: whether the other side was truly ready for peace. With Syria, I told Dennis, "It's not what we hoped for. But at least now we know."

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My own negotiating team, not to mention the Americans, assumed I would now turn my attention to the Palestinians. Arafat was pressing for us to go ahead with phase-two of the Wye redeployments. In fact, he now wanted us to add the transfer of three Arab villages on the edge of east Jerusalem: Eizaria, El-Ram and, most importantly, Abu Dis, since from there you could see the golden dome of the mosque above the Western Wall in the Old City. I understood why the villages were politically important for him. But in practical terms, I also knew I'd have to secure the support of the cabinet and the Knesset for what the Likud, and the main religious parties too, would interpret as a first step toward "handing back Jerusalem."

For me, this underscored the problem at the heart of Oslo. We were transferring land to Arafat, yet still without any serious engagement from the Palestinians on the "permanent-status" questions, like the furture of Jerusalem, that were critical to the prospects for real peace. They were critical, in fact, even to reaching a framework agreement, or a declaration of principles, as a basis for a final treaty. I probably should have seen the crisis-ridden spring of 2000 as a harbinger of the difficulties when we finally got to that stage. I did make a first major effort to find compromise ground on the main issues. I sent Gilead Sher and Shlomo Ben-Ami to begin back-channel talks with a Palestinian team led by Abu Ala'a and Hassan Asfour, the architects of Oslo. But as I prepared to seek Knesset approval for returning the three additional villages to the Palestinians, my main Orthodox coalition partners, Shas and the National Religious Party, as well as Sharansky's *Yisrael ba'Aliyah*, all threatened to walk out of the government. I did manage to keep them on board, but only by getting the Knesset vote classified as a no-confidence motion. That meant that if we lost, the government would fall and there would be new elections. That was something none of them wanted. They feared that Arik and the Likud would do better this time around, and they would end up with fewer seats.

Still, even that didn't avert a different kind of crisis. The vote was on May 15. For the Palestinians, this was also *Al-Naqba* Day, the annual marking of the 1948 "catastrophe" of the founding of the State of Israel. Danny Yatom told me the night before there were intelligence reports of large protests planned for the West Bank and in Gaza. President Clinton immediately got the American consul to deliver a message to Arafat, saying that the President expected him to intervene against any sign of violence. But Arafat's reply was that, while he'd do what he could, he

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couldn't guarantee anything. In the months ahead I would come to understand what that meant, because it would happen again. I don't think Arafat himself orchestrated the violence. Maybe he couldn't have stopped it completely. But I have no doubt – nor did President Clinton – that he stood aside and let it happen.

Even worse – since he *did* have control over them – his security forces, with arms that Israel had provided as part of Oslo, fired on our troops as they tried to keep order. All of this, while I stood in the Knesset battling to get approval to give him the villages. As news arrived in the chamber of gunfire just a couple of miles away, it was not just Likud or other right-wing MKs who were furious. I certainly was. Yet I also knew that the price of losing the vote would be the fall of the government. We did win the vote, by a margin of eight, meaning that I now had full authority to return the three villages. Fuming over what had happened, however, I called President Clinton and told him I was going to delay the handover. I was not about to return the villages under gunfire, or reward Arafat for breaking even his existing security commitments.

That meant that prospects for serious negotiations with the Palestinians were again on hold. But another, immutable, priority would probably have delayed any new initiative anyway: my pledge to get our soldiers out of Lebanon within a year of the election. I was determined to go ahead with it not just because I'd promised Israelis to do so. It was because I knew from experience that without setting a deadline and sticking to it, it wouldn't happen. I had been against keeping the security zone from the start. Over the years, many Israelis, both inside the military and beyond, had come to accept we would be better off pulling out. It wasn't just the attritional loss of Israeli soldiers' lives, but the fact that there was no obvious point, and no obvious end, to our mission there. Especially when major tragedies occurred – like the collision of two Israeli helicopters a couple of years earlier, leaving scores of young soldiers dead – there was *talk* about a withdrawal. Yet there was always a reason to reconsider, to put it off: a Hizbollah attack in the security zone, accusations of weakness from right-wing politicians, or simple caution in the *kirya*. The only way to get it done was to decide, and to do it.

My self-imposed deadline for the pullout was now just eight weeks away. Hizbollah had already begun escalating pressure on our outposts in south Lebanon with the obvious aim of making the withdrawal as difficult as possible. They were also targeting our local surrogates, the Maronite-led South Lebanese Army militia. I'd been meeting regularly with Shaul Mofaz, the former paratroop officer who

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was now chief of staff, to ensure we had a plan to get our troops out as quickly and safely as possible once the order was given. But complex though the operational issues were, that was not the most difficult part. The withdrawal had not just a military aim, but a critical political one: to denude Hizbollah, with full international support, of its "occupation" fig-leaf for targeting and terrorizing the towns and villages of northern Israel. Shaul and a number of other generals in the *kirya* tried to make the security argument for keeping several small hilltop outposts just north of the border. But I insisted not a single Israeli soldier or emplacement remain on Lebanese soil. Throughout the spring, we had been coordinating every detail of the planned pullout with UN cartographers on the ground, to ensure that they, too, recognized it would be a *full* withdrawal to the border, fulfilling the terms of the Security Council resolution adopted after the 1982 Lebanon War.

Ordinarily, an operation on this scale would have been carried out over a period of weeks. But when we handed over a pair of military strongholds to the South Lebanon Army, and Hizbollah promptly moved in to take them over, it was clear that even several days might risk chaos, and casualties, as we left. The head of the northern command now supported an immediate withdrawal, and I agreed. Frustratingly, we did have to hold off for a further 36 hours, in order to ensure the UN staff on the ground could complete their verification process. But on the afternoon of May 23, alongside Shaul Mofaz at a command post on the border, I ordered the pullout of all Israeli troops, vehicles and other equipment within the space of 24 hours. I then flew back to Jerusalem for an urgent meeting to secure formal cabinet approval. The field commanders ended up getting it done in *less* than 24 hours, mostly overnight, without a single Israeli casualty. For nearly two decades, our troops had been serving and dying on a strip of land on which we had no claim, no settlements, and for which there was no rational security need. Finally, we were out.

As I should have anticipated, there were accusations from Hizbollah and its allies that our UN-verified withdrawal was incomplete. At issue was a cluster of villages where Lebanon meets Syria, known as the Sheba'a Farms. But as I knew first-hand, they were not part of Lebanon. I'd met their Syrian inhabitants when I helped "capture" the villages at the very end of the 1973 war on the Golan. When Syria now publicly supported Hizbollah's efforts to get the UN to say the area was in fact part of *Lebanon*, I decided to call their bluff. Through the Americans, I

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suggested that Damascus confirm in writing that this part of the Golan was indeed Lebanese. The Syrians never responded.

Equally predictable were the prophets of doom on the Israeli right, who said the Lebanon withdrawal would bury northern Israel in Katyushas and in blood. The reality was that in the half-dozen years following the pullout, the Israel-Lebanon border was quieter than at any time since the late 1960s. The main personal impact of the withdrawal, however, was to remind me of why I'd run for Prime Minister in the first place. Despite the challenges, and inevitable setbacks and frustrations, of my first year in office, I was in a position to act on what I believed to be critical issues for my country's future. On Lebanon, I'd succeeded, mainly because the withdrawal was something we could do unilaterally. With Syria, I'd tried hard to get an agreement, only to find that Assad was unwilling, unable, or perhaps too ill to join in the search for a deal.

I still recognized, however, that no issue was more important to Israel's future than our conflict with the Palestinians. I knew that resolving it would be even tougher than the talks with the Syrians. But the only way to find out whether peace was possible was to try. So on the final day of May 2000, with the Lebanon pullout complete, I flew to Portugal – the site of a US-European summit – to see President Clinton.

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Chapter Twenty-One

President Clinton and I met the next morning. My aim was to persuade him that the time had come for a make-or-break summit with Yasir Arafat.

I suspected it would not be easy to convince him, and it wasn't. But I made the argument that if we were to have any hope of moving Oslo forward, we now faced a stark choice. We were three years behind the timeline for starting work on a "permanent status" agreement, and only six months from an American election that would choose President Clinton's successor. We could, of course, pursue the Oslo process along its current, meandering path. But even though Bibi had slowed it down, that would inevitably mean Israel handing back yet more West Bank land to Arafat – in return for familiar, but still unfulfilled and untested, verbal assurances that he wanted peace. Each successive Israeli withdrawal reduced his incentive to engage of the core issues like final borders, refugees, or Jerusalem. I could not in good conscience justify that, either to myself or my country. The second option was the summit. I realized there was no guarantee it would succeed. But it *would* finally force Arafat to negotiate on the core issues – before the departure of an American President who had a grasp of the all issues and characters involved, and a personal commitment to converting the promise of Oslo into a genuine peace.

The obvious political risk, for both Clinton and me, was that after convening a summit – with all the heightened expectations and pressures it would bring – we'd fail to get an agreement. Though I'd be more directly affected, however, it was a more straightforward choice for me. In part because I'd been in front-line politics so briefly, but mostly because of what I'd done for the three-and-a-half decades before then, I viewed the *political* risk as just one of many, and by no means the most important. That was an obvious weakness in me as a traditional politician. I would indeed pay a political price later on for having given too little heed, and perhaps underestimated, the reaction in Israel to the summit and what came after it. Yet as I tried to impress on President Clinton, there were risks in *not* holding a summit as well, along with the obvious reward of a full and final peace if it succeeded. If it failed? At least we would know a peace agreement with Arafat was impossible. In fact, amid the diplomatic drift since Oslo, it was clear there was no other way that we *could* know.

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Walking with the President in Lisbon's spring sunshine, I tried to summon up an image that would bring both of us back to the starkly different reality of our conflict with the Palestinians. Only two weeks earlier, Arafat's own police force, with weapons *we* had given them, had opened fire as I was trying to get Knesset approval for returning three villages that *he* wanted. After I took office, I'd ordered a full-scale intelligence review of the security situation with the Palestinians. The sobering conclusion had been delivered to me six months earlier: plans were well underway by cells in the West Bank and Gaza for armed attacks against Israeli soldiers and terror strikes inside Israel. "It's like two families living in the same house, and it's on fire," I said. "All of us are rushing to put it out. But there's this veteran firefighter who arrives on the scene – *a firefighter with a Nobel Peace Prize* – and we have no way of knowing whether he's got matches and gasoline in his pocket." We had to find that out, I said. We had to establish whether we were *all* firefighters, and could put out the flames.

Clinton and I had got to know each other well. In one-on-one conversations like this, we called each other by our first names, though I was careful to address him as "Mr President" when others were there. We'd been through a lot together. I had no doubt that he wanted to put out the fire every bit as much as I did. But I also realized he had emerged frustrated, and bruised, from our last joint effort at peacemaking: with Hafez al-Assad. I was the one who had been pushing the hardest for him to meet Assad in Geneva, over the objections of some of his closest aides that it was likely to go wrong. Not only were the aides right. Assad had ended up delivering an extraordinary personal rebuff to the President of the United States. Now, I was again asking President Clinton for a summit, and I knew Madeleine Albright, Dennis Ross and others would be highly sceptical. "I understand they'll have doubts. I understand their reading of the risks," I told President Clinton. "But I'm convinced crucial issues are at stake, which justify the risks. Let's move forward."

But Clinton was skeptical, too. He said that without some sign of diplomatic progress between us and the Palestinians, he could see no way of holding a summit. With Arafat due to see him in Washington in a couple of weeks, he said that I first had to give the Palestinian leader *something*: the three villages, a prisoner release, or perhaps unfreeze tax revenues which we'd been holding back as leverage for at least some progress on the core issues. Otherwise, Clinton said he was certain Arafat would refuse to attend a summit. And even if he said yes,

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Clinton felt we would need a draft document with broad areas of agreement before a diplomatic "endgame" could begin. I disagreed on that. I argued that if we tried to produce such a document, there would never be a summit. In fact, we'd never get a draft document worth anything. "Neither side is going to commit itself on issues like borders, refugees, or Jerusalem," I said, pointing out that even in our back-channel talks, the only forum in which there had been a hint of progress, those issues had barely been touched.

He did accept that "pre-negotiation" would never crack the main issues. But he still said that before he could contemplate a summit, he would need Madeleine Albright and Dennis Ross to talk in detail with us and the Palestinians. "There had to be a firm basis to work on," he said. Even then,m he said, he was almost sure Arafat would resist the idea of a summit. And on that last point, he proved right. I spoke to the President by phone after Arafat's trip to Washington. "He thinks you're trying to trap him into a summit, and that when it fails, I'll blame *him*," he told me.

The very next day, the stakes increased dramatically. For months, military intelligence had been warning of the potential for violence if we couldn't find a long-term political resolution of the Palestinian conflict. But the report which landed on my desk on June 16, 2000 was more specific. It said Arafat had called in his security people and said: "My strategic understanding is that Israel is not interested in reaching a deal. Therefore, we are preparing ourselves for a violent and prolonged confrontation." A few days later, we got an even more worrying report, saying the security officers had been told to begin "intensive training." Arafat was quoted as saying: "The Palestinian Authority is confronted by a strong and dangerous Israel, headed by a Prime Minister who is not interested in real peace. The proof of that is that when he was Chief of Staff, he was the only senior officer to oppose the Oslo Agreement." I summoned my security team: Mofaz as chief of staff; the heads of military intelligence, Mossad and the Shin Bet. I told them that Arafat was wrong. My inalterable "red line" would always be Israel's national and security interests. But as long as those were protected, I wasn't just interested in reaching an agreement with the Palestinians. I was determined to do everything possible to try to get one. But I also said that we had to make sure we were fully prepared for responding to "Palestinian violence and, at some stage, full-blown terror."

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A few days later, the "pre-endgame" around the summit began. Not in Washington or Jerusalem or Ramallah or Gaza, but in Kochav Yair. Nava and I still spent almost all our weekends there. We valued the quiet, or at least the slightly quieter, time away from Jerusalem or Tel Aviv. Some of my oldest army friends lived there as well: Danny Yatom, as well as Shaul Mofaz and Uzi Dayan, who was now deputy chief of staff. Newer colleagues, too, like Yossi Ginossar, a Shin Bet veteran who spoke fluent Arabic and, after working in the West Bank and Gaza in the late 1960s became one of the first Israelis to hold secret talks with Arafat, building up a personal relationship with him. Under both Rabin and Peres, he had been a valuable liaison with the Palestinian leader. Nowm under my Premiership as well.

The summit seemed to me more important than ever, but I knew that only President Clinton could make it happen. Short of giving the Palestinians the whole list of short-term rewards they wanted, including the three villages, I knew Arafat was never going to be enthusiastic. But if Clinton was persuaded that a peace agreement was within reach, I had confidence he would make the effort. I had allowed Gili Sher and Shlomo Ben-Ami to go to Washington the week before for exploratory talks with Dennis Ross. Shlomo, as I knew he'd done in the back-channel talks with the Palestinians, had gone beyond anything that I would or could say at this stage in order to probe the edges of where an eventual compromise might be possible. Now Clinton had sent Dennis to Israel, with Madeleine Albright to follow at the end of the month, and I had to assume that their impressions would be critical to his decision on whether to bring me and Arafat to Camp David.

We agreed to meet Dennis and his team at Danny's house in Kochav Yair. By the time I'd made the pleasant Shabbat-afternoon stroll from our house, a few streets away, they were in the back garden sipping lemonade and munching on popcorn. I'd met often with Dennis during my year as Prime Minister, and I liked him. He was smart, knowledgeable and experienced. He'd worked under three US Presidents: Carter, Bush Senior and now Clinton. No American diplomat had been more indefatigably involved in the search for Middle East peace. And whatever his occasional frustrations, he also recognized I was ready to go further than any

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previous Israeli leader in trying to get that peace.

I knew that he would press me to tell him how far that actually was. He didn't ask directly. But each of his ostensibly theoretical questions was aimed at establishing whether I could give him enough for a summit to bridge the gaps on key issues. Could I accept a "trade-off between sovereignty and time?" Translation: could I give the Palestinians sovereignty over a larger part of the West Bank if we signed an agreement that would phase in their control? Could I accept the principle of land swaps? This meant giving Arafat land in areas bordering the West Bank, or in the Negev near Gaza, to compensate, at least partially, for the area we would keep for the major settlement blocs. What about applying my principle of "disengagement" between Israel and the Palestinians to Jerusalem? Meaning Arafat getting control of the predominantly Arab neighborhoods in the east of the city.

Dennis knew my long-standing reluctance to commit to concessions until we got to real, final negotiations with Arafat. "We'll not reveal anything you tell us," he assured me. "We won't turn what you say into opening negotiating positions for Arafat. But if there is going to be a summit, the President wanted some answers." To Dennis's frustration, however, I could give him no specifics, beyond telling him: "You know me, Dennis. You know I'm serious about this. Of course, we will protect our vital security and national interests. But the problem in making peace won't be us, on the Israeli side, as long as Arafat shows a capacity and a will for decision." The translation of *that*, as I hoped and trusted he understood was that if and when Arafat demonstrated that he wanted a comprehensive peace between a new Palestinian state and the State of Israel – a definitive "end of conflict" as the international lawyers would describe it – I would place nothing, except our security and core national interests, in the way of getting an agreement.

Madeleine Albright visited at the end of June. When she came to see me a day after meeting Arafat, she carried a request from the Palestinian leader: two weeks of "preparatory" talks before a summit. Again, I knew her mission was to bring back enough progress for the President to feel a summit was worth it. But again, I couldn't give her what she wanted. "I know what will happen in preparatory talks," I said. "We'll raise new ideas, which the Palestinians will reject, and ask for more." I don't know what she told Clinton, or Arafat. But Dennis called me the following day. He said that Arafat had agreed to attend a summit, and would leave the date up to the President.

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When Clinton phoned me at the beginning of July, however, he still hadn't finally decided to hold the summit. I needed him to know that, on my side, he'd have a truly willing partner, aware of the political risk he'd be taking. Like Dennis, the President tried to probe my position on land swaps, and Palestinian sovereignty for at least some Arab neighborhoods in Jerusalem. Finally, he asked if I would rule out those possibilities if they represented the difference between success or failure at a summit. I did not give him a definitive "yes." I said we could think through those issues together. But when he phoned again, on July 4 from Camp David, I felt I had to go further. I said that, for his ears only, I was willing to give him the assurance that, assuming that Arafat was willing to move toward us on core issues, I would consider limited, symbolic moves on both land swaps and Palestinian sovereignty in part of East Jerusalem.

Clinton replied: the summit was on. It would begin at Camp David in one week's time, on July 11.

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Two days before leaving for the US, I brought my ministers together. "We can't know what will happen at a summit," I said. "But we have a responsibility to give it a chance, and recognize the situation in which we find ourselves. If we sit idle and don't even try, we'll face an eruption of violence, and never know whether we could have avoided it. If, God forbid, we fail to reach an agreement, there will also be violence. We will face a new reality more difficult than you can imagine. But if we do manage the strike a deal, we are going to change the map and history of the Middle East." I reminded them it would be up to Israelis to say yes or no, in a referendum, to the terms of any agreement we negotiated. "If we achieve a breakthrough, I'm confident they will do so, by a landslide."

I said I would hold fast to a number of principles. There would be "no return to the 1967 lines," meaning that we would draw a new border with the West Bank to accommodate the largest settlement blocs. They were mostly around Jerusalem, or just beyond the 1967 border. In practical terms, over the years they had become part of Israel. Tens of thousands of people lived there. As the Americans and even the Palestinian negotiators recognized, no Israeli government, Labor or Likud,

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would agree to make them part of a Palestinian state. The second principle was that "Jerusalem will remain united." It would not be cut into Jewish and Arab halves as had happened between 1948 and 1967. That, I knew, might prove tougher to carry through on. But even if I had to concede a degree of Palestinian control in parts of east Jerusalem, I expected to be able to retain Israeli sovereignty over the city. The third principle was that there would be "no foreign army west of the Jordan River." In other words, if we did hand back at least the major part of the West Bank, it would be demilitarized and we would have security control over the Jordan Valley. Finally, we would not "accept responsibility for the birth of the refugee problem and its solution." Though there could be a "right of return" into a new Palestinian state, we would not agree to rewrite the history of the 1948 war by sanctioning the resettlement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians inside the State of Israel.

I think it was the very fact we were talking about a comprehensive peace agreement that made it so hard for my Orthodox and right-of-center coalition partners. They didn't see the attraction of coming to final terms of peace. They knew it would mean concessions. There *would* be a Palestinian state. We *would* give up the great majority of Biblical Judaea and Samaria. While most of the settlers would remain, since they lived in the major blocs, those in more isolated settlements around the West Bank would have to be moved. They saw the prospect of a final peace only in terms of what we were giving up. They didn't see what we would *gain*: not just peace, and international recognition and endorsement for it. But normalcy: the central aim of Zionism. Jews living in a state like any other. Ever since 1967, we had been in control of the daily lives of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians on the West Bank and in Gaza. That was bad for them. But it had been bad for us too. *Fifty-two* years after the birth of our state, we still didn't have a permanent, internationally recognized border. Rather than dealing with our economic and social issues like other states, we were beset by internal divisions that were in no small part a result of our unresolved conflict with the Palestinians.

Shas, the National Religious Party and Sharansky's *Yisrael ba'Aliyah* were all threatening to pull out of the government because of the summit. Nothing I said could change their minds. Sharansky was the first to declare he was leaving. A few hours later, Shas and the NRP followed suit. If the Likud mustered the required 61 votes for the no-confidence motion it was introducing before I got on the plane to the US, the government would fall. If the parties that had left the coalition, with a total of 28 seats, went along with Arik Sharon, it wouldn't be close. As if that

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wasn't enough, David Levy, my Foreign Minister, told me he would not be joining me at Camp David. He wasn't resigning, at least not yet. But he knew that the final decisions at the summit would be mine, he feared it would fail, and didn't want to share in the consequences.

None of this meant I wasn't going. Even if the no-confidence vote succeeded, the new Israeli electoral system, with its separate vote for Prime Minister, meant I would remain in office, at least until the summit was over. In a nationally televised message, I reminded the country that I'd been elected with nearly two million votes. I felt I had a responsibility, and a mandate, that went beyond party politics. "I must rise above the political arguments, and seek out all possibilities on the way to a peace agreement that will end the conflict, and the blood, between us and our neighbors." I made the same points before the Knesset. I did, of course, want parliamentary support. But I was acting on a mandate from the *people* of Israel. It was they, in a referendum, who would ultimately decide on anything we might agree. When the Knesset votes were counted, thanks to the fact two dozen MKs abstained, both sides lost. Arik fell seven votes short of a majority. So the government survived. But those opposed to the summit got more votes than we did: 54 to 52.

There were several consolations as I prepared to fly out from Ben-Gurion airport. Shas leader Eli Yishai passed me an envelope on the tarmac. Inside was a note from Rabbi Ovadia Yossef, the Shas spiritual leader whom I'd met with privately after the election and a number of times since. He wanted to wish me good luck. Nearly 30 reserve generals also issued a public message of support. Perhaps most encouragingly, a newspaper poll found a majority of Israelis – 55 percent to 45 – believed I was right to go to Camp David and that I had a mandate to make concessions in return for peace.

David Levy came over to talk before I boarded. "I doubt we'll get an agreement," he said. I told him what I was telling other ministers, what I'd told reporters and, in fact what I had told Nava. "The odds are fifty-fifty." The reporters took this as coy, or deliberately deceptive. So I added that it was not because I knew something they didn't. "It's because there are two possible outcomes, and I don't know which one will happen." The gaps of substance were bridgeable. The question was whether both sides wanted peace, and whether each had made a serious, strategic decision to go for it. I'd made that choice. But I had no way of knowing whether Yasir Arafat had.

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I *was* confident of finally answering that question at the summit. Camp David was different from Shepherdstown. No reporters would be there. Mobile phones were banned. Each delegation had one landline. We'd also be operating under a time constraint. President Clinton was due to leave for a G8 summit in Japan on July 19. The gave us barely a week. I did wonder whether that would be enough, even if both sides were committed to reaching a peace agreement. Yet I hoped it would at least provide the possibility, as it had for Begin and Sadat twenty-two years earlier, to reach a framework agreement that open the door to a final peace treaty.

Not just the time, but the numbers were limited. We and the Palestinians could have only a dozen members in our negotiating teams. Some of my choices were automatic: Danny Yatom; Shlomo Ben-Ami, whom I'd made acting Foreign Minister in Levy's absence; Amnon Lipkin and Attorney-General Elyakim Rubinstein; Gilead Sher and his chief negotiating aide, Gidi Grinstein. I also took along a strong security team, including Shlomo Yanai, head of strategic planning the *kirya,* and Israel Hason, a former deputy-head of Shin Bet. There was another important, if less obvious, inclusion: Dan Meridor. A leading member of the Likud before he'd formed the Center Party at the last election, Dan was not just a friend. He was a man of rock-solid integrity, with a strong moral and ethical compass, who put principle over party. He was also a lawyer, and had been Minister of Justice under Bibi. Along with Attorney-General Rubinstein, I knew I'd have a gifted legal team if we got to the point of considering the specifics of a peace agreement. There was another consideration as well. Both Dan and Elyakim were right-of-center politically. I felt I needed their voices as a kind of litmus for the tough decisions, and concessions, I might have to consider if an agreement did prove possible.

I was not nervous as we crossed the Atlantic, though even those who knew me best assumed I would be. Nava had sent me off with a list of dietary instructions, almost like a surgeon general's warning that Camp David might prove hazardous to my health. But I felt prepared. I'd gone to every source I could find about the Begin-Sadat summit. I knew there would be periods of crisis and that at certain points I'd have to allow leeway for my own team to explore possible compromises beyond our set negotiating limits. Yet none of this altered my belief that holding the summit was the right thing to do, nor my confidence in being able to play my part. I did feel a huge responsibility. Decades after our conflict with the

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Palestinians had begun, seven years after Oslo, I was making an attempt, with the participation of the President of the United States, to shape the final terms of peace. I knew I carried the conflicting hopes and fears of Israelis with me.

And the odds really were 50-50. Either we'd come home with an agreement, to be placed before the country in a referendum. Or we would know that, at least for now, it was beyond reach.

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Chapter Twenty-Two

If I believed in omens, I might have turned back as soon as we got to the summit. We reached Camp David a little before ten at night on July 10, after helicoptering from Andrews Air Force base near Washington. When we arrived, it was pouring with rain. The cabin assignments were also a surprise. I was given the one that Anwar Sadat had at the first Camp David summit in 1978. Arafat got Menachem Begin's. Still, the cabins themselves, each named for a tree, were large and pleasant. Mine was called Dogwood. It had a bedroom, two large sitting rooms and a terrace. I took it as a good omen that it was the same one where Nava and I had stayed during our visit with the President Clinton and Hillary right after I'd become Prime Minister.

With just eight days to address the core issues of decades of conflict, we got down to work the next morning. Clinton began by meeting Arafat, as I went through the Americans' strategy for the negotiations with Madeleine Albright, Dennis Ross and Martin Indyk. Then I met the President in his cabin, which was called Aspen. He told me that while Arafat still thought I was trying to "trick him" into an agreement, and didn't think we'd necessarily get a deal, he did accept I was serious about trying. My fear was still the opposite, that Arafat was not serious. Yet my hope was that the isolated environment of Camp David, and the wide public expectation that we would accomplish what Sadat and Begin had done there before, would deliver the breakthrough that I believed ought to be possible. For that to happen, I told the President, I believed it was essential that Arafat truly understood the importance of what was at stake. Not just the cost of failure, but what was potentially on offer: the creation of the Palestinian state he sought, with the full acceptance of Israel and the support of the world.

I wish I could say I was optimistic when Clinton led the two of us into Laurel Lodge, the larger cabin a few hundreds downhill from Aspen, for the opening session of the summit. The scene at the front door – with me bustling Arafat ahead, with the intention of allowing him to enter before me – yielded the best-known image from the summit. Captured by the television crews allowed into the compound for the ceremonial opening, it spawned a cottage industry of political speculation and armchair psychoanalysis purporting to decipher what it meant. Some said it was an encouraging sign of "chemistry" between me and Arafat, a not

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unreasonable guess, since both of us were grinning throughout. Others concluded that because each of us was trying to nudge the other to go in first, it was a sign of underlying conflict: neither of us wanted to allow the other the privilege of appearing to be polite. Still others, bizarrely, said that it was an ornate Middle Eastern power play, with the aim of demonstrating that *I* was ultimately in control of proceedings. In fact, it would turn out to be a singularly apt image of what happened in the days that followed: a reluctant Arafat, an engaged and expectant Prime Minister of Israel, a smiling and hopeful Clinton.

We did begin on a note of optimism. In my opening statement, I said: "Now is the time for us to make a peace of the brave, to find a way to live together side by side with mutual respect, and to create a better future for our children." Arafat said he hoped that the peace Begin and Sadat had made at Camp David would prove an auspicious example. "With the help of President Clinton, we could reach a deal that is good for both sides."

But it was going to take more than noble words. The details of a peace treaty, or even a framework agreement, were going to require negotiation. Both Arafat and I arrived fully aware of the shape of the "hard decisions" I'd referred to months earlier when we met in Oslo. On his side, it would come down to whether he was prepared for a comprehensive, final peace. A true "end of conflict," with no get-out clauses, no strings left untied, no further claims on either side. In concrete terms, this would mean abandoning his claim for a notional hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees to resettle inside the pre-1967 borders of the State of Israel. And what were Israel's difficult decisions? In return for the end of conflict, I would have to deal away the maximum possible part of the West Bank, certainly well above the 80 percent I'd quoted Shimon Peres as suggesting when I'd first met with President Clinton. I would have to accept the idea of land swaps, if necessary, in order to bring the overall percentage as near as possible to the equivalent of the whole of the West Bank. I would have to be flexible on the arrangements to ensure Israeli security oversight over the Jordan Valley. And if a true peace was really on the table, both Arafat and I would have to consider some form of compromise on the most emotionally and symbolically difficult issue of all: the future governance of Jerusalem.

On the first evening, we met as an Israeli delegation to discuss our position for the days ahead. Gili Sher and Danny Yatom helped me keep a clear overall picture of proceedings throughout the summit. Our secure landline was operated by a Shin

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Bet technician. I assumed that, one way or another, the Americans could listen in, but was fairly confident we were beyond the electronic earshot of the Palestinians. I kept myself fully informed of, but at a distance from, the specific work of our five negotiating teams. Though I could not have stayed engaged with all of them at the same time, I also hoped the arrangement would give them an opportunity to explore any realistic opportunity for a breakthrough and any sign of flexibility on Arafat's side – without committing me until there *was* such flexibility.

Yet for the first couple of days of the summit, there was not only no sign of flexibility. There was little meaningful engagement. Dennis Ross and his team drew up a paper setting out the main issues. For those on which we differed, our positions were marked with "I" and "P". It wasn't until around midnight on day-two that the we got a first look at the American draft. The main, unhappy, surprise was Jerusalem. This crucial issue was not marked with "I" or "P". It said outright that there could be two capitals, one Israeli and one Palestinian, within the city of Jerusalem. I was not opposed to the Palestinians calling Jerusalem the capital of their state. But even in follow-up talks after Oslo, when Yossi Beilin and Abu Mazen had explored avenues toward a possible resolution of the Jerusalem question, the maximum understanding was that Israel might expand the existing city limits to accommodate the "two capital" solution. The Palestinians' capital would be in Abu Dis, one of the villages Arafat had asked me to hand back in May. The way the American document was worded suggested dividing Jerusalem as it now was: something ruled out by all Israeli politicians, of all parties, ever since 1967.

When I phoned President Clinton, he asked me to come talk. We sat on the back terrace of his cabin, looking out incongruously on a beautifully tended golf hole installed by Dwight Eisenhower. I told the President that after all the hours we had spent together, I'd felt blindsided by the inclusion of a proposal on Jerusalem that went beyond anything we'd talked about. "It was my mistake," he replied, obviously already aware through his negotiators of the error. He said that he'd put pressure on his negotiators to get the document finished, and that Dennis hadn't had time to read it through. But it was already being fixed: the word "expanded" would be added to the Jerusalem section. I was grateful for that, but told Clinton I was concerned that even this "I and P" paper might have the unintended effect of delaying any real progress. "Since it's an American document, it gives the Palestinians no incentive to compromise," I said, suggesting that it might be better

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simply to withdraw the paper. Clinton's answer encouraged, and surprised, me. "We agree," he said. "The paper no longer exists." It soon turned out the Palestinians were unhappy with it too, but for another reason. On the lookout for validation of Arafat's insistence that Camp David was an Israeli "trap", they were convinced that the paper had Israel's fingerprints all over it. That wasn't true. The one change we'd insisted on was because it misrepresented our position on Jerusalem. Still, since Dennis had added the word "expanded" to the Jerusalem section in longhand, the Palestinians were convinced of Israel co-authorship.

In fact, three days into the summit, the mood among the Palestinians seemed increasingly aggrieved. Not just the Americans, but some members of my own team, were urging me to show more "personal warmth" towards Arafat. I did always exchange greetings and pleasantries with him at mealtimes in Laurel Lodge, but even there, I admit, that I didn't exactly show enthusiasm, much less ebullience. After one dinner, when I'd been placed between the Palestinian leader and Chelsea Clinton, the President's National Security Adviser, Sandy Berger, asked me why, rather than talking to Arafat, I'd spent almost the entire time chatting with Chelsea. My response was only half-joking: "Given the choice, who wouldn't?"

It wasn't only that I believed a charm initiative would come over as contrived. I didn't want to risk misleading Arafat, the other Palestinians and possibly the Americans as well, by giving them the impression I was satisfied with the progress of the summit, or felt that we were heading towards any serious engagement and compromise on the core issues. I had met Arafat many times before Camp David. I had made it clear in all of those meeting that, despite differences on a range of difficult issues, I did want a final peace agreement and that I was ready to consider the tough decisions necessary to make it possible. At Camp David, I was not against meeting Arafat as a matter of principle. I simply felt the time for such a meeting, if it came, would be at the moment that we saw at least *some* signal of a readiness on his part to negotiate seriously.

Still, given the strength of feeling among some of my own negotiators, I felt a responsibility to give it a try. I told Yossi Ginossar, the former Shin Bet officer who was closest to the Palestinian leader among the Israelis, to set up an informal meeting. I added, to Yossi's obvious satisfaction and surprise, that I'd be willing to have the meeting in Arafat's cabin if that's what he preferred. The next afternoon, I went there for tea and baklava. Abu Mazen, his top political adviser and the main

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Palestinian architect of Oslo, was with him, along with a more junior aide who served the tea and sweets. At least this time, Arafat didn't take notes as we spoke. The mood was friendly. We talked about a whole range of issues. With ony one exception: what was really happening, or what should happen, in the summit talks. I found the exercise disappointing as a result. But Yossi Ginossar assured me it would help the atmosphere, and would eventually translate into negotiating progress. "I hope so," I said.

It wasn't until day-four that real talks began. The Americans arranged for negotiating teams from both sides on borders, the refugee issue, and Jerusalem to meet with President Clinton. The Palestinians participated, but showed no sign at all of a readiness to compromise. Borders should have been the most straightforward. Assuming we wanted a deal, it was about sitting down with a map and working out how to address both sides' arguments. But Arafat's representative in the meeting – the Oslo negotiator Abu Ala'a – said he wouldn't even discuss borders without a prior agreement to land swaps ensuring Palestinian control over an area equivalent to 100 percent of the West Bank. Shlomo Ben-Ami did try to find a way around this. He suggested the Palestinians *assume* that to be the case for the purposes of the meeting, so that at least there could be meaningful discussion of the border, including the provisions Israel wanted in order to retain the major settlement blocks. President Clinton agreed that made sense. He said that without talking about the *substance* of such issues, there wasn't going to *be* a deal. Even Abu Ala'a seemed receptive, according to Shlomo. But he insisted that he would have to ask Arafat first whether it was okay.

On refugees, pretty much the same thing happened. The Americans, and I assumed at that point even the Palestinians, knew that a peace deal would be impossible if we agreed to hundreds of thousands of refugees entering Israel – in effect leaving the state created in 1948 with a Jewish minority. But when President Clinton began trying to narrow down details of a compromise resettlement package – how *many* refugees would return, where they would go, and how to arrange international financial support for them – Abu Mazen insisted that nothing could be discussed until without a prior Israeli acceptance of the "principle of the right of return." On Jerusalem, according to Gilead Sher, the President didn't even try to find common ground on the core issue: sovereignty. Instead he used the formula Shlomo Ben-Ami had suggested, telling each side to proceed on the assumption sovereignty was decided in its favour, and to concentrate instead on how everyday

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municipal functions and daily life would be divided between Israel and the Palestinians under a peace agreement.

When I convened our negotiators in my cabin to take stock of the logjam, I was getting more and more skeptical of finding a way to get to actual negotiation on the "hard decisions" I assumed both sides knew we'd have to make. I told our team we could not play that game. Until there was at least *some* movement from Arafat, I didn't want them suggesting any Israeli concessions. We'd obviously get nothing in return. The summit would fail. Despite my repeated insistence both to the Americans and Palestinians that, without an agreement, any Israeli suggestions would be null and void, that didn't mean they would simply be forgotten. The result is that we'd actually be in a worse situation than before Camp David. Politically, I'd find myself in much the same position as President Assad, after the leak of the American draft from Shepherdstown: apparently ready to consider giving Arafat the great majority of the West Bank, without the slightest sign Arafat was ready for a full and final peace. But that wasn't my main concern. It was that anything that we put on the table here would handcuff future Israeli governments if and when an "end of conflict" agreement became possible.

Still, when Dennis Ross learned from my negotiators what I'd decided, he was frustrated and upset. He came to see me on Saturday morning – day-five of what was looking increasingly like a stillborn summit. "This summit was *your* idea," he said, reminding me that the President had agreed to it over the reservations of a lot his own aides. He told me that at a minimum, I had to help give it a chance: by giving *him* my true negotiating "red lines." Either that, or give my negotiators more leeway to explore compromises. I did not want to make Dennis's job any more difficult than it already was. And I told him I was still ready to engage fully if we ever got to the real substance of a possible deal. "But I can't do what you've asked me," I replied. "Not when Arafat is simply holding firm and not showing a willingness even to *look* for compromises."

Fortunately for my relationship with the President – though not for the prospects of an agreement – Clinton had considerably more sympathy with my position after his next meeting with both sets of negotiators that afternoon. It was a return encounter with Abu Ala'a on territory and borders. Shlomo Ben-Ami now produced a map of the West Bank with our proposed breakdown into the areas that would be controlled by a Palestinian state, the part Israel would retain to accommodate the major settlements, and territory which we suggested would go to

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the Palestinians after a transitional period. The part we had earmarked for Palestinian control was now a bit over 85 percent of the West Bank, more than I'd indicated to the President in our first meeting a year earlier. But while Abu Ala'a had told Clinton he would ask for Arafat's permission at least to negotiate, he clearly hadn't received it. He refused to talk about the map, or even respond to Clinton's suggestion that the Palestinians present a map of their own, until we did two things: accept the principle of land swaps and reduce the size of the territory we were suggesting for the settlement blocs. To Shlomo's, and I'm sure even more so to Abu Ala'a's, astonishment, the President exploded. He told Abu Ala'a that to refuse to provide any input or ideas was the very opposite of negotiation. It was an "outrageous" approach. He stormed out.

It was late that evening when the first move toward the "make-or-break" situation I had hoped for seemed to occur, though still with much more likelihood of break than make. The President decided the only way to make progress was to sequester a pair of negotiators from each side overnight. Their task would be to search honesty for the outlines of a possible peace agreement. They were to update Arafat and myself and then report to Clinton the next day. Then, we'd see where we were. I agreed to send Shlomo and Gili Sher, my former "back-channel" negotiators. I knew that whatever guidelines I gave them, they would probe beyond them, just as they'd done in the back-channel talks. They were negotiators. They were also smart, creative, badly wanted an agreement and, like me, believed it ought to be possible. Though I would retain the final word to approve or reject what they suggested, I knew that only in a legal sense could it be null and void. I also recognized, however, that we had to be willing to push further, both to find out for certain where the Palestinians stood and to convince the Americans we genuinely wanted an agreement.

Shlomo and Gili left a little after midnight for Laurel Lodge. Marine guards were posted at the doors, with orders that neither negotiating team was to leave until morning without notifying the President's staff. Mother Nature provided a further incentive to stay inside, since it was again bucketing down with rain. The negotiators talked not just through the night, but the next morning as well. It wasn't until early afternoon that Shlomo and Gili came to my cabin to report on how they'd gone. As I'd anticipated, both of them had ventured beyond concessions that I was ready to consider, at least at a time when we weren't even near to a final peace deal. Taking the President's instructions to heart, they'd said

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they were willing to consider full Palestinian sovereignty over two Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, and even some form of Palestinian authority and control in the Christian and Muslim quarters inside the walls of the Old City. They had dropped our insistence on Israeli control over the Jordan Valley, suggesting that we hold on to only a small segment of the border with Jordan. They had gone beyond the share of the West Bank allocated to a Palestinian state on the map that Abu Ala'a wouldn't even look at. Now, they suggested around 90 percent. But when I asked what the Palestinian negotiators, Saeb Erekat and Mohammed Dahlan, had proposed in return, the answer was almost nothing. They had taken notes. They had asked questions. The one Palestinian proposal, from Saeb Erekat, was on Jerusalem: Palestinian sovereignty over *all* the city's predominantly Arab areas, and Israeli sovereignty over Jewish neighborhoods. In other words, a division of the city.

Even though I was concerned that Gili and Shlomo had gone so far, especially on Jerusalem, I'd reached the point where I doubted that even that would matter. We were now in day-six of the summit, barely 48 hours from President Clinton's departure for the G-8 summit, and we were negotiating only with ourselves. Knowing that the President planned to go see Arafat, I sat down and wrote him a note – emotional not just because I did it quickly, but because of how deeply let down I felt by the Palestinians' deliberate avoidance of a peace deal which, with genuine reciprocity, should have been within reach. "I took the report of Shlomo Ben-Ami and Gilead Sher of last night's discussion very badly..." it began. "This is not a negotiation. This is a manipulative attempt to pull us to a position we will never be able to accept, without the Palestinians moving one inch." I reminded President Clinton that just as he was taking political risks, I was too. "Even the positions presented by our people last night, though they are not my positions, represent an additional risk," I said.

I said I doubted there would be another Israeli leader willing to engage in serious efforts for a final peace agreement with the Palestinians after what had happened here. Unless things changed dramatically, I was not prepared for us to throw out further suggestions, or consider painful concessions. "I do not intend to allow the Israeli state to fall apart, physically or morally. The State of Israel is the implementation of the dream of the Jewish people, for generation upon generation. We achieved it after enormous effort, and at the expenditure of a great deal of blood and sweat. There is no way I will preside at Camp David over the closing of

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this saga." I told the President that I still believed that we were facing a "moment of truth." But only if he could "shake" Arafat, and get him to sense the enormity of the stakes – an independent Palestinian state, versus more, and undoubtedly deadlier, violence.

And if it did come to armed conflict? "When the people of Israel will understand how far we were ready to go, we will have the power to stand together, unified, in such a struggle, however tough it will become, even if we will be forced to confront the entire world. There is no power in the world that can force on us collective national suicide. Peace will be achieved only if there is a willingness to negotiate on both sides. I am sure the people of Israel, and the American people, will understand it when the details will be revealed."

Clinton had already left for Arafat's cabin by the time Danny Yatom went to deliver the letter. But the President, too, was in a more sober and downbeat mood by the time that meeting was over. Late that night when, having now read my note, he joined me on the balcony of Dogwood. He looked exhausted. "It was the toughest meeting I've ever had with Arafat," he said. Clinton said he had told the Palestinian leader that only one side, the Israelis, had so far been negotiating in good faith. If Arafat was not prepared to make a genuine effort to reach an agreement, then there was no choice but for all of us to go home. Now, it seemed, both the President and I were left to wait and see what, if anything, Arafat came up with in reply.

"I've been through battles, and danger, in my life," I said. "But in terms of my responsibility, today, for me as well, was probably the toughest. Shlomo and Gili went beyond what I could live with. If this offer can't move him, then I believe we are left to prepare for war." I told the President he didn't even need to phone me after hearing from Arafat if all he offered was some clever half-reply. Only if it was serious and substantive. I also reminded him that while he'd promised Arafat that he would not "blame" the Palestinians if the summit failed, that had been on the basis of negotiating in good faith. I hoped that, if the summit collapsed in these circumstances, he would keep to that standard.

Finally, I touched on an immediate concern if the summit broke up. For months, the Palestinians had been talking about simply "declaring" a Palestinian state. The Americans had insisted neither side should resort to unilateral action in a conflict whose resolution depended on mutual agreement. The Europeans had been less

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explicit. I told President Clinton I could speak only for how I would respond if a state was indeed declared without a peace deal. "We will extend Israeli sovereignty over the major settlement blocs. We will establish a security zone in the Jordan valley, and let them know that there will be a heavy price should they attack any of the outlying settlements." In other words, Palestinian unilateral action would prompt unilateral Israeli action. "And the confrontation will begin."

* * *

Clinton seemed, if not completely revived, considerably more upbeat when he came back to see me an hour later. He told me that he had received the Palestinians' answer. The way he described it to me, Arafat had agreed to leave President Clinton to decide the amount of West Bank land that would go to a Palestinian state, a figure he now told me that he was assuming would end up at around 90 to 92 percent. The trade-off, he said, would be a limited, "symbolic" land swap. Arafat also wanted control of the Jordan Valley, but had agreed to begin negotiating on Israeli security needs there as soon as possible. Then, came Arafat's counter-conditions, which appeared to bother the President much less than they did me. Everything would be contingent on an unspecified, "acceptable outcome on Jerusalem." And despite Clinton's emphasis that any meaningful agreement had to include a formal declaration that the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was "over," Arafat was insisting that could come only after the terms of whatever we agreed were fully implemented.

Still, it was at least a step forward. Clinton seemed genuinely encouraged, and I didn't want to risk closing off this first chink of light. I suggested, for instance, that we could address Arafat's reluctance about an "end of conflict" statement by providing an American guarantee that the terms of the deal would be implemented.

Still, it very soon became clear that any hope of real progress rested on by far the most difficult issue: Jerusalem. Across party boundaries, even across divisions between religious and secular, nearly all Israelis viewed the city as not just our capital, but the centrepiece of the state. It had been divided after 1948. The Old City, and the site of the ancient Jewish temple, had been under Jordanian rule for 19 years when our forces recaptured it in the Six-Day War. It was under a Labor

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government that the area around the temple's surviving Western Wall, left uncared for under the Jordanians, was cleared and a stone plaza put in place for worshipers – at the expense of parts of the old Moroccan Quarter. It was under Labor, too, that Israel unilaterally expanded Jerusalem's city limits to take in more than two dozen adjacent Arab villages on the West Bank. No Israeli government since then, Labor or Likud, had deviated from a shared pledge that Jerusalem would remain Israel's undivided, sovereign capital under any eventual peace agreement.

Yet when I met Clinton the next morning in Laurel Lodge, he insisted we had to find some room for flexibility. He said that, of course, Israel would retain sovereignty over the Temple Mount: the site of the Western Wall and, above it, the Al-Aqsa mosque complex. "But without damaging your sovereignty," he argued, "we have to find a way to *draw a picture* for Arafat that includes some measure of Palestinian control in part of the city."

"Could you agree to Arafat having an office, maybe, inside the walls of the Old City," he asked me. What about a form of administrative control in some of the outlying Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem? I replied that I couldn't possibly answer any of his questions until and unless it was clear that Arafat accepted our sovereignty over – and our national and religious connection with – the Temple Mount. Yet I said I understood that we would have to reach some compromise agreement on the city if we were ever going to have a chance of a peace agreement. "But it's an issue that is difficult for every Israeli," I told him. Before I could even begin to see whether there was a way forward, I would have to take it through with my entire negotiating team. Then, we could discuss it.

It turned out to be the most open, serious, searching discussion I was a part of during all my years in public life. It began, on the terrace of my cabin, at two in the afternoon and went on until sundown. I introduced it by saying what each of us already knew: Jerusalem was the most emotionally charged and politically complex issue of all. Our maximum position coming into the summit had been that we would again expand the municipal boundaries of the city, as we'd done after the 1967 war, in order to accommodate two separate "city councils." One would be in Abu Dis, just to the southeast of the Old City, almost literally in the shadow of the Temple Mount. The understanding was the Palestinians would be free to rename the village, referring to it by the Arabic name for Jerusalem: Al Quds. I said that we should use that position as a starting point, and discuss how, or whether, we might go further. All I added was the need to be aware of what was at

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stake. I didn't know whether peace was within reach. I was still deeply skeptical. But if it was, we had to accept that Jerusalem would be key. And if the summit failed, for whatever reason, what inevitably awaited us was "confrontation."

Israel Hasson, the Shin Bet veteran, spoke first. He saw two choices. Either we could retain Isrsaeli sovereignty over a "united Jerusalem" with functional, day-to-day autonomy for the Palestinians in their neighborhoods, or we could in effect divide the city. "Divide sovereignty." He didn't say which he favored, only that it was essential that we made the decision now if we could, however difficult or reluctant Arafat was as a negotiating partner. If we waited, we'd end up having to deal with Islamists: Hamas and Islamic Jihad. Oded Eran, the career diplomat whom I'd put in charge of frustrating, formal talks with the Palestinians in the months preceding the summit , said he was convinced that we should give the Palestinians full sovereignty over at least the "outer" Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem, which had become part of the city only when we'd expanded the city boundaries after 1967. He said that was in Israel's own interest. We had no historic connection to these Arab villages, and something like 130,000 Palestinian lived there. "Why should we want to annex them," he asked. It would be like accepting the "right of return" through the back door.

Dan Meridor's voice, for me, was especially important. I knew he was as determined as I was to try to get a peace agreement with the Palestinians. But he was also a former Likudnik, and a native Jerusalemite. "I'm against any concessions when it comes to Israeli sovereignty," he said. "Any attempt to divide Jerusalem would be a serious blow, and not just for Jews in Israel." For centuries, Jewish communities all over the world, had looked to Jerusalem, prayed for Jerusalem. The yearly Seder meal, on Passover, ends with the Hebrew phrase: *Shanah haba b'Yerushalaim*. Next year, in Jerusalem. "What we decided here in Camp David," Dan said, "also affects Jews in New York. In Moscow. In Johannesburg." He urged us to focus instead on offering Arafat as attractive as possible a package of concessions on all the *other* issues. "Then let him decide. But even if sovereignty over Jerusalem means that the deal collapses, I'm not willing the pay that price."

No voices were raised. It was the rarest of political discussions. People offered their views, and listened to others'. Amnon Lipkin pointed out that a large area of what was now came inside the boundaries of Jerusalem was not part of the city he'd known before 1967. Echoing Oded Eran, he said: "It's in our interest for as

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many as possible of the Arab inhabitants to come under the authority of the Palestinians, and as few as possible under our rule." Amnon's bottom line was that we could not give up Israeli sovereignty over the Temple Mount, which, although he was a non-observant Jew, he called "the cradle of Jewish history." But equally, we couldn't and shouldn't "run the Al-Aqsa mosque." He was also in favor of agreeing to what Clinton had asked of me: giving Arafat a base in the Muslim Quarter of the Old City. His one caveat was that we should not do any of this unless it was part of a genuine, final, peace agreement with the Palestinians.

Danny Yatom urged us to move beyond our emotions and look for a practical solution. "We all know how the boundaries of Jerusalem were drawn," he said, referring to the post-1967 expansion of the city. "They're not holy. It is important to get down to our *real* red lines." Eli Rubinstein, the attorney general, agreed. Even though he was an observant, Orthodox Jew, and more sympathetic politically to Likud than Labor, he concluded that we needed to include "as few Arabs as possible" under Israeli sovereignty, and to cede the outer villages to the Palestinians, adding: "This is a moment of truth."

It was nearly five hours before I brought the discussion to a close. "This is as grave a decision as when Ben-Gurion accepted the partition plan in 1947; the declaration of the state; or the most tense moments of the Yom Kippur War," I said. "Or the decisions which Begin took in this same place." Of course, Begin hadn't even been willing to enter into discussion on Jerusalem. But we were in a different situation. If we were going to get a true end to our conflict, the question of Jerusalem had to be addressed. "We can't delay the decision. We can't avoid it. We will have to decide." My own red line was the same as Amnon Lipkin's: "sovereignty over the site of our First and Second Temples." Even shared sovereignty elsewhere within the Old City seemed to me a step too far at this stage, but I didn't rule it out as part of a full peace. "Without disengagement from the Palestinians, without an end of conflict," I reminded our negotiating team, "we're heading toward further tragedy. We can't pretend we don't see the iceberg."

I asked several members of the team, under Shlomo Ben-Ami, to draft a paper based on our discussion. Since I knew that Clinton, and Arafat too, could do nothing of substance until I'd resolved how far to go on Jerusalem, I went to see the President. I told him about our session. I said that we were now crystallizing what had been said into a formal position, and I hoped to be able to return in a few hours with "the furthest point we can go." Clinton said that would be a critical

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moment in the summit. If we *could* find common ground, he said, Israel would have achieved what had eluded it under Rabin, and even Ben-Gurion: "end of conflict, and Jerusalem recognized internationally as your capital." I told him that the discussion with my negotiators had been moving and illuminating. "I could see how much it weighed on everyone." But I added that I still did not feel anything of a similar nature, or remotely as serious, was happening on the Palestinian side. I also said that in deciding how to proceed, I couldn't ignore political realities back home. I would have to get any major change in our position concerning Jerusalem through the Knesset, even before putting a peace agreement to a referendum.

"When will you get back to me with your paper?" he asked. I said I'd try by midnight. I also asked him whether he could delay going to the G8 summit in Japan, for which he was due to leave Camp David on the morning of the 19th. That meant we had just one full day left. I said even if the plan was to resume our talks afterward, I couldn't move on Jerusalem right before we recessed. It would mean "putting my last and best offer on the table" and running the risk of leaks in Israel while Clinton was gone. He said that he had to go to the G8, but would try to put off leaving for a further day. Then, he asked me to draw up a list of questions for him to present to Arafat so that we could solidify our understanding of how far *he* was ready to go for peace.

I had Shlomo get busy on the list of questions. But it took time. We reconvened around eleven at night, to discuss both the questions and the Jerusalem package. Though it retained Israeli sovereignty over the entirety of the Old City, it did give the Palestinians a greater measure of control over other areas of East Jerusalem than any Israeli government had been willing to consider in the past. Still, almost everyone in the negotiating team could live with it, assuming it became the critical element in a final peace. Dan Meridor, alone, remained firmly opposed, though Elyakim Rubinstein also had some reservations. Even Dan said he understood the importance of getting a peace agreement, if indeed it was possible, and our readiness to discuss new proposals on Jerusalem.

When I left for Clinton's cabin at about 1:00 am on Wednesday, I had no idea I was about to enter the most difficult meeting – and the only real fight – I had with him during our long effort to achieve a Middle East peace. I brought Shlomo and Danny with me, which meant that Madeleine Albright, Dennis and Sandy Berger stayed as well. I sensed tension in all of them, in large part, I soon discovered, because they took exception to the more than twelve hours we had spent discussing

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and refining our position on Jerusalem. I think Clinton expected a formal offer from us. Since I'd been guided by his request for a list of questions for Arafat, however, that is what we came to him with. As we'd discussed, I wanted finally to elicit some sign of whether Arafat, too, was ready to make difficult decisions.

The questions were specific. "Will you accept an agreement that stipulates the following..." it began, and proceeded to outline the kind of peace we could accept and still hoped for. The points included not just Jerusalem, but areas I knew would also be sensitive for Arafat, such as the "right of return" and formal agreement to an end of conflict. We went further than before in some areas. One of the outer East Jerusalem neighborhoods would be under Palestinian sovereignty. The rest of the city would remain under Israeli sovereignty, but most of the other Arab villages would be subject to a system of Palestinian administration. The Haram al-Sharif, the mosque complex above the wall of the Jewish temple, would be under Palestinian "administrative and religious management." We also suggested "special arrangements" implying a Palestinian presence in the Old City, but again under Israeli sovereignty. The questions envisaged eventual Palestinian control in the Jordan Valley, with an Israeli security zone for 12 years, rather than our proposal in pre-summit talks for 30 years. Then, explicitly, we proposed a question to Arafat to confirm my understanding with Clinton that the "right of return" would apply not to Israel proper, but to a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza. Finally, the document said: "I understand that such an agreement constitutes an end of conflict."

After he read it, the President blew up. Far from the "bottom lines" he'd apparently hoped for, but which I'd never thought were expected at this stage, I seemed to be retreating from ideas Shlomo and Gili had presented in their all-night session with the Palestinians. Given the ground rules of that exercise, they'd felt able to go beyond anything we'd actually agreed, and in some areas beyond what they knew I could support. As a result, the list of questions assumed Israel would keep a little more than 11 percent of the West Bank, nearly one percent more than Shlomo had mentioned. Shlomo and Gili had also raised the possibility of up to three of the outer Jerusalem villages coming under full Palestinian sovereignty. "You keep us, and Arafat, waiting for 13 hours," Clinton fumed, his face nearly scarlet. "And you want me to present something *less* than you've already offered." He said he wouldn't do it. "This is not real. It's not serious." He said that he'd gone to Shepherdstown in search of what was supposed to be an endgame with the

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Syrians. Then to Geneva to see Assad, "where I felt like a wooden Indian, doing your bidding. I will *not* let it happen here. I will simply not do it."

I tried to keep my voice steady when I replied. I explained that the issues we were addressing went to the heart of Israel's interests, its future security, its identity and definition as a nation. I had a responsibility to tread carefully. Then, my voice rising too, I came back to what I felt was the real problem. Arafat and his negotiators had been sitting and waiting for me and my team, and probably Clinton as well, to deliver more and more concessions with no sign that they were willing to move on anything. "I find that outrageous," I said. I did not expect Arafat to respond with equal concessions. After all, Israel had most of the tangible assets. "But I did expect him at least to take a small step once we had taken ten. We have not seen even this. This is the kind of behavior parents would not tolerate in their own children! We don't expect Arafat to accept this, but I *do* expect him to present a counter-position."

Clinton remained adamant he couldn't go to Arafat with a retreat from our earlier ideas. "My negotiating team moved beyond my red lines," I told him. The overnight talks were supposed to be non-binding and assumed that *both* sides would make a genuine attempt to get an agreement. "I can't see any change in Arafat's pattern. We take all the risks." I said I doubted that Arafat expected to hear that we had decided to "give him Jerusalem." In any case, the Israeli public hadn't given me a mandate to do that. But I would still move in Arafat's direction, *if and when* I got any sign he was willing to do the same.

The President's anger eased. He suggested he caucus with his negotiators and figure out what to do next. I felt bad about what had happened: not about the list of questions, or my insistence that we could not offer major concessions with no sign of reciprocity. But I did regret that it had left the Americans so frustrated, and Clinton so angry. He had invested not just huge amounts of time and brainpower, but political capital, in the search for peace.

He phoned me at about 3:30 in the morning and asked me to come back. This time, I went alone. We sat on the terrace of Aspen. He said again he couldn't go to Arafat with the list we'd drawn up. But having met with his negotiators, he suggested they draft a more forthcoming list of their own – consistent with what Shlomo and Gili had proposed. I agreed, as long as they kept in mind that it had to be something I could ultimately live with, and that it be presented to Arafat as an

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American proposal. I suggested the President could tell Arafat that he'd try to get me to agree to it, providing Arafat first showed a readiness to move.

The American questions did go further than ours. They asked Arafat whether he would negotiate on the basis of getting Palestinian sovereignty over all the outer Jerusalem neighborhoods, as well as the Muslim Quarter of the Old City and a "custodial role" over the holy sites. But Arafat said no. He insisted on Palestinian sovereignty over all of East Jerusalem, including the Old City and the holy sites. For a few hours after Clinton's fruitless meeting with Arafat, Dennis and the American team engaged in a rescue effort, adding another carrot. They included the Christian Quarter as well, meaning Palestinian sovereignty over nearly half of the Old City, including the areas where almost all Arab residents lived. Dennis gave the proposal to Shlomo and Amnon Lipkin to bring to me, and asked two of the Palestinian negotiators to take it to Arafat. Even offering sovereignty over the Muslim Quarter went beyond anything I'd proposed. So did a lot of the other American questions. Still, I said we'd be ready to consider them in discussions with the US negotiating team – with the exception of the Christian Quarter. But that, too, turned out not to matter. Arafat did not even respond.

Clinton called me to say we'd reached the end of the road. There were only two options: end the summit and announce we'd tried and failed, or defer Jerusalem and try to get agreement on the rest of the issues. I asked for time to think it over, and he said he'd come see me when I was ready. I was tempted to put off Jerusalem. In the admittedly unlikely event we could get a deal on the other issues, that would undeniably be an achievement. But I couldn't help thinking that Arafat's lack of engagement on Jerusalem was yet another sign that he was not ready for the almost equally tough compromises required to resolve the other core issues. And there was no escaping the reality that without a deal on Jerusalem, no agreement we reached would truly represent an "end of conflict." Moreover, Jerusalem wasn't just a Palestinian issue. It was of fundamental interest to the whole Muslim world. If we left it unaddressed, we would be putting future Israeli governments in the position of having to negotiate on Jerusalem *after* we'd given back our key negotiating assets and all our leverage.

I accepted now that the search of a full peace treaty, or even a framework agreement, looked all but impossible. Even Shlomo's and Gili's freelancing had produced only a series of no's from Arafat. But I felt I couldn't give up. Much as I'd been resisting it, I believed I needed to give Clinton my *true* bottom lines, even

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with Arafat still mute and unresponsive. That was the only way we could know with certainty whether peace was possible. If it wasn't, it would also demonstrate powerfully to the Americans that we were not the party who had prevented an agreement.

The President came to see me in Dogwood a little before 11 at night on the 18th, less than 12 hours before he was due to take his delayed flight to the G8. I told him I'd decided to do what Rabin had done with Syria. I was going to give him a "deposit" to keep in his pocket, which he would be free to use as the basis for a further, *American* proposal to Arafat, assuming it was part of an agreement with a "satisfactory resolution" of the refugee issue and an explicit end-of-conflict. He could present it as something which he could tell Arafat he was confident of persuading Israel to accept. It went well beyond what I'd offered before, on all the major issues. I proposed Palestinian rule over 91 percent of the West Bank. I was ready for a Palestinian state to have sovereignty over 85 percent of the border in the Jordan Valley as well, and our security zone there would stay in place for "less than 12 years." Seven out of the nine outer Arab neighborhoods of Jerusalem would come under Palestinian sovereignty. The inner neighborhoods would be under Palestinian civil authority: including planning and zoning, and law-enforcement. For the mosques on the Temple Mount, I proposed a shared custodianship to include the new state of Palestine, Morocco and the chair of the Higher Islamic Commission in Jerusalem. I also agreed to consider Palestinian sovereignty over *both* the Muslim and Christian quarters of the Old City.

Clinton, arching his eyebrows and smiling, said what I'd offered was a package of genuine concessions. It was more than he had expected and, he assumed, more than the Palestinians could have hoped for. It had the makings of a potential breakthrough toward a fair and final peace. I told him I hoped so. But given Arafat's behavior so far, I had my doubts.

Now, it was our turn to wait. The President invited Arafat to Aspen and, from what we heard soon afterwards, got no hint of any readiness to reciprocate. He agreed only to talk to his negotiators and get back with an answer. Overnight, the Palestinians sent messages to the Americans asking questions on each of the concessions, though still with no indication from Arafat of a response. Finally, he sent a suggestion that since Clinton was about to fly off to the G8, we take a two-week break to allow Arafat to consult with Arab leaders. To his credit, Clinton knew an escape act when he saw it. He recognized that only by confronting the

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issues raised by our proposals and showing a willingness to find common ground would we have any hope of success. No recess, Clinton said. He needed a straight answer. Again, not full acceptance necessarily, but agreement to treat the proposals as a basis for negotiating an Israeli-Palestinian peace. Arafat's answer came shortly before dawn. It was "no".

Clinton couldn't quite believe it. He went back to see Arafat, telling him he was making an error on the scale of 1948, when the Palestinians had rejected the partition of Palestine and the creation of an Arab state; or in 1978, when by negotiating on the basis of Sadat's Palestinian-rights framework, they would have ended up with a mere 5,000 Israeli settlers on the West Bank instead of nearly 200,000. What most astonished Clinton was that Arafat was saying no even to using the package as a *basis* for negotiations. Still, Arafat would not budge.

As Palestinian negotiators tried to salvage things by suggesting another trip by Madeleine and Dennis to the Middle East, it was clear that even the Americans were fed up. They knew that one side, at least, had been trying to get an agreement. They couldn't understand why Arafat was unwilling even to accept the "pocket" proposals as a basis for further talks. When Yossi Ginossar, our most reliable conduit, went to see Arafat, he found him sitting alone and, in Yossi's description, "paralyzed." Clinton finally decided to have one last go. When he did, Arafat not only remained unwilling. To the President's astonishment, he insisted that the ancient Jewish temple hadn't been in Jerusalem at all, but in the West Bank city of Nablus.

I was getting a bite to eat in the dining room in Laurel Lodge when Madeleine showed up. She didn't bother defending Arafat. She was as frustrated as I was. Her message was that after the summit, it was important not to make things worse. A negotiating process had to be kept alive. Then, Clinton sat down with me. He delivered a similar message, but with even greater feeling. "You're smarter than I am," he joked. "You're certainly experienced in war, and I'm not. But I'm more experienced in politics, and there are a few things I've learned along the way. The most important is not to corner your adversaries, and not to corner yourself. Always leave yourself a way out. Don't lock yourself into a losing option." I could see that he was right. I also believed, as strongly now as before the summit, that Israel's *own* interests and its security were not served by an unresolved conflict with the Palestinians. The problem was that, in the absence of an equal commitment on Arafat's side, any continued negotiating process seemed futile.

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I packed my bags. I told Danny Yatom to inform the Americans we were leaving and to get our plane ready to take us back to Israel. I let the others in our team know that we were going. A number of them, and several of the Americans as well, urged me to reconsider. But I said I saw no point in staying. What I didn't know, however, was that one of the Palestinians' original Oslo negotiators, Hassan Asfour, had approached Dennis Ross with a new proposal: that we ask Arafat to accept everything except the proposal on the holy sites as a basis for negotiation. Sovereignty over the Temple Mount would be addressed in later, international negotiations. When Dennis brought this to me, my instinct was to say no. Like so much else at the summit, it was an inherently skewed formula: it would involve major Israeli concessions on all the other main issues, *without* securing our absolute minimum need in Jerusalem: sovereignty over the Temple Mount. I didn't say yes. Still, with Clinton's words of advice still on my mind, I said that I'd think it over.

When I met the rest of the Israeli team, almost all of them felt we should stay. The consensus was that especially if violence broke out after the summit's collapse, we didn't want to feel we'd left any stone unturned. At about 11 pm, I phoned the President and told him that we would stay until he returned from Okinawa. He was clearly pleased, and asked us to keep working in his absence. When I resisted that, saying that any substantive talks needed his involvement, we finally agreed that talks could continue in search of a formula for the holy sites. On all the other issues, only informal discussions would be held until and unless a way ahead on the Temple Mount was found. If that happened, and *if Arafat* finally accepted the "pocket" proposals as an agreed starting point, formal negotiations could resume. Clinton accepted this formula. He went to see Arafat and secured – or thought he had secured – his agreement as well.

One of the President's great strengths was his genius for blurring the edges of potential differences in search of common ground. But when edges *had* to be sharpened, this could lead to confusion. Before leaving for the G8, the President neglected to mention to Arafat our explicit understanding that, with the exception of the talks on the holy sites, nothing would happen until he accepted the concessions that President Clinton and I had delivered as at least a *basis* for further negotiations. As a result, Arafat's team now set about happily asking questions and probing my negotiators – pushing us to go *further* – but with no more inclination than before to produce any concessions of their own.

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When I learned what was happening, I told my negotiators they were not to hold any further formal meetings during the four days Clinton would be away. Dennis's initial response was frustration. Madeleine Albrights's was fury. They both made no secret of their view that I was needlessly stonewalling. It wasn't until a few hours later that Madeleine apparently saw the stenographer's record of my conversation with the President before he'd left, confirming the condition that Arafat accept the "pocket" at least as a basis on which to proceed. That evening, she apologized to me for the misunderstanding, and explained the mix-up to the full Palestinian and Israeli negotiating teams.

I spent most of the remaining three days in my cabin or, when the rain relented, walking through the woods. The Americans appeared to think I was sulking. I wasn't. I was trying to find the least diplomatically damaging way to navigate the period until the President's return. I couldn't see showing up at Laurel at every mealtime, mingling and joking with the Americans and Palestinians, but refusing to enter into any form of negotiations. That would compound the awkwardness of the situation, and also be a direct affront to Madeleine. I liked and respected her. But I could not in good conscience help her out in her efforts to find at least some, informal, way of moving the summit along in Clinton's absence. If Arafat had failed to show even a scintilla of movement with the President in the room, I knew there was no way that he was going to do so with the Secretary of State. For the Palestinian negotiators, who were predictably in favour of her efforts, the definition of "new ideas" was whatever further movement they might cajole out of *our* negotiators. Still, on day-three of Clinton's absence, I got a note saying that Secretary Albright was on her way to my cabin. I didn't want the needless diplomatic difficulty involved in again telling her I could not sanction free-wheeling, and decidedly one-sided, negotiations while Arafat hadn't moved a single inch. So I made myself scarce. Fortunately, I was wearing sneakers. I told Danny to inform the Americans I was out jogging around the perimeter of the large Camp David estate, and went off to do just that.

I told my own delegation I was taking time out to assess where we stood. I did continue meeting with Gili Sher and Danny Yatom. Yet for much of time, I read. I also did a lot of thinking. I considered the "pocket" concessions I'd agreed to, the uncertainties and risks I'd been prepared to run, and the need to decide how to deal with the fact that Arafat, when he had engaged at all, had said "no".

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Once it was clear to the Americans there would be no talks until the President returned, however, Madeline began urging me to go see Arafat personally. The two members of our team who were the least pessimistic about Camp David's outcome, Shlomo Ben-Ami and Yossi Ginossar, also said they thought it was a good idea. It was they who'd pressed me to go see Arafat for tea and sweets earlier in the summit. But that meeting had produced not even a glimmer of negotiating flexibility from the Palestinian leader. Yossi had said at the time that it would help the atmosphere, and pay dividends later on. But that hadn't happened either. "Madam Secretary," I told Madeleine, "eating more baklava with Arafat isn't going to help. The situation is simple: he needs to answer whether he views the President's proposal as a basis for going forward."

When Clinton returned, he promptly got back down to business: making one last push to see whether a peace deal was possible. He phoned me around midnight on the 24th of July, a few hours after he'd arrived. He told me he had sent an even more far-reaching package to Arafat, expanding on my proposals. Now, all of the outer Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem would come under Palestinian sovereignty, in addition to the Muslim and Christian quarters in the Old City. And Arafat would be given "custodial sovereignty" over the Muslim holy sites on the Temple Mount. I didn't object. Though it was further than I felt I could go, it was within the spirit of my "pocket deposit". The same ground rules still applied: these were American proposals, which the President was telling Arafat he would try to deliver if he accepted them as a basis for serious negotiations. But when Clinton phoned me back, around 3:15 in the morning, it was to tell me that Arafat had again said no.

The curtain had finally come down. What remained now was to clear up the set. I did meet Arafat once more, in a joint session with President Clinton, but only for closing statements. The President and I spoke as much in sorrow and frustration as anger. Both of us said we thought an historic agreement had been within our grasp, and that far-reaching proposals had been tabled to make it possible. Arafat responded with words both of us had heard before: effusive toward Clinton, rhapsodic about his "old partner" Rabin and fulsome in his ostensible commitment to keep trying for peace. But it was just words. We knew he was not willing even to *talk* about the kind of compromises a real, final peace would require.

The President's remarks to the media were, by the standards of post-summit diplomacy, unmistakably clear in making that point. He praised me and the Israeli

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negotiating team for courage and vision. Essentially, he thanked Arafat for showing up. That was some consolation. But it didn't alter the weight of the message we were carrying home. Arafat either would not or could not make peace, at least on terms any Israel leader could accept or the people of Israel would endorse.

There were only two potential deal-breakers on our side, as Arafat had known from the beginning. The first involved the "right of return." We were never going to sign a peace agreement accepting the return of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians within our pre-1967 borders. Demographically, that was a recipe for the inexorable end of Israel as a majority-Jewish state. It would also imply a rewriting of the history of how Israel was born: in a *war*, with an almost equal number of refugees either fleeing or forced to leave on both sides, after the Arab world had unanimously, and violently, rejected a UN partition that would have created a Palestinian Arab state as well. I did accept a "right of return" to the Palestinian state we had hoped to create, as part of a final peace deal, on the West Bank and in Gaza. I also supported the idea of a multi-billion-dollar international fund to compensate or resettle Palestinian refugees, and was ready to commit Israel as a party to that effort. The other critical issue was Jerusalem. I had stretched our negotiating position almost to breaking point. The "pocket" ideas Arafat ended up rejecting challenged a longstanding Israeli political taboo. In practical terms, they amounted to a breach of the assurances which I and every other Israeli Prime Minister since 1967 had given: never to re-divide Israel's capital. Had we actually got an end-of-conflict deal, I would have had to justify it to Israelis in a referendum. I think I could have done so. But one thing I could not give up was our sovereignty over the Temple Mount, the centerpiece of our history as a people and Israel's as a state. It was our connection with our past, a focus of what we had gone through, what we had achieved, and what we had left to accomplish. It was essential to who we were.

Arafat never even engaged in a discussion on the "right of return". On the Temple Mount, however, he was explicit. Any peace, any *basis for negotiation* toward peace, had to begin by confirming Palestinian sovereignty. Besides, as he'd told the President of the United States, he had persuaded himself there never *was* a Jewish temple in Jerusalem. When I heard about that remark, I was less shocked than Clinton. It struck me as just another way Arafat had of conveying *his* bottom lines. It was a bit like stories he liked to tell about visiting his aunt in Jerusalem as

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a young boy and seeing religious Jews walking through the streets of the Old City. I don't know whether those stories were true. But the point was that while he had no problem with Jews in their long coats and black hats *praying* in the holy city, Jews exercising authority or sovereignty, or a Jewish *state*, was something else entirely. Camp David had made it clear it was something he was not prepared to accept.

The question which I now had to confront was what to do next.

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Chapter Twenty-Three

It didn't fully hit me how draining our efforts had been until the morning that the summit collapsed, when President Clinton called me to come talk to him in the living room at Laurel Lodge. When I arrived, Madeleine was already there, sitting on the edge of the sofa. She greeted me with a resigned shrug and a valiant but not altogether successful effort at a smile.

"We *tried*," Clinton said quietly as I took a seat in a wooden chair opposite his. "We gave it everything." The nominal reason for the meeting was to brief me on the communiqué the Americans were going to issue: mostly boilerplate assurances that both sides remained committed to seeking peace, but with an additional "understanding" that neither would take unilateral actions in the meantime. But mostly, Clinton wanted to reinforce his message of a few days earlier: don't "lock yourself into a losing option." Don't close the door. Don't give up. "I won't," I told him, an assurance I echoed in remarks to reporters a few hours later, when I said that while the peace process had "suffered a major blow, we should not lose hope. With goodwill on all sides, we can recuperate."

But I told the President that we couldn't just ignore what had happened at Camp David. Yes, in the event Arafat suddenly had second thoughts about the potentially historic achievement he'd passed up, he would know where to find me. But until and unless that happened, I told Clinton that I assumed my "pocket" concessions would now be firmly back in his pocket. And while we couldn't erase them from memory, I said it was important both of us make it clear that, in legal and diplomatic terms, they were not going to provide Arafat a *new* starting point from which he could make his customary demand for more.

"And I have to tell you that, given what has happened, there's no way I can justify handing him control of more land. I am not going to go ahead with the Wye redeployments in these circumstances."

"You don't have to," Clinton replied. "I'll back you."

Though I never discussed internal Israeli politics with any foreign leader, even the closest of allies, I didn't doubt that the President's support was partly a recognition of what awaited me once I got home. The compromises I'd been willing to consider had gone further – much further, on the politically combustible

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question of Jerusalem – than any Israeli leader in the search for peace. Even before I'd left for Camp David, the defections from our coalition meant we'd been left with only 42 seats in the Knesset, nineteen short of a majority. Amid the first, sketchy media reports that we were even *talking* about sharing control of parts of Jerusalem with the Palestinians, there was a chorus of denunciation from right-wing politicians back home. Bibi Netanyahu had largely kept out of the public eye since his resignation after the election. Now, he issued a statement accusing me of having "broken all the red lines held by all Israeli governments." During the President's final push to save the prospects for a summit agreement, Bibi called a news conference. He said he was determined to prevent what he called an impending disintegration of Israeli society. "What we hear from most of the reports out of Camp David does not answer our hopes," he said.

It hadn't answered my hopes either. But I had gone into the summit with my eyes open. Frustrated though I was by the way the summit had ended, I had no regrets about going as far as I had in trying to reach, at the minimum, a framework agreement. In that sense, it is true the summit had failed. But when I'd urged President Clinton to convene it, I made the argument that if genuine peace was ever going to be possible, we at least had to know whether Arafat was interested in, or capable of, playing his part. That question had, for now, been answered. At least as importantly for Israel, the President of the United States and almost the entire international community recognized we'd done everything realistically possible to reach an accommodation. Diplomatically, the ball was in the Palestinians' court.

There was a final achievement as well – little noticed or remarked upon in the days immediately after Camp David, but hugely significant. A taboo had been broken. For the first time, all Israelis recognized what their political leaders, both Labor and Likud, had long known: a formal, final peace with the Palestinians, if and when it came, would require us not just to withdraw from the great majority of the West Bank, but to find a formula for sharing power in Jerusalem. Many Israelis still believed that was a price too high, and not just Likudniks. A couple of weeks after the summit, Leah Rabin told an Israeli newspaper that her late husband would be "turning in his grave" if he'd known the concessions I'd been ready to consider on Jerusalem. I found the remarks hurtful, but I understood them. In a way, they drove home the point I'd made to Clinton during the summit: *all* Israelis had a deep, emotional attachment to our historic capital. "Yitzhak would never have agreed to compromise on the Old City and the Temple Mount," Leah said,

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"because for him, Jerusalem was sacred from a strictly national and historic point of view." It was for me as well. In fact, I think its religious significance probably resonated more strongly. Still, the major change from the summit was that even those Israelis who found a compromise on Jerusalem unacceptable recognized that, if they *did* want to negotiate a definitive end to the conflict, talking about it was unavoidable.

At least for now, however, there wasn't going to be a peace deal. As our El Al 707 descended over the Mediterranean for our approach back to Ben-Gurion Airport, I faced the more immediate issue of ensuring my government survived. This was partly in case, against all odds, Arafat showed a readiness to revive the search for peace – but also because of the real prospect he would choose violence instead.

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Since the Knesset was about to go into recess until late October, I would have a three-month window to reshape and stabilize my coalition – but only if we could weather a no-confidence motion introduced by Arik Sharon after Camp David. We did weather it, barely. Arik needed a majority of the Knesset's 120 seats to bring down the government. The vote ended in a 50-50 tie. The other 20 MKs abstained, or didn't show up. This was not because of any enthusiasm for my efforts to get an agreement at Camp David, but because of a *lack* of enthusiasm for an early election in which they feared losing seats.

Still, that did allow me to focus on the challenge of the inevitably altered situation with Arafat after the summit's collapse. My main concern was the possibility of violence. Even before returning home, I'd phoned Shaul Mofaz and Avi Dichter, the former Sayeret Matkal officer who was now head of the Shin Bet. "Let's hope the violence doesn't come," I told them. "But if it does, make sure we are ready." Though there was no sign of violence in the weeks immediately after the summit, there was equally little sign of diplomatic engagement by Arafat. Obviously relieved at the way Camp David had ended, he returned to Gaza to a hero's welcome, proudly proclaiming that he had refused to "give up" Jerusalem. It was vintage Arafat: the "general" in his starched uniform and kefiyeh, fresh from

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the diplomatic equivalent of the battlefield, triumphant against the odds. It was the role he liked and played best. His next move was to take the show on the road: to Arab, European and world capitals, pleading that he had been the "victim" of summit chicanery in which President Clinton and I had presented him with a deal no self-respecting Palestinian could accept. He was also campaigning for international support for a move, in contravention of the final Camp David communiqué, to "declare" a Palestinian state unilaterally in mid-September.

I spoke personally to Tony Blair and French President Jacques Chirac, and also dispatched Shlomo-Ben Ami, Amnon Lipkin, Yossi Beilin and Shimon Peres, who was Minister of Regional Cooperation in the coalition, on a series of diplomatic visits to make sure the true story of what had happened at the summit was understood. As a result, the globetrotting Arafat received an almost unanimous rebuff for the idea of a unilateral declaration of stateheood. He was told that if he really wanted a state, he should return to the negotiating table with Israel.

By the time I went to New York in early September – joining the largest collection of world leaders ever assembled, for the UN's Millennium Summit – there seemed little chance of that happening. I met privately with a number of world leaders before delivering a brief address to the more than 150 presidents and prime ministers. I was at pains to take the high road. None of the foreign leaders I met had expressed any doubt that we'd gone much further than they had expected at Camp David, and that the onus for putting diplomacy back on track rested firmly with the Palestinians. Looking straight at Arafat from the UN podium, I said: "We are at the Rubicon, and neither of us can cross it alone." Jerusalem, "the eternal capital of Israel," was calling out for a "peace of honor, of courage and of brotherhood" – a peace recognizing that the city was also sacred to Muslims and Christians the world over. When Arafat spoke, it was almost as if the summit had never happened. "We remain committed to our national rights over East Jerusalem, capital of our state and shelter of our sacred sites, as well as our rights on the Christian and Islamic holy sites," he declared. He didn't mention Jews, beyond a bizarre reference to the 2,000th anniversary of the birth of Christ "in Bethlehem, Palestine." I couldn't resist remarking to one of the American negotiators that I'd always thought Jesus grew up as a Jewish boy, making thrice-yearly visits at festival time to the temple in Jerusalem, at a time when there was not a church, much less a mosque, in sight.

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Still, in my meetings with Clinton, I assured him I was not giving up altogether on the prospects for peace. Not only did I feel that would be wrong, as long as there was a scintilla of hope. I believed that our continued diplomatic engagement might provide a counterweight to any moves by Arafat to revert to violence. It was also critical for Israel to retain the diplomatic, political and moral high ground we had earned in the eyes of the international community from the concessions we had been willing to consider. When the President suggested drafting a final American paper, based on Camp David though presumably with an even more generous proposal for the Palestinians, I agreed. I figured even Arafat might realize at some point that if he *did* want a negotiated peace, the time for dithering was over. Clinton would no longer be president in five months' time. Unless I could find an alternative way to refortify my coalition over the coming weeks, it was entirely possible I'd have to form a "unity" coalition with Arik and the Likud. Still, I told President Clinton I doubted the ticking clock would make a difference to the Palestinian leader. If it didn't, I believed at some point all our talk about an "end of conflict" would give way to conflict. The only question was when.

Tragically, I got the answer only weeks after my return from the UN.

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At the urging of the Americans, I invited Arafat and his negotiating team to a private dinner in Kochav Yair on the 25th of September. The atmosphere was surprisingly warm, for which a lot of the credit, as well as culinary praise, has to go to Nava. "Very cordial, even congenial," Nabil Shaath told reporters after the dinner, nearly 45 minutes of which I spent talking alone with Arafat on the stone terrace out back. Each of us spoke to Clinton for about 10 minutes near the end, and the President was obviously pleased to hear us sounding upbeat about trying to narrow any differences on the forthcoming American negotiating paper. On the *substance* of our differences, by mutual agreement, Arafat and I didn't say much to each other. I did try to impress on him that time was getting short. His monosyllabic reply – yes – was at least better than the alternative. I chose to believe we could both now focus on trying again.

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The request that had come across my desk a few days earlier need not have changed that. Even though Arik had failed, for now, to bring down the government, he was keen to make political capital from the collapse of Camp David. He now declared his intention to pay a visit to the Temple Mount. The Mount – or as it was called in Arabic, Haram al-Sharif – was part of Israel. The unsubtle point of Arik's visit was to dramatize his determination to keep it that way. The target of this political theatre was not Arafat or the Palestinians. It was the Israeli public, me, and my government. In an all-perfect world, I would have liked to find a way to block the visit. In a democracy, it wasn't that easy. The only way I could do so was on the grounds it was a threat to public order or security, a judgement in the hands of our police and security services. I duly asked for the views of Avi Dichter of the Shin Bet, and Shlomo Ben-Ami, who in addition to being interim Foreign Minister was Minister of Internal Security, in charge of the police. Both came back with the same answer: though we'd all be happier if Arik stayed down on his farm in the Negev, there was no reason to expect his visit would pose a major public-order issue, and no basis for blocking it. When Shlomo contacted Jibril Rajoub, Arafat's West Bank security commander, Rajoub asked only that two conditions be imposed, and Shlomo agreed. The first was that the visit not occur on a Friday, when the mosques would be full of worshipers; the second, that Sharon not set foot in either of the mosques on the Haram. Our chief of police informed Sharon that if he didn't accept the conditions, we'd deny him permission to go. But he agreed. When he went, for about half an hour under police escort on Thursday morning the 28th, he complied.

At first, we thought it would prove a one-off media stunt. But that evening, Danny Yatom brought me an intelligence report with evidence that Arafat's Palestinian Authority was planning for wide-scale violence after Friday prayers, in protest over Sharon's visit. Danny called Dennis Ross. Madeleine Albright called Arafat, to urge him to ensure this didn't happen. But as Dennis would remark later, "Arafat didn't lift finger to stop it."

The trouble began the next day, shortly after Friday prayers. It was also the eve of the Jewish New Year, and the Western Wall area was crowded. As people poured out of the mosques, a number began hurling stones, some of them the size of small boulders, onto the Jewish worshippers and police below. One knocked out the highly experienced, steady-handed commander of the Jerusalem police, which I'm sure contributed to making the confrontation that followed even worse. By the

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end of the day, dozens of Israelis and Palestinians were injured. Five Palestinians lay dead. Though the media almost instantly labelled it a new "intifada", this one was very different. It was not a burst of anger, however misdirected, by stone-throwing youths convinced that a road accident in Gaza had been something more sinister. There had been no serious unrest on the day of Arik's visit. We would later learn this was a deliberate campaign, waged with guns and grenades, by Hamas and Islamic Jihad, the Fatah offshoot Tanzim, and Arafat's own police force.

The media had changed, too, in the 13 years since the first intifada, with the rise of twenty-four-seven news broadcasters, including the Arabic-language Al Jazeera. Images of pain and suffering and fear stoked anger on both sides. None, in the first days of the violence, was more powerful, or heart-rending, than the picture of a terrified 12-year-old Palestinian boy named Mohammed al-Durrah, sheltered by his father as they took cover from the crossfire in Gaza. The facts of the incident, as best we could establish immediately afterwards, were that the Palestinian security forces had opened fire on Israeli troops near the settlement of Netzarim. Ten Palestinians, including the little boy, lost their lives when the soldiers returned fire. We later established with near certainty that the boy had in fact been killed by *Palestinian* gunfire. But even if we'd been able to prove that at the time, I'm sure that in the increasingly poisonous atmosphere, it would have made little difference.

Nor would it have changed the next, deeply disturbing escalation: the spread of the violence into Israel itself, with unprecedentedly serious clashes between our own Arab citizens and the police in the Galilee, in Wadi Ara, in the main mixed Arab-Jewish cities, and the Negev. Beyond the political implications, the demonstrations of solidarity with the Palestinian violence presented a security challenge of a different order: to the ability of the Israeli police, and by extension the government, to ensure basic law and order inside our borders. The worst of the clashes lasted barely a week. But they left thirteen Arab Israeli protestors dead, sparking demonstrations as far afield as Jaffa, as well as ugly incidents of mob violence by Israeli Jews against Arabs in some areas.

President Clinton tried his best to help us halt the violence on the West Bank and in Gaza. I doubted the Americans would succeed, but was fully ready to join in their efforts to try. About ten days into the new intifada, I attended a crisis meeting with Arafat, mediated by Madeleine Albright and Dennis Ross, at the US ambassador's residence Paris. It was nominally under the aegis of President

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Chirac, but the understanding was that Madeleine would be in charge. Far from showing any willingness to end the violence, Arafat at first simply lied. He said the Palestinian violence was in response to an unprovoked assault by Israeli troops, and demanded an international "protection" force. There was a particularly bizarre moment when I read out the names of individual Tanzim leaders whom we had intercepted organizing the attacks. Arafat pretended he'd never heard of any of them, almost as if I was reading from a zoology textbook about species of polar bears. This was a man who had been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. What he really deserved was an Oscar.

But people were *dying*. Needlessly. We ended up agreeing to a US-led fact-finding commission, as well as a number of steps to separate the Palestinian attackers and Israeli units. I reaffirmed our policy of insisting that Israeli soldiers use live fire only if they felt their lives were under threat. Arafat undertook to order his security forces and Tanzim not to launch further attacks. He even phoned Gaza with what we were given to understand were explicit orders. But it was all for show, as we discovered when we were invited to the Elysée Palace to meet Chirac. The French President had clearly received advance word from Arafat about his demand for an international "protection" force, presumably with a role for the French. To my surprise and frustration, and Secretary Albright's as well, Chirac insisted that no agreement was acceptable without that happening. Then, he turned to me, demanding to know why the violence had left nearly 400 Palestinians dead, but barely two dozen Israelis, if the Palestinians were the aggressors. "Mr President," I said, "just several weeks ago we were prepared to go very far in order to put this entire conflict behind us. It is Mr Arafat who rejected the proposal, even as a basis for negotiations. Just a *basis* to seek peace. He then deliberately turned to terror. We are protecting ourselves, and our soldiers. Are you really saying that you'll be happy for us to sign an agreement to end it only when another 350 Israelis are killed? I'm not playing that game. Arafat started this. He has to stop it. We know he can, and we hold him responsible if that does not happen."

It did not happen. We tried all we could to prevent a further deterioration. I approved moves, in co-ordination with the Palestinian police, to lower our security profile where possible. We made sure Israeli police were not visible from the mosques on the Haram al-Sharif. But after the next Friday prayers, a crowd made its way to a police post at the edge of the Old City and attacked it. In Nablus, the burial site of Joseph had long been a source of tension. Shlomo Ben-Ami reached

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an agreement with the Palestinians to replace an Israeli troop cordon there with Palestinian police. But on the morning of Saturday October 7th, hours after the Palestinian police took over, a mob attacked, burned and ransacked the site. They destroyed the Torah scrolls. A few hours later, our soldiers found the body of a rabbi from a nearby settlement. He had gone to survey the damage to the synagogue.

That evening, I delivered an ultimatum: "If we don't see a change in the patterns of violence in the next two days, we will regard this as a cessation by Arafat of the peace process." That did, briefly, have an effect. When Clinton reinforced my message later in the day, Dennis told me that for the first time, he sensed that Arafat realized he had to act. But again, it was not enough, nor in anything like a sustained manner. And with an appalling act of murder three days afterwards, it was too late. That outrage came in Ramallah. Two Israeli reservists took a wrong turn and ended up driving into the town. They were taken to the Palestinian police station. Hundreds of people broke in and stabbed them, gouged their eyes out and disembowled them. In a chilling image broadcast around the world, one of the murderers brandished the bloodstained palms of his hands in a gesture of triumph. Since I was Defense Minister as well, I spent the hours that followed in the *kirya*. We ordered attack helicopters into action for the first time, though with advance warning to local Palestinians in the areas we targeted. We destroyed the Ramallah police station, as well as a militia base near Arafat's headquarters in Gaza. But Arafat emerged to tell a cheering crowd: "Our people don't care. They don't hesitate to continue their march to Jerusalem, the capital of the Palestinian independent state."

Israelis *did* care. It is hard to say which emotion was more powerful: disgust or fury. But if the opinion polls were to be believed, a large majority wanted us to hit back with the full force of the Israeli army. Still, my overriding aim remained to end the violence if possible, not make it worse. When Clinton asked me to join him, Arafat, King Abdullah of Jordan and UN Secretary General Kofi Annan for a summit in Sharm al-Sheikh, I agreed. We worked out a series of steps to disengage. Arafat was finally supposed to order the Palestinian Authority security forces and Tanzim to cease fire, and establish no-go perimeters around our army positions. We would reopen Gaza airport and, over a period of two weeks, pull back our forces to where they had been before the violence began. But again, it didn't happen. The Palestinian attacks intensified and, as I'd made clear at the

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summit, we responded. The only, brief, lull came when Arafat feared the Americans would cancel his scheduled visit to Washington to see Clinton on November 9. I was due to follow him three days later.

I met Clinton and Dennis Ross over dinner in a little kitchen area attached to the Oval Office, and both seemed surprisingly upbeat. The President said he'd told Arafat the broad points that would be in the new American negotiating paper. It was Camp David-plus. Assuming all issues in a final peace were agreed, the Palestinians would now end up, after a land swap near Gaza, with a "mid-90-percent" share of the West Bank. On Jerusalem, the guiding principle would be "what is Arab will be Palestinian, and what is Jewish, Israeli." On the Temple Mount, the Haram al-Sharif, each side would have control of its own holy sites. Finally, though Palestinian refugees would be free to return in unlimited numbers to a new Palestinian state, there would be no "right of return" to pre-1967 Israel. The President told me that after he'd run all this by Arafat, he and Dennis had asked whether "in principle" these were parameters he could accept. Arafat had said yes.

I assume they expected me to say the same. But I told them I couldn't give them an answer. What concerned me now was the violence. Until it was reined in, I would not be party to rewarding Arafat diplomatically. I urged the Americans to make ending the violence their focus as well, because if they didn't get tougher on Arafat's noncompliance with anything resembling a de-escalation, Israel would do so.

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Since the Knesset had returned before my trip to Washington, I'd needed first to make sure my government would survive. The obvious, or at least the most mathematically secure, choice would have been a deal with Sharon. Especially since the lynching in Ramallah, there were calls from politicians on all sides for a unity coalition between Labor and Likud. Arik definitely wanted in. The main issue reamined the peace process. I didn't find Arik's specific objections to Camp David hard to deal with. As I'd said from the start, the fact that we'd failed to reach an agreement at the summit meant that any concessions I'd considered were now,

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in legal and diplomatic terms, null and void. The package Arafat had ultimately rejected had not even been presented by me. It was an American proposal. Besides, it was obvious no serious negotiations were going to happen anyway for the foreseeable future. Arik, however, said he wanted not just a "full divorce" from Camp David. He insisted we formally declare an end to the entire Oslo process.

I told him that was a price I was not prepared to pay for his support. Despite the failure of the summit, and the terrible human cost from Arafat's choice of violence over diplomacy, there was a wide international recognition that it was the Palestinians, not Israel, who were responsible. For us to end the Oslo process meant inviting accusations we'd never intended to reach a peace agreement in the first place, and that it was *Israel* that was closing the door. We would also risk forfeiting the American support we'd secured by our efforts to reach a peace deal, an asset all Israeli governments would benefit from in other circumstances and contexts in the future.

Fortunately, I had an alternative to a coalition with the Likud. Alarmed at the prospect of a having Sharon in the government, the Oslo-era doves in Labor, led by Yossi Beilin, worked out a new deal with Shas. The Sephardi Orthodox party was still not prepared to rejoin the cabinet, but it did promise a "safety net" in the Knesset to ensure we would not have to worry about no-confidence votes while confronting the Palestinian violence. I knew Shas's support would waver if there was a resumption of serious peace negotiations. Still, as Clinton continued to insist we make one final attempt to get a deal, I felt we had a responsibility to play our part. I wasn't prepared to put us in the position of appearing to stoneweall his efforts, and encourage the false narrative that Israeli "intransigence" was somehow frustrating Arafat's readiness to make peace.

The Palestinian campaign of violence was getting worse. An Islamic Jihad car bomb near *Mahaneh Yehudah* market in Jerusalem injured nearly a dozen people and left two dead. Hamas blew up a school bus in one of the Gaza settlements, killing two more people. In Hadera, halfway up the coast from Tel Aviv to Haifa, a car bomb on a main street left two people dead and more than 60 injured. Palestinian snipers from near Bethlehem began opening fire on Gilo, one of the post-1967 Jewish suburbs of Jerusalem, and home to more than 30,000 people. Yet despite all this, I authorized Shlomo Ben-Ami, Gili Sher, Amnon Lipkin and Yossi Ginossar to continue talks with Palestinian negotiators on the terms of the President's last-ditch peace proposal.

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By the end of November, I believed that the chances of a peace agreement with Arafat were so microscopic as to border on non-existent, and that my own prospects for retaining sufficient support to be an effective Prime Minister much beyond Clinton's departure were not much better. It was not just Arik and the Likud, but other parties on the right that were actively attempting to bring down the government. I was being squeezed politically: by opposition to the concessions, especially on Jerusalem, I'd been willing to consider in pursuit of a peace agreement, and by the ever-worsening Palestinian violence. Shlomo Ben-Ami put it best, saying that in the view of most Israelis, "Arafat's response to Camp David was not peace, it was an intifada."

By the second part of November, there were five separate motions of no-confidence working their way through the Knesset. I could have quashed them all at a single stroke, since Arik, both publicly and privately, was conveying to me his continuing interest in joining a unity coalition. But I again decided against it, at this stage not so much because I expected a peace deal, but because I believed continued Israeli engagement in the peace process was essential to preventing Arafat from evading his responsibility for making a deal impossible.

I could also have wrongfooted my opponents by insisting that any early election be not just for a new Prime Minister but for a new Knesset, something very few existing Knesset members were anxious to see happen. I did, in fact, do precisely that at the end of November, delaying an immediate move to try to topple the government. But I immediately regretted doing it. The game-playing side of politics was the part I least understood, and most disliked. I recognized that to bring down the Knesset along with me would be unfair to the country, not to mention my own Labor Party, which still had the largest number of parliamentary seats. In pursuing my peace efforts with Hafez al-Assad, and at Camp David, I'd insisted I was acting on the mandate I'd received in the Prime Ministerial election. If the peace efforts had failed, or if a significant part of the country felt I was wrong to have tried in the way I did, surely the responsibility for that, too, should fall on me.

I remained confident I had been right to make the efforts with Arafat, with Assad, and, of course, to have followed through on my pledge to withdraw our troops from Lebanon. But believing that you are right, even if later events might bear you out, was not all that mattered in politics. You had to be able to bring the public with you. It was clear my support was ebbing away. Looking ahead to the

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challenges Israel would face during Clinton's final period in office and afterwards, I knew I could not go further without seeking a fresh mandate from the country, however unlikely the prospects now seemed.

Deciding to do so was a decision that was probably easier for me than for other politicians. Privileged though I felt as Prime Minister to be able to pursue what I felt deeply were Israel's national interests, the trappings of office were not that important to me. I'd gone into politics to *do* things, not for the photo opportunities. I did still believe it was important to see the final diplomatic push by Clinton through to its end. But I knew an early election for Prime Minister wouldn't happen overnight. It would involve a couple of months' preparation.

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When I called a news conference on December 9, the media, and the country, assumed that it was about the Palestinian violence and the ups and downs of the Clinton initiative, and I did talk about both. But at the end, I said: "There are those who doubt the mandate I received from the citizens of Israel. I have decided to seek a new mandate – to lead the state of Israel on the road to peace, security and a proper civic and social agenda." I said I would go see the Israeli President the following morning. "I will formally resign, and run for a special election, at the head of the Labor Party, for the Prime Ministership of Israel."

The election was set for February 2001. The last act in President Clinton's attempt at a breakthrough actually came after the American election, and just a month before George W. Bush would succeed him. Since, in practical terms, any final agreement would almost certainly come under President Bush, Clinton's final negotiating paper was framed as a set of paramaters which, if agreed to by both sides, were intended to set the stage for a final deal. On December 23, Clinton presented the draft to both sides' representatives at the White House. I wasn't there. But the accounts I got from Shlomo, Gili and Dennis Ross afterwards made me feel as if I was. The president said he would read through the document and then leave the Israeli and Palestinian teams with Dennis to make sure they'd recorded each detail. He said this was no longer the starting point for further argument on the basic shape of a peace deal. This was his considered judgement of

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what would constitute a fair agreement. He was presenting it on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. If either side said no, he would withdraw it, and it would not be binding on President Bush.

He proceeded to lay out his proposal. It now envisaged the Palestinians ending up with between 95 and 97 percent of the West Bank. Israel's military presence in the Jordan Valley would be for a maximum of six years, after which our soldiers would be replaced by an international force. On refugees, the solution Clinton proposed would "make it clear there is no specific right of return to Israeli itself" but recognize "the aspiration of the Palestinian people to return to the area." He proposed a joint endorsement by Israel and the Palestinians of the right of refugees to return to a new Palestinian state. In Jerusalem, Arafat would have sovereignty over the entirety of the Old City except for the Jewish Quarter and, of course, the Western Wall and the "holy space of which it is a part." Finally, the President said, this would be a *final* peace: an end of conflict and, once implemented, an end to any further claims. He wanted replies from Israel and the Palestinians within five days. Dennis added that, while both sides could come back with reservations, if any of these fell outside the substantive limits of President Clinton's parameters, the response would be interpreted as a "no" and our search for an agreement would be over.

Clinton's latest proposals went beyond even what I was willing to have him keep in his pocket at Camp David. Opposition politicians in Israel, and even a few of our cabinet ministers, promptly objected to the formula for Jerusalem. I told the critics – as I knew I'd have to argue to the country in a referendum, in the vanishingly unlikely event we actually reached an agreeement – that making peace was not like making love. It was something you did with enemies. I, too, would have preferred to say no to Clinton's ideas on Jerusalem. But to reject them would have placed Israel in the position of rejecting the entire Clinton paper, something I was not prepared to do.

I sent word to the President that we accepted his ideas. We did raise reservations – twenty-eight in all, about how various parts of the agreement would work on the ground. But none fell outside his parameters for a peace agreement. At first Arafat asked the Americans for more time. Then he went to Washington to see Clinton. There, he presented his "reservations". They were not just outside the Clinton parameters. They rejected two key elements. Arafat said there could be no

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Israeli sovereignty over the Western Wall of the ancient temple. Nor would he agree to any compromise on the "right of return."

For me, that was the final answer. As one Palestinian leader remarked to me amid the still-escalating terror attacks a couple of years later, the Palestinians had "needed a Ben-Gurion, but we got an Arafat." He didn't mean Ben-Gurion the Zionist, but the statesman who at crucial moments like the partition vote in 1947, could give up his maximalist hopes and dreams in order to secure a better future for his people. Arafat felt much more comfortable, more secure, when the suicide bombers were calling the tune. Then he could whip up the crowds with promises of "marching on Jerusalem" or jet around the world telling everyone that Israel was denying his right to a state.

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Though I now knew an agreement was impossible, for many on the Israeli left, my ostensible allies in the forthcoming election campaign against Arik, that was hard to accept. Particularly for Yossi Sarid of Meretz, and to a certain extent Yossi Beilin too, the only explanation for our failure to get a deal had to be that we hadn't negotiated well or creatively enough. The idea that Arafat simply didn't want a two-state peace was anathema to them. So was the political platform I said that I hoped to implement if I was re-elected as Prime Minister. Maybe, at some point in the future, a negotiated peace might be possible. We *had* accomplished something of importance at Camp David. We'd made clear our red lines. We knew where Arafat stood. But for now, I believed we had to move on, both in order to keep the situation on the ground from getting worse and to act in Israel's own long-term political and security interests. I said we should unilaterally disengage from the West Bank and Gaza.

The idea was straightforward. The Palestinians' unwillingness to accept even the final Clinton parameters, driven home with murderous ferocity by the explosion of violence since Camp David, should not be allowed to paralyze Israel politically. I proposed that we map out the area we required to retain and secure the major settlement blocs, as well as the outer East Jerusalem suburbs; a further security strip along the Jordan River; and several other strategically important

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points. It would amount to retaining control over around 20 percent of the West Bank, but none of the major Arab towns or cities. Though deliberately stopping well short of share of the West Bank Arafat could have secured through a negotiated peace, it would remove Israeli troops and settlers from most of the territory. It would give the Palestinians ample room to set up a state if they so chose, and conceivably to expand its area if some future leader had more of the "Ben-Gurion" in him than Arafat. Until then, it would allow both of our peoples to get on with their lives and focus on their own political and social and economic challenges.

There was a second, critically important part to what I was proposing: the construction of a physical security fence along the new "disengagement line" with the West Bank. It was the suggestion rejected under Rabin, accepted under Peres amid the Hamas bombings in the 1996 election campaign, but never followed through on. Even under the new arrangement I envisaged, Israeli troops would retain the freedom of action to respond to, or pre-empt, terror attacks with targeted operations inside the West Bank. But the physical barrier would hugely increase our ability to halt the attackers before they could strike.

Yet even if I'd been able to bring those on the left of Labor behind the plan, this election campaign was going to be a lot tougher than in 1999. Since Knesset members weren't running for their seats, the Labor machine lacked its usual incentive put up posters, knock on doors, or get out the vote. Arik, however, benefited from the enthusiasm of Likudniks and other right-wing activists who saw an opportunity to retake control of Israel's political agenda.

Long before election day, I realized my time as Prime Minister was up. Before the campaign began, an old friend of mine, a leading Israeli journalist, tried to talk me into withdrawing. "You're going to lose, Ehud," he said. "Why, after making all this effort for peace, after doing your best, do you want the last act to be losing to Arik?" I'd never seen the objective as just staying in office. If that had been the case, I wouldn't have put the chances of a peace deal with Syria to their final test. I wouldn't have gone to Camp David. I also would have accepted Arik's serial offers to join a unity coalition. But never in my life had I walked away from a challenge. I certainly wasn't going to retreat in the midst of Palestinian violence, and when Israel still faced key decisions on how to move on from Arafat's unreadiness to negotiate an end to our decades-old conflict.

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I did regret being unable to rely on the support of two key constituencies that had helped deliver my landslide victory barely 18 months earlier: my own Labor Party and the Arab citizens of Israel. I had no trouble understanding the reasons many Israeli Arabs were abandoning me. The clashes in the Galilee at the start of the new intifada had left more than a dozen of their community dead. As an official inquiry would later conclude, there was blame on all sides. A number of Arab members of the Knesset had played a part in inciting the violence. Yet the police had been unprepared, and they had used excessive force. As I said publicly before the election, I, as Prime Minister, was ultimately responsible, and I formally apologized for what had happened. Yet the roots went deeper, to the economic and social disadvantages still faced by many Arab citizens, and the difficulty in resolving those problems calmly and collectively as long as Israel remained in a state of war with its Arab neighbors.

For Labor and the political left, it was as if, despite Arafat's repeated rejections of ever more forthcoming terms of peace, they still couldn't bring themselves to believe he really meant it. By default, they were inclined to blame me for not delivering peace. I was accused of relying too much on a close circle of aides and negotiators I'd known from my time in the army, of not giving a negotiating role to Labor veterans of the Oslo negotiations like Yossi Beilin, and of being insufficiently sensitive to Arafat's needs in the negotiating process. Typical of the argument was a broadside by the journalist and historian Tom Segev, in *Ha'aretz*, which accused me of an "incredible arrogance" which had "led to an historic mistake. Rather than continue on the Oslo road, Barak put it into his head that he could reach a final settlement and try and impose it on the Palestinian Authority President." I did not try to "impose" anything on Arafat. I did, quite consciously, abandon the "Oslo road" because it was inexorably leading to a situation where, after the final Wye redeployments, Arafat would have control over the great majority of the West Bank *without* having to commit to any of the assurances that even most on the Israeli left would define as the minimum required for peace. Now, of course, we knew that was something the Palestinian leader was not prepared to do.

When election day came, not that many of my critics on the left actually voted against me. Nor did the Israeli Arabs. Yet in very large numbers, they simply didn't vote. In percentage terms, Arik's victory was even more decisive than mine over Bibi. He got more than 62 percent of the vote. I received barely 37 percent.

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Yet the turnout was the lowest in Israeli history. Arik received *fewer* votes than I had in 1999. Around half of the 1.8 million people who had supported me stayed at home.

I conceded defeat after the first exit polls and said I would be stepping down as head of the Labor Party. Still, since the election had been only for Prime Minister, Labor remained the largest party in the Knesset. Mathematically, Arik might be able to cobble together the required 61-seat majority with an assortment of smaller parties. But without Labor as ballast, his government would be even more precarious than mine. When I triggered the election, he'd let it be known that if he won, he hoped to include Labor in his government, with me as his Defense Minister. Even though I'd announced I was stepping aside, he phoned me the morning after the election to make that argument again. He said Israel needed a strong government, especially to confront the escalating violence. Having a person with my background, whom he knew well and trusted, in the defense portfolio was important. I didn't say yes. Unfortunately, I failed to do what I should have done: I didn't immediately say no.

When the public learned about Sharon's interest in a unity government, Labor descended into bickering. Some of my former ministers, like Yossi Beilin and Shlomo Ben-Ami, were against the idea of joining any Likud-led government. They were especially disgusted by the prospect of doing so under Arik, the architect of the 1982 Lebanon War. Most of the Labor's central committee did seem in favor of joining. But given the scale of my election defeat, many wanted do so without me. For a few days, Arik kept phoning me. I did feel that the substance of the arrangement he suggested made sense. But over that first week, I realized that, understandably, he had little interest in addressing my policy concerns. I decided to focus instead on ensuring a properly organized transition to a new Labor party leader, and publicly confirmed that I would indeed be resigning.

Several weeks after Arik formed his government – including Labor, with Simon Peres as one of four deputy prime ministers – he invited me to his office. He wanted to ask my views on a specific security question. That took barely 15 minutes. But I raised another issue that I argued would have more far-reaching implications. It was the idea of building the security fence along the West Bank. I'd tried to make the case for doing so during the election campaign, and I'd lost the election. "Now I'm turning to you. When I left office, 39 Israelis had been killed in the terror attacks. Now, there are *70*. When the number reaches 700,

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there's no doubt you'll decide to build this fence. But to your dying day, you won't be able to look yourself in the mirror and explain why you waited for another 630 Israelis to die first."

He did eventually start building it, but only in the wake of an act of terrorism which, even by the standards of this new and still-escalating intifada, was truly obscene. In March 2002, suicide bombers murdered 30 people, mostly elderly, as they were celebrating the annual Passover Seder in a hotel dining room in Netanya. Arik hit back two days later with Israel's largest military operation on the West Bank since 1967. Israeli forces retook major Palestinian towns, placed Arafat under *de facto* siege in his headquarters in Ramallah and imposed curfews and closures. In June, the government formally approved the security fence. Still, another year would pass before the major part of the barrier was in place, by which time some 500 Israelis had been murdered in the terror attacks. Only then did the number of casualties begin to fall.

I tried to steer clear of public criticism of Arik's government. One of the lessons I'd learned as Prime Minister was how easy it was to second-guess from the outside. No Prime Minister can act exactly as he might plan or want to. The most you can do is make sure you understand and analyze the issues and follow your instincts, experience and conscience to come as near as possible to doing what you believe is right. You will inevitably make mistakes and misjudgements. I certainly did. At least some of the criticism I received was deserved. I was at times too inflexible. I tended to limit my focus to a small group of trusted aides and advisors. I was less good at schmoozing with – or, perhaps more importantly, delegating to – others in the government or the party. I suspect it's no coincidence that the man who brought me into government in the first place was often criticized for the same things. By character, instinct and experience, Rabin, too, remained less a politician than a military man. Yet towards the end of his second period as Prime Minister, he did get better at delegating to people around him, and creating an atmosphere that encouraged teamwork, even when he knew he could not accept or act on everything they might suggest. During my term as Prime Minister, I was much less good at that.

But another thing Yitzhak and I shared was a determination to set ourselves specific goals and do everything we could to achieve them. I promised to get the army out of Lebanon. With the Palestinians, I arrived in office convinced that the process begun in Oslo was both a huge opportunity and a potential dead-end. I was

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determined to focus on the end goal: initially, at least, a framework agreement, and over time a final political resolution of our conflict. Ever since the outbreak of the Palestinians' *first* intifada, I believed this was as much in Israel's own interest as theirs. Yet when I entered office, we had no way of knowing whether *Arafat* wanted two states living side-by-side in peace. I felt it was my duty to find out, and, if the answer was yes, to put a peace agreement in place. I felt the same about way about Syria and Hafez al-Assad.

When I left office, I believed I had achieved the most important goals of my premiership. We were out of Lebanon. Though we couldn't achieve the peace agreements I had hoped for, it was not for lack of trying. Along the way, Israel had demonstrated to the world that it was able and willing to consider painful compromises, and that it was the Arab leaders who, at least for now, were unequal to the challenge of making peace. If I'd been able to retain the backing of the voters who made me Prime Minister in 1999, we might even have moved ahead on unilateral disengagement from the Palestinians, dramatically altering the trajectory of our relationship. Yet even without that, Camp David did delineate the terms of any future peace arrangement. When and if conditions allowed a resumption of serious negotiating efforts, the shape, and indeed most of the details, of a final peace between our peoples were now clear.

I was on holiday in the summer of 2001 when Clinton phoned me. *The New Times* had run a piece on how and why the summit, and the subsequent negotiations through the end of the year, ended in failure. When I later read the article, by the Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter Deborah Sontag, I found it a meandering mix of opinions garnered from an assortment of Americans, Europeans, Israelis and Palestinians, including Arafat himself, with the overall conclusion that Clinton and I had not offered as generous a deal as was assumed and that it was somehow unfair to suggest the Palestinians deserved blame for rejecting it. There had been several other articles in various publications along the same lines. I didn't see much point at this stage in setting the record straight. To the extent the content of the *Times* piece bothered me, it was a simple, but important, error of fact. Quoting Arafat himself, Sontag wrote that during the back-patio discussion I had with him at the dinner in Kochav Yair shortly before the new intifada, he'd "implored me to block Mr Sharon's plans" to visit the Temple Mount. Arafat didn't raise the issue at all, and presumably knew that we had consulted his West Bank security chief to ensure it happened quickly, avoided the

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mosques on the Haram, and would not become a catalyst, or in this case a pretext, for violence.

Yet the revisionist history about our peace efforts left Clinton not just frustrated, but genuinely puzzled. What the hell were these people talking about, he asked me. Why were they missing the forest for the trees. "The true story of Camp David," he said, "was that for the first time in the history of the conflict, you and I, the Prime Minister of Israel and the President of the United States, placed on the table a proposal, based on Resolutions 242 and 338, very close to the Palestinian demands. And Arafat refused to accept it as a basis of negotiations, walked out of the room, and deliberately turned to terrorism." All the rest, President Clinton said, was gossip.

All of it was now irrelevant, too. His parameters were off the table. Palestinian violence against Israelis was getting ever deadlier. And I was out of politics. When I delivered my final remarks to a Labor Party meeting, I was asked whether I was leaving politics for good. I replied that I would always remain a member of Labor. But I saw my role as a bit like when I'd left the army. "I'm a reserve officer," I said, adding that I hoped I would not be called back to duty any time soon.

I had been Prime Minister for only 21 months. But I'd been in politics for six years, and in uniform for nearly thirty-six: in public service for more than four decades. Now, suddenly, I was a private citizen. And for a few years, I actually stayed that way.

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Chapter Twenty-Four

I had only a general idea of what I would do next. "Something in business" describes it best. But I sought the advice of a friend who, rather than leaving politics, had just entered it. Colin Powell was now the second President Bush's Secretary of State. "Why don't you go on the lecture circuit?" he said. The short answer was that it hadn't occurred to me that I'd be any good at it. But it proved energizing and interesting both for me and, it seemed, the audiences I spoke to. It was also lucrative. I would deliver four lectures over the span of a week and end up making twice what, until that point in my life, I had earned during a full year. I was also invited onto a number of company boards. I turned down some, in order to avoid even the appearance of a conflict of interest. But I did get involved in an area where I believed my range of experiences might be relevant: investment decisions, and venture capital.

The result was a dramatic change in lifestyle. Nava and I got to spend more time with our daughters. We vacationed overseas for the first time. We also decided to build a new home, and the place that we chose gave me my first experience of how far I was from being a "private citizen" in the eyes of the Israeli public. When it became known we were planning to move to Kfar Shmaryahu near Tel Aviv, one of the wealthiest places in Israel, all hell broke loose. How *could* you, I was asked. I couldn't resist joking that I just wanted to be close to our voters. Likud supporters were about as rare in Kfar Shmaryahu as panhandlers. Along with Mishmar Hasharon, it was the only place where I'd polled over 80 percent even in my loss to Sharon.

Israel had changed dramatically from the kibbutz-centered pioneer society of my youth. Greater Tel Aviv, in particular, was thriving economically, and the rising crop of millionaires, whether from traditional business or in the bourgeoning technology sector, included its fair share of former kibbutznikim. Still, socially and culturally, a puritanical streak remained, a sense that there was something not quite right about people raised on a socialist ideal becoming personally well off. I accepted this. I recognized that I was not just a former kibbutznik. I had been head of the Labor Party. And Prime Minister. Still, I did feel much of the personal criticism was unfair. I had devoted more than four decades of my life to serving my country. I'd behaved with scrupulous honesty while in office, and was avoiding

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any business involvement that could present a conflict of interest now that I had left. Frankly, I saw nothing wrong with earning money through honest endeavor, and using the proceeds to provide economic security for myself and my family, and to give our grandchildren a better start in life than Nava's or my own parents had been able to do.

In the end, we didn't move to Kfar Shmaryahu. But that was because of an even more profound change in my life: I separated from Nava, after more than 30 years together. When we had begun plans to move, I laughed off a warning from a psychologist friend of mine that decisions like building a new house could lead to a deeper reassessment of your life. But that is at least in part what happened. There were also other changes that caused me to stop and take stock. I was no longer Prime Minister. My father had passed away soon after I left office. Professionally, I was exploring new areas and developing new interests. Nava and I had been happily married since our twenties. We had three wonderful daughters, and a first grandchild. Yet the more I thought about where we were in our lives, the more I felt our future paths were pulling us in different directions. For both of us, the separation was difficult, though it was made a bit less painful because Nava knew that it had nothing to do with another woman, or another relationship. I did imagine that I might one day meet someone else. But I was equally prepared for it not happening. I certainly didn't expect it any time soon.

When it did, it began by accident. A few weeks after our separation, I was visiting the Knesset for a discussion about fixing Israel's broken electoral system. In the audience was a member of one of the civic associations pressing for reform: Nili Priell, my first, and only, serious girlfriend before I met Nava. We spoke for a few minutes afterwards. We agreed to meet again, and catch up with each other's lives, a week or so later. Both of us now had grown children. We were both on our own. There is, I assume for everyone, something impossible to replicate about a first love. Nili and I were given an unlikely second chance. That seemed to me an extraordinary gift. It still does.

Yet if my personal life seemed full of new promise, the same could not be said of the country I'd served for my whole adult life, or of the political party I'd led into government. The continuing construction of the security fence along the West Bank finally did begin to reduce the sheer number of Palestinian attacks: from nearly 50 in 2002, to about half that number in 2003. But the suicide bombers who did get through – from Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Fatah's "Al-Aqsa Martyrs'

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Brigade" – struck wherever they could inflict the most terror, and death: at bus stations, on buses, in shopping centers, restaurants and cafés. Over a 12-month period, beginning with a bombing of Tel Aviv's main bus station at the beginning of January 2003, they murdered 145 men, women and children. It would not be until two years' later, with the West Bank fence in place and a range of other security measures, that the attacks, and the deaths, were finally brought down dramatically.

The Labor Party had finally left Arik Sharon's coalition in late 2002. But in Israel's 2003 election – reverting to the old rules again, with a single vote for party and Prime Minister – Arik and the Likud won resoundingly. They doubled their Knesset seats, to 38. Labor, now with only 19 seats, against turned to Shimon Peres, as interim party leader.

I didn't miss the political limelight. But by mid-2004, with the first sign of a major change in policy toward the Palestinians, I felt I had a contribution to make. What first prompted me to dip my toes back into politics were the ever more obvious signs throughout 2004 that Arik's coalition, and his hold on the Likud, were unraveling. Part of his problem was a steady drumbeat of corruption allegations around what had become a kind of family political operation: Arik and his two sons, Omri and Gilad. But Arik also seemed to be undergoing a welcome political conversion, to the need for the more profound political "disengagement" with the Palestinians which I'd long been advocating. He had endorsed the Bush Administration's "road map" for resuming the peace process. Yet with Yasir Arafat ageing, ailing and even less inclined to consider the difficult decisions he had shirked at Camp David, Arik went one, dramatic step further. He raised the idea of unilaterally withdrawing Israeli forces and settlements from Gaza – ensuring a showdown with the rank and file of the Likud, and other parties on the right. His main Likud rival, very much back in front-line Israeli politics, was his Finance Minister: Bibi Netanyahu. Though Bibi remained on board until the last moment, he dramatically resigned for the cabinet in August 2005, a week before the Gaza withdrawal, declaring: "I am not prepared to be a partner to a move which ignores reality, and proceeds blindly toward turning the Gaza Strip into a base for Islamic terrorism which will threaten the state."

To this day, Bibi, along with many Israelis across the political spectrum, draws a direct line between our pullout from Gaza, Hamas's takeover and its violent purging of Fatah's old guard there, and the periodic wars we've had to fight since

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then in response to Hamas rocket fire into Israel. The moral: Arik was wrong to withdraw. But the Islamists' ascendancy was happening anyway. After all, it was Hamas attacks that provided the spearhead of the intifada of terror launched in the wake of Camp David. Arafat's own influence was also inexorably on the wane by the time he passed away, in Paris, at the end of 2004, to be succeeded by Abu Mazen. I do not know of a single senior figure in Israel with any military experience who believes that we would be more secure today if we still had thousands of soldiers and settlers inside Gaza. Surprised though I was by Arik's decision to leave, I had no doubt that the fundamental security judgment he was making – that a disengagement was in Israel's own interest – was the right one. I was encouraged, too, by his parallel announcement of a small, token withdrawal from a few small West Bank settlements. My regret at the time was that he did not go further toward the kind of major West Bank disengagement I'd been arguing for, and that even in Gaza the pullout seemed insufficiently prepared or thought out. The model, I believed, should have been our withdrawal from Lebanon – involving detailed prior consultation with, and political support from, the UN and key international allies. I also felt it was critically important to ensure that, while we would obviously need offshore patrols to prevent arms and munitions from getting in, we allowed and encouraged an environment in which the Gazan economy could function and grow after we left. None of that happened. Though we left Gaza, we effectively sealed off and blockaded one of the most densely populated, economically strapped and politically febrile strips of land on the face of the earth.

Still, I did see it as an important first step toward the kind of wider disengagement that would prioritize Israel's own security interests, and political and social cohesiveness, until and unless conditions allowed a for a serious new effort for a final peace deal. I was heartened when Shimon led Labor back into Arik's coalition at the start of 2005 to ensure he'd have the support necessary to go through with the Gaza withdrawal. And while I did make a brief attempt to return as party leader later in the year, when it was clear I wasn't going to win, I threw my support behind Shimon and against the other challenger, the longtime labor-union leader Amir Peretz, who was running on a platform to take Labor out of Sharon's government.

But Peretz won the leadership election. He did leave the cabinet, forcing Arik to call an early election for March 2006. And that, along with the most ambitious and

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ill-fated Israeli war in Lebanon since 1982, was the reason I ultimately found myself back in the Israeli government.

* * *

It began on July 12, 2006, when Hizbollah fired rockets from southern Lebanon as cover for an ambush of two Israeli Humvees on our side of the border. Two soldiers were killed, and two others abducted. A few hours later, when an Israeli armored unit crossed to look for the kidnapped soldiers, an explosive charge blew up one of our tanks, killing four of its crew members.

Arik was no longer Prime Minister by then. With Bibi marshalling opposition inside the Likud to the Gaza disenagegment, he had formed a new centrist party called Kadima, along with prominent Likud moderates and buttressed by a Labor heavyweight: Shimon Peres. But before the election, Arik suffered a pair of strokes, lapsing into a coma from which he would never emerge. His notional deputy, the veteran Likud politician and former Jerusalem mayor Ehud Olmert, found himself as Prime Minister. Kadima did comfortably win the May election. It ended up with 29 seats, followed by Labor with 19 and leaving the Netanyahu-led Likud with only 12. Olmert formed a coalition, including Labor, which had undeniable political ballast: Shimon was one of his deputy Prime Ministers, along with Haim Ramon. The gifted lawyer, longtime Likudnik and strong backer of the Gaza plan, Tzipi Livni, was Foreign Minister. Amir Peretz, as head of Labor, was given the Defense Ministry. But without Sharon himself at the helm, the government was now about to face a military crisis with virtually no military experience around the cabinet table.

Olmert called an emergency cabinet meeting on the evening of the Hizbollah attack, and just before it was due to convene, my phone rang. It was Shimon, who, though with no first-hand army experience, did at least have the *political* experience in war that none of Olmert's other ministers could offer. He'd been by Ben-Gurion's side during the 1956 war, had been in Golda's government in 1967, and was Defense Minister after the 1973 war, through Entebbe, until Begin's defeated Labor in the 1977 election. Despite our own battles inside Labor, Shimon and I had become closer again of late, especially after I'd supported him in his last

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Labor leadership contest. "Shalom, Ehud," he said when I answered the phone and, without small talk or preliminaries, asked me: "What do you think we should do?"

I said I couldn't offer specific suggestions. "It's a detail-related question, and I don't know the details." But I advised him on the *process* I felt would be needed to come up with the right answer when the chief-of-staff, the former air force chief Dan Halutz, briefed the cabinet. "Halutz will propose what to do. *Push* him," I said. "When he presents his recommended action, ask him for his assessment of what Hizbollah will do in response. When he, or the head of military intelligence, has given you the range of possibilities and told you which is the most likely, say, OK, let's assume that happens. What's our *next* step? How is that going to lead us to our main objectives? And what *are* the objectives?" Newspaper reports the next morning said that Shimon, and only Shimon, did indeed press the chief-of-staff about each further stage of the operation and about the aims that we wanted to accomplish. But Halutz finally fobbed him off by saying that once they *got* to the later phases, they could discuss it.

From the first reports I received through my army contacts, I feared the operation would go badly. There was no doubt we could inflict damage on Hizbollah. But there were no clear answers to the questions Shimon had raised. The initial Israeli air force response had been put in place more than five years earlier, when I was Prime Minister. Codenamed "Operation Cinnamon Sticks," it was designed to take out all of the fixed Hizbollah missile sites we had been able to identify. We knew its limitations. A lot of the rockets were fired from mobile launchers. But in one exercise, the known "Hizbollah" sites were replicated in the Galilee. They were destroyed in 43 minutes. I had no doubt that part of the plan would succeed. In the early hours of July 13, it took only 34 minutes to destroy the nearly 60 launchers we had pinpointed over the previous five years.

But Operation Cinnamon Sticks had been intended as a first step in a far wider assault on Hizbollah and other targets, including a number of infrastructure installations, deeper inside Lebanon. It was part of a plan for a full-scale war, if the government decided that was necessary. As the early public statements by Olmert and other ministers made clear, they did not intend to start a war, at least at the outset. They certainly didn't have a coherent plan for one. But they would soon find themselves in Israel's longest single armed conflict since 1948. When Hizbollah fired hundreds of missiles at Israeli towns and cities, our operation intensified not by plan or military logic, but improvisation. As a former Prime

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Minister, I felt it was not my place to criticize Olmert publicly when Israeli troops were in action. Two days in, in fact, I told a television interviewer that the government had every right to respond and was doing so effectively. Olmert phoned to thank me. When he, like Shimon, asked what I thought the government should do next, I was straightforward: "Do your best to bring things to an end as soon as you can." I said that Halutz and the other generals would be caught up in the operational details, which made his role and that of the cabinet even more critical. "In any operation, you'll have an idea about what represents a satisfactory exit point. But there will be a temptation, when you get close to that point, to take just one more step, to keep going until you're absolutely sure you've reached it." Resist that temptation, I told him. I said there was a danger that, before they knew it, he and the other minister would be in way over their heads.

In pure military terms, there were just two realistic choices in responding the Hibzollah attack: a deliberately limited and fairly brief operation, or a full-scale war. We ended up doing neither. The result was an operation that lasted 34 days, nearly twice the length of the Yom Kippur War. Our air force flew 12,000 missions, more than in 1973 and nearly twice as many as in the 1982 Lebanon War. Hizbollah fired about 4,000 rockets into Israel – from a stockpile we estimated to number nearly 20,000 – and not just at the border settlements but as far south as Hadera and Haifa, keeping hundreds of thousands of Israelis under effective siege. More than 120 Israeli soldiers and 44 civilians were killed. So were hundreds of Hizbollah fighters and, inevitably, many Lebanese civilians as well, with a predictable surge of criticism from much of the outside world. Only President Bush and Britain's Tony Blair steadfastly reminded the critics of how the war had actually begun.

The one putative victory for Israel was the UN cease-fire resolution that Tzipi Livni helped to negotiate in August. At least on paper, it contained a commitment to a "long-term solution" including the disarmament of Hizbollah and the "unconditional release of the abducted Israeli soldiers, which has given rise to the current crisis." But as Israeli newspapers began speaking to the returning soldiers and officers, a picture emerged not just of a long and difficult war, but a lack of clearly communicated military objectives, and an often-chaotic chain of command, which ended up costing Israeli lives. Our final advance, alone, shortly before the cease-fire, claimed the lives of some 30 soldiers. And for *what*, many Israelis were soon asking themselves. One of the newspapers most supportive of the operation at

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the beginning summed up the feeling of most of the country at the end: "If you don't win, you lose... Hizbollah survived. It won the war."

Without the botched handling of the war, I might well have remained a mere member of the Labor Party and a private citizen. But when the commission of inquiry released its report in April 2007, three people were singled out: Olmert, Amir Peretz and Halutz. Olmert was portrayed as a military novice who'd gone into battle without understanding the wartime role and responsibilities of a Prime Minister. Halutz's "excess of charisma" was held responsible for keeping ministers, and military officers as well, from questioning his judgement or pressing him for alternatives. Amir Peretz was found to be the wrong man in the wrong cabinet post at the wrong time. Of the three, only Halutz seemed ready to take personal responsibility. Even before the report came out, he resigned. Olmert and Peretz were determined to stay put, despite calls to quit not just from the opposition but from Tzipi Livni. Inside Labor as well, the war produced a clamor for change. When a vote for party chairman was held in June 2007, I was chosen to return in Peretz's place.

Within days, I replaced him as Defense Minister as well. Yet the main item in my in-box would no longer be Lebanon. I had been briefed a few weeks earlier by Olmert on a threat hundreds of miles further away: a construction site in northeast Syria, along the Euphrates River, where Mossad had uncovered evidence that the Syrians, with technical help from North Korea and funding from Iran, were building a nuclear reactor.

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I had got to know Olmert fairly well over the years, initially when I was in the *kirya* and both he and another rising Likud politician to whom I became closer, Dan Meridor, were members of the Knesset's defense committee. But from the day I returned to the Israeli government in June 2007, there was growing tension between us over dealing with the Syrian nuclear threat. It was not about *whether* we should take military action to destroy the reactor, before the fuel rods arrived on site and it could begin producing bomb-ready material. Just as under Menachem Begin in 1981, when we'd launched our preemptive strike on Saddam Hussein's

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reactor near Baghdad, there was never any question that we would take any and all possible measures to prevent Syria from getting a nuclear weapon. An immutable, core assumption in Israel's security strategy was the need to retain our ability to deter, and if necessary defeat, our enemies. A nuclear Syria – or Iraq, or Iran – would dramatically alter the balance of power in the region, at obvious risk to Israel. Syria posed a particular threat, as part of an increasingly close alliance with Iran, and with Hizbollah in Lebanon.

The question, however, was how and when to strike the reactor. Olmert wanted to attack within days. He seemed to assume that, as a former chief of staff, I'd nod enthusiastically and go along with him. I did understand the reasons for his sense of urgency. Not only did we have to make sure we attacked before the fuel was on site. There was always the risk the Syrians would find out that we were aware of their nuclear facility, putting them on even higher alert. But the operational challenge was complex. We need a fail-safe plan to destroy the reactor. We had to do it in such a way as to avoid a full-scale military confrontation with Syria if possible. And we had to ensure we were ready for that, if it did happen. It took very little time for me to realize that none of those prerequisites was yet in place. Not unlike the recent Lebanon war, we were choosing between two off-the-shelf plans from the *kirya*. One involved using a large military force, and would almost certainly draw us into a major conflict with Syria. The other was a smaller, targeted operation. But it remained untested, and there was no certainty it would actually destroy the reactor.

Over the next few months, Olmert got more and more frustrated with the fact we hadn't yet attacked, and frustrated with me as well. We held dozens of meetings, sometimes two or three a day, chaired by the Prime Minister, sometimes by me as Defense Minister, or by the chief of staff or service commanders. Invariably, I began my remarks by saying: "We have to destroy the reactor." This was not because I felt that any of us seriously doubted that. It was because Olmert was beginning to suggest to the few ministers and senior officers aware of our planning that I was against attacking the reactor. In fact, I was working with the military and Mossad to ensure we had a plan that would succeed, with the minimum possible risk of drawing us into a major clash with the Syrians after the facility was destroyed. I was also working – with the help of the Americans – to make sure we could get the forces and munitions in place in the north of Israel to

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deal with a major conflict with the Syrians. All of this, under a tight seal of secrecy.

Finally, in early September 2007, everything was in place. Olmert briefed the cabinet, and secured the ministers' approval to destroy the reactor, with the understanding that the precise timing of the operation would now be left to the Prime Minister, the Defense Minister and the Foreign Minister: Olmert, me and Tzipi Livni. The three of us met immediately after the cabinet discussion. Olmert argued that the risk of leaks justified attacking that night, and I agreed with him. Tzipi was reluctant, but Olmert turned to her and said: "Are you sure you're comfortable with an attack being ordered by me and Barak, while you chose to abstain?" She thought it over, and added her approval.

We struck just after midnight, in an intricately coordinated air attack that evaded not only a Syrian response, but Syrian notice. The reactor was destroyed. Although even today the exact details remain subject to Israel's military secrecy regulations, accounts published abroad in the weeks and months that followed painted a surprisingly accurate picture, including the pioneering use of electronic warfare capabilities to deal with risk of radar detection. But in the immediate aftermath of the attack, Israel deliberately made no public comment. We refused to say whether we'd had anything to do with an attack. As we he had hoped, this allowed the Syrian President, Bashar al-Assad, both the space and a good reason to deny that it had ever happened, deny that he'd been trying to make a nuclear weapon, and thus feel no compelling reason to retaliate.

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The reactor operation, however, marked the start of an increasingly tough period in both my and Tzipi's relationship with Olmert. Policy was not the problem. There were no major security crises in the months ahead. But in the spring of 2008, it became known that the Israeli police were investigating Olmert's relationship with an American businessman named Moshe Talansky. The suggestion, initially in a New York paper and then the Israeli press, was that Olmert was guilty of taking bribes. In his first public response, he didn't deny

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receiving money from Talansky. But he insisted it was all a part of election campaign contributions.

Publicly, I reserved judgement. "I hope, for everyone's sake, and for Prime Minister Olmert's sake, that the suspicions now circulating turn out to be baseless," I told a reporter. "Let's be patient." Privately, I urged him to take a leave of absence and clear his name. Yet with other ministers convinced that would make things worse, I held off doing anything else until there seemed to me no choice, after Talansky gave evidence in Jerusalem's District Court. Though he genuinely seemed not to have expected anything specific in return, he said he had given Olmert something like $150,000 in cash. I called a news conference the next day. I didn't say whether or not I thought Olmert was guilty. I did say that I believed he couldn't continue leading the country while resolving his "personal matters". Things finally came to ahead in September 2008. When Kadima held fresh leadership elections, Tzipi Livni won. Olmert confirmed he would step aside for his successor. But under Israeli law, he would remain Prime Minister until she either succeeded in forming a new government or called early elections. She opted in the end for Option B, and the election was set for February 2009.

That meant Olmert would still be Prime Minister for another three months. We'd long been discussing the increasingly worrying situation in Gaza. After Arik pulled out, an election had placed Hamas in power, after which the Islamists embarked on a violent purge of Fatah loyalists. Arms smuggling through tunnels from the Sinai had become rife. Rockets from Gaza were now landing on southern Israel. Hundreds of thousands of Israelis were living with the reality of a warning siren and a rapid dash into their shelters. For a while, amid negotiations through Egypt to end the rocket fire, we limited ourselves to sending small ground units into Gaza to target the source of specific rocket attacks. But that was always going to have only a limited effect. It also ran the risk of our soldiers being abducted, or killed.

Pressure was building for a major military operation. With the election drawing nearer, Bibi Netanyahu was reminding voters that he'd been against the pullout from Gaza, and saying that we should now hit Hamas hard. Both Olmert and Tzipi, along with most of the cabinet, were also in favor of doing so. But my long-held view, reinforced by the recent war against Hizbollah in Lebanon, was that we had to begin by deciding what we wanted to accomplish, and what was possible. Only then could we take action. I told the cabinet that, operationally, we were perfectly

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capable to taking over Gaza. But what *then*, I asked. Unless we were prepared to resume open-ended Israeli control, we'd be left with no one to run Gaza afterwards. The obvious candidate, Egypt, was even less interested than we were in assuming responsibility for the more than one-and-a-half million Palestinians who lived there. I doubted that even Arafat would have been ready to do so. But relations had only worsened, since his death in 2004, between the Fatah old guard in the Palestinian Authority on the West Bank and the Hamas overlords in Gaza. I doubted very much that Abu Mazen would want to get involved. I did send an aide to see him to ask whether, in principle, he was open to reassuming control of Gaza following an Israeli takeover. His answer was unsurprising and unequivocal: no.

I secured cabinet support for the more limited aim of restoring a period of calm for Israeli citizens in the south. I said the military operation had to be as sharp and short as possible, and end with some kind of political understanding that the rockets would stop for a significant period of time. The final plan was presented to ministers a few days before the operation. It would begin with surprise air strikes and a naval bombardment, followed by a limited ground incursion to hit remaining Hamas targets outside of the major refugee camps, which I was determined to avoid. The whole operation was intended to last for two weeks at the most. Hopefully, closer to a week, with diplomatic efforts through Egypt to secure a lasting cease-fire and, ideally, prevent Hamas from resupplying its rocket stockpiles through its smuggling tunnels from the Sinai.

When we launched Operation Cast Lead on the morning of December 27, nearly all the Hamas forces were where we'd expected them to be. Two waves of air strikes, with over a hundred jets and attack helicopters, killed 350 Hamas fighters. We destroyed Hamas's headquarters and dozens of its government and police installations. The attacks continued in the days that followed. We took a range of actions designed to minimize civilian casualties. We dropped leaflets before bombing sorties, phoned residents, and fired light missiles before heavier ordnance was used. Still, I realized that civilian casualties were unavoidable – if only because Hamas, like Hizbollah in Lebanon, was deliberately firing its rockets from civilian areas, sometimes even near schools or hospitals. Civilian casualties were obviously tragic in themselves. They also made it inevitable that the longer the operation went on, the more likely we were to face international criticism, and diplomatic pressure to bring it to an end. That was an additional reason I had insisted that the operation be well defined and time-limited.

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But both Olmert and Tzipi soon fell prey to the same self-defeating temptation that had worried me during the meandering war against Hizbollah. Our ground incursion began a few days into the operation. The intention was to stay for a few more days and then, responding to inevitable international appeals, call a halt to a campaign that had already achieved nearly all of its targets. Perhaps wanting to balance the failures in Lebanon there with "success" in Gaza, Olmert wanted us to continue, and expand our attacks deeper into Gaza. I reminded him that we'd *agreed* the aims beforehand. The longer we stayed, the less clear any gains would be. Yes, our ground forces had so far faced virtually no resistance or casualties. "But that's *because* we're outside the main populated areas," I said. "The deeper we get in, the better it will be for Hamas. They gain simply by surviving, like Hizbollah." Yet Olmert kept insisting that we'd succeeded so far, so let's not stop.

It wasn't until January 17, three weeks after the operation began, that we announced a cease-fire. Militarily, the operation was a success. While Hamas launched nearly 3,000 rockets into Israel in the year before our attack, there were only 300 in the year that followed. But politically and diplomatically, the extra week reduced, rather than helped, the chances of reaching an understanding for a longer-term reduction of the attacks. To the extent there was any political gain, it was to burnish Tzipi Livni's credentials as a tough potential Prime Minister ahead of the election. That was not her intent. Of all the politicians I've known, she is among the least interested in such games, especially with lives at stake. But it was one of the effects.

She won the election, in a photo finish, with opinion polls suggesting she'd been effective in shaping the campaign as a choice "between Tzipi and Bibi." Kadima got 28 Knesset seats, to 27 for Bibi and the Likud, which gave her the first crack at forming a government. There's no way of disguising the fact that Labor's result in my first election back in charge was a disappointment. We went down six seats, to 13. The big gainer was a far-right, stridently anti-Arab party called *Yisrael Beitenu*, led by a former Likudnik named Avigdor Lieberman. Tzipi's attempt to form a coalition became less a political process than a contest between rival stalls in a Middle Eastern bazaar. Bibi was holding parallel talks with the Orthodox parties critical to assembling a parliamentary majority. He was matching and raising every assurance of a ministerial seat or budgetary concession that Tzipi was prepared to offer. In the end, she threw up her hands, saying she refused to draw out a process which was not so much a negotiation as organized extortion. I am

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sure she won the respect of many Israelis for taking an all-to-rare stand of principle. She certainly won mine. But I was not alone in wondering whether it was worth the price that she, Kadima, and the country would pay as a result: Bibi's return as Prime Minister in a Likud-led coalition.

Though I was not surprised when he asked me to remain as Defense Minister, and to keep Labor inside the coalition, that was not an easy argument to make to my reduced Knesset contingent. They saw joining Bibi, especially in a government with the right-wing Lieberman as Foreign Minister, as a betrayal of all the efforts that they and I had made to achieve peace with the Palestinians. Still, the decision on whether to join the coalition ultimately rested with the party central committee, almost every one of whose members was on a local government council. For them, the choice was between a share of power, however limited, and the wilderness of opposition. So we joined Bibi's government.

I was personally in favor of our doing so, but for more complicated reasons. I knew that Bibi's background, his instincts and his undeniably powerful political rhetoric were all firmly rooted on the political right. I recognized that he was often more interested in politics than policy, and perhaps above both of those, in the tactical maneuvering required to consolidate his political position. But I had known him long enough to dismiss the suggestions of many of my colleagues that he was intellectually shallow. I felt he was capable of doing what was best for Israel, and that he had a basic pragmatism that would guide how he got there. All that, however, was just a reason for not saying "no" when he asked me and Labor to stay on. The reason I felt it was right to say yes had to two with specific policy challenges. The first was to ensure there at least *some* peace process with the Palestinians. But that, in turn, was in large part because I believed it would win us the diplomatic support, especially from the Americans, needed to tackle a more urgent threat. It again involved an enemy state trying to get nuclear weapons. But not Syria. The Islamic theocracy of Iran.

We'd been aware for a number of years about Iranian efforts to go nuclear. The Mossad had notched up a series of successes in delaying the Iranians from getting there. But they were getting inexorably closer. In fact, when I'd taken over as Defense Minister under Olmert, I formally directed the new chief-of-staff, Gaby Ashknazi, to get to work on a plan to attack the most important facilities in the Iranians' nuclear network, with the aim of pushing back the point at which they might develop a bomb by five to six years. But it became clear we didn't have the

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operational capacity to mount such an attack, in part because we lacked the necessary bunker-busting bombs and the tanker aircraft to get us to Iran and back. I did seek help from the Americans. I met Defense Secretary Bob Gates, CIA director Mike Hayden, National Security Adviser Steve Hadley and even President Bush himself. While not explicitly mentioning that we were planning military action against Iran, I sounded them out on the prospects of getting more heavy munitions, and possibly leasing several US tanker aircraft.

Yet in our final meeting with President Bush, during a visit to Israel in June 2008, he made it clear to Olmert and me that he knew what we were up to. Olmert hosted a private dinner for the President. Afterwards, Bush asked to talk privately. Olmert poured us each a glass of whiskey and lit a cigar, and we sank into brown leather armchairs. Smiling, the president looked straight at me, and said to Olmert: "This guy scares the living shit out of me when he tells me what you want."

He told Olmert how I'd asked for heavy munitions, tankers and a variety of other military equipment. "Remember. I'm a former F-16 pilot," he said. "I know how to connect the dots." Then, turning more serious, he added: "I want to tell both of you now, as President, the formal position of the US government. We are totally against any action by you to mount an attack on the nuclear plants." The effect was all the more dramatic because of his Administration's support for our attack on the reactor in Syria the year before. "I repeat," Bush said, "in order to avoid any misunderstanding. We expect you not to do it. And we're not going to do it, either, as long as I am President. I wanted it to be clear."

Olmert said nothing, so I replied. "Mr President, we're in no position to tell you what the position of the United States should be. But I can tell you what I believe history will have to say. I'm reminded by what we call, in field artillery, 'bracketing and halving.'" I said that in the wake of the Al-Qaeda attack on the Twin Towers, he had fired one shell long, in Afghanistan, and another one short, in Iraq. "But when the time came to hit the real target – Iran – it ended up you'd already spent two terms, and all your political capital." He seemed neither insulted nor unsettled by my remark. He simply nodded. Perhaps, in part, because he was pretty sure that we lacked the ability to attack the Iranian facilities anyway.

We *still* lacked that capacity when I became Defense Minister in Bibi's government in May 2009. But the main reason I'd stayed in the job, and my main

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focus from the day Bibi's government took office, was to do all I could to change that.

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Chapter Twenty-Five

I had hoped that in facing down the nuclear threat from Iran, I could nudge Bibi towards a reengagement with the Palestinians – not with great enthusiasm, but as an act of pure political pragmatism. There were only two ways we could stop the Iranians from getting a nuclear weapon: for the Americans to make sure that happened, or not to hinder Israel from doing so. Either was going to be a lot harder if there was tension with the new American president, Barack Obama, over moves to revive the peace process with the Palestinians.

I didn't expect it to be put to the test so soon. Yet within weeks of our taking office, President Obama launched an effort to restart negotiations, declaring it "intolerable" that there was still not a Palestinian state. He was explicit about what Israel needed to do. In an Oval Office meeting with Bibi in May 2009, and in a speech in Cairo the next month, he called for a total halt to settlement construction on the West Bank. US opposition to settlements wasn't new. For years, Washington's position had been that they represented "an obstacle to peace." The main issue wasn't even the creation of new settlements, since there had been almost none in recent years. It was the expansion of existing ones. The Jewish population on the West Bank had been about 190,000 when I became Prime Minister. In the decade since then, it had grown to 315,000 – more than half-a-million if you counted the Jewish neighborhoods built inside the expanded, post-1967 boundaries of Jerusalem. The expansion – "natural growth" as we euphemistically described it to the Americans – was what President Obama now wanted Bibi to end.

I had no illusions about how hard it would be to get him to agree. With each passing year since Camp David, the pro-settlement right wing in Israel had become more confident and influential. In a way, the settlers and their supporters – passionately devoted to a "Greater Israel" and opposed to any Palestinian state – had become the 21st-century equivalent of the kibbutz avant-garde of a half-century earlier. The rise of Avigdor Lieberman's *Yisrael Beiteinu* party was the latest sign, alongside a move rightward within the Likud itself. For Bibi to say yes to a settlement freeze would mean putting aside his own short-term political interests in recognition of the importance of our alliance with the Americans. He'd actually done this, twice, during his first term as Prime Minister. He had agreed to give the

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Palestinians control of most of Hebron, and accepted further withdrawals under the Wye River agreement. But amid predictable protests from the right, he had promptly retreated from his Wye commitments. I knew that his default response to Obama's call for a settlement freeze would be "no." And it was, delivered first to the cabinet and then to the public, as soon as he got back from his talks with the President.

In my repeated meetings with Bibi in the weeks that followed – both one-on-one, and within the informal group of close ministers and aides known as the Group of Eight – I tried to persuade him that, if only because of America's key role on Iran, we needed to show *some* sign of engagement with Obama's efforts. I was not entirely alone. One ally was an old friend: Dan Meridor, who had rejoined the Likud before the election. Another was more unexpected: Avigdor Lieberman. He was never going to accept a settlement freeze. Not only did his heart, and political interests, lie on the West Bank. He lived there. But like many in the party he led, he had come to Israel from the former Soviet Union, shaping a worldview that in many ways remained European, and pro-Western. He was worried about creating the impression of blanket Israeli intransigence toward a popular new American President, and isolating ourselves internationally, if we didn't go some way towards helping to restart talks with the Palestinians.

Though Bibi showed no signs of retreat on the settlement freeze, he did accept that broader point. Ten days after Obama's Cairo speech, he publicly accepted the idea of a Palestinian state for the first time, having ruled it out as recently as the month before in his White House talks with the President. The shift was dismissed as trivial not just by the Palestinians, but by many in my own Labor party and almost everyone else on the left. I disagreed. I knew how deep, genuine and longstanding Bibi's resistance to Palestinian statehood was. But I had another, serious concern about the "peace plan" he announced: an entirely new precondition he insisted the Palestinians must meet if peace was ever going to be possible. He said they must "clearly and unambiguously recognize Israel as the state of the Jewish people." On a whole series of levels, that made no sense to me. We hadn't asked Egypt or Jordan to grant us explicit recognition as a Jewish state when we made peace with them. Even when Bibi himself had briefly tried to open negotiations with Damascus in his first period as Prime Minister, we'd never felt the need to ask it of the Syrians either. To the extent there was any logic in demanding it of the Palestinians, Bibi's reasoning seemed to be that this would

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neutralize any recidivist claims to all of Palestine, especially since we had around 1.5 million Arab citizens living inside our pre-1967 borders. But as I told Bibi, that was a red herring. There was a more straightforward, legally binding answer: a peace treaty which, as with Egypt and Jordan, declared an end to our conflict and to any further claims on either side.

My main concern was more fundamental. Bibi's new approach contradicted the central thrust of Zionism: that after centuries of powerlessness and persecution, Jews would finally take control of their own destiny. We now had our state. It was more than six decades old. "Why do we need the Palestinians, or *anyone*, to validate us as a Jewish state? Why propose something that implies the Palestinians somehow have a say in what kind of state we choose to be?" Yet the more I pressed him, the clearer it became that the substance didn't much matter to Bibi. His move was political, and tactical, aimed at staking out a position of power in the diplomatic process. Besides, he didn't expect any new negotiations to make real progress anyway.

As Defense Minister, I had scope for taking steps with the Palestinians on my own. With Bibi's knowledge and tacit acceptance, I established a particularly strong relationship with Abu Mazen's Prime Minister, Salaam Fayyad. A respected economist, he operated on the assumption that neither violence nor negotiations seemed likely to lead the Palestinians to statehood as things now stood. He saw his role as doing an end-run. He would put in place the institutions, the infrastructure, the economy, the internal security and the stability needed for an eventual state to succeed. He was trying to do for the Palestinians what Ben-Gurion had done before 1948. He and I met and talked often but discreetly – sometimes in his office in Ramallah, sometimes in mine, sometimes over dinner in the 31st-floor flat I was renting in central Tel Aviv. I remember one dinner in particular. I led him onto the terrace after we'd eaten. It was a startlingly clear night. You could see as far north as Lebanon and, since the West Bank was barely a dozen miles away, the twinkling lights of Ramallah as well. He gazed in that direction, then at the bright lights of the avenues and restaurants and cafés far below us. Smiling, he said: "Ehud, why do you need Ramallah when you've got Tel Aviv?" I smiled back. There was no need to reply. He knew my views. Not only didn't Israel need Ramallah. I was more convinced than ever that it was in our *own* interest, by treaty if possible and unilateral disengagement if not, to remove Israel from all of the major towns and cities of the West Bank.

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I issued a standing directive in the *kirya* that we should agree to anything Fayyad asked for, as long as there no security reason to say no. We ended up arranging a direct source of fuel supply to Jenin, on the northern edge of the West Bank, and built new terminals to handle it. We facilitated construction permits for a new industrial zone. For a conference of international economists and business people, we set up VIP treatment at Ben-Gurion Airport, and limousine transport to the conference venue. I believed that if Fayyad succeeded in what he was trying to accomplish, it would be a benefit not just for the Palestinians, but for Israel too. Bibi was agnostic on Fayyad's efforts. Yet he recognized they did no harm. And in a way, my support for them was politically convenient. To the extent the international community, especially the Americans, appreciated our efforts to help the Palestinians, Bibi and others in the government could, and did, claim credit. When there were complaints from the right, Bibi could and did say: "It wasn't me. It was Barak."

My part in our relations with the Americans was more politically delicate. As I continued to prod Bibi toward accepting a settlement freeze during the summer and autumn of 2009, my *de facto* role became to help smooth over the increasingly rough edges in our ties with the Obama administration. I knew key figures from earlier incarnations in their public lives and mine: Secretary of Defense Bob Gates, who had been President George H. W. Bush's deputy security adviser in the first Iraq war and then head of the CIA; and Hillary Clinton, now Secretary of State. During a series of early trips to the US as Defense Minister, I met Gates, Hillary and other senior figures in the administration both formally and informally. In part because they were aware I favored agreeing to a settlement freeze, they clearly found it a lot easier to talk to me than to Bibi. On one visit, to my regret and Bibi's evident frustration once I'd got home, the press highlighted this dramatic difference in mood. Emerging from talks with me at the State Department, Hillary told reporters that our talks had gone "wonderfully." She added: "As longtime friends do, much was said. And much didn't need to be said." Still, I was careful to avoid any explicit criticism of Bibi in my meetings in the US. I would point out the domestic political pressures on him in deciding how to proceed. And in any case, the Americans knew that no matter what I might say to them, it was Bibi's actions that ultimately mattered. He, not I, was Prime Minister.

I was as surprised as they were when he finally announced a settlement freeze in November 2009. As with nearly everything else he did regarding the peace

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process, it was hedged with several conditions. The freeze would not be open-ended, but last for 10 months, as a way of boosting the effort to restart negotiations. It would apply to new construction, not work already underway. And it would exclude the post-1967 neighborhoods inside the expanded city limits of Jerusalem. Like his other moves, it was also dismissed as insignificant by the Palestinians. Though there was a formal restarting of the talks, they went almost nowhere during the period of the freeze, which Bibi cited as a reason for not extending it further. From then on, the negotiations produced even less. I didn't buy the narrative that this was entirely Bibi's fault. Abu Mazen remained steadfastly, deliberately passive. Obviously not inclined to take the risk of further widening his rift with Hamas in Gaza, he was content to echo the Obama administration's argument that nothing could happen until there was a settlement freeze. Once the freeze was announced, he went through the motions, avoiding all the difficult issues, in the expectation Washington would ensure the freeze was renewed. President Obama's initial Mideast moves had made it much easier for Abu Mazen to avoid any serious engagement. In contrast to past presidents, Obama had placed almost all of the onus for progress on Israel. But the end result also suited Bibi. Though I never entirely gave up hope of persuading him it was in *Israel*'s interest to seek a resolution of our conflict with the Palestinians, it became more evident as the months went on that his aim was simply to keep things ticking over, and avoid any major new crisis.

He appointed an old personal friend – a corporate lawyer named Yitzhak Molcho – as our negotiator. I finally realized how pointless the exercise was when, during a visit to the United States, I found myself in New York at the same time as Molcho. We met at the Israeli consulate. We spoke in detail about the state of the negotiations. With Molcho still in the room, I phoned Bibi in Jerusalem on the secure phone line. I said I'd just been updated on the talks, and it seemed clear there were a number of suggestions Israel could make, with no domestic political risk but with every prospect of improving the atmosphere and accelerating progress. "Yitzhak is one of Israel's top lawyers," I said. "He's struck dozens of deals in his life. But he strikes a deal when that's what his client wants. *You* are the client. If you tell him: bring me back the best deal you can – not a peace treaty, just a deal on a specific issue – he'll do it. But if his brief is simply to negotiate, he can go on negotiating forever. And it's pretty clear me that's his brief." Bibi insisted I was wrong. He said that what I saw as time-wasting was simple prudence, to make sure the negotiations bore fruit. But his approach never changed. Whenever it came

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up in our inner Group of Eight discussions, I could usually count only on Dan Meridor, and occasionally a handful of others, to argue in favor of any form of initiative on our side. In private meetings, Bibi did sometimes engage in discussion about what Israel might do. But he invariably steered the conversation elsewhere, insisting that the *real* issue was the Palestinians' lack of any interest in making peace.

My main worry wasn't the immediate future of the negotiations. For now, the chances of an agreement seemed close to zero. It was the longer-term damage Bibi's approach would do in further delaying any serious move by Israel to put our relations with the Palestinians on a more stable and sustainable footing. The dithering, delay and deadlock suited him politically. Ironically, my own efforts on the security front had also made it easier for us to do next to nothing. Intermittent outbreaks of violence always remained a threat. Yet the West Bank security fence, along with our military, police and intelligence measures, meant it was very unlikely we'd see a return to the full-blown terror war of the second intifada. I was also working to secure US support for our development of increasingly effective anti-missile weapons to reduce the threat from Hamas in Gaza. The overall result was that for many, if not most, Israelis, the conflict with the Palestinians didn't impact on their day-to-day lives. It was unseen and largely unfelt.

Still, the effect of the stalemate on our relationship with Washington did matter: both for our security cooperation on things like the anti-missile weapons and, crucially, the challenge which had led me into Bibi's government in the first place: keeping Iran from getting a nuclear weapon.

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It was a race against time. The Iranians were producing more and more yellowcake, building more advanced centrifuges, accumulating more low-enriched uranium. They were getting better at hiding and protecting the network of facilities being used to try to produce a nuclear weapon. And in the early months of Bibi's Prime Ministership, the question we faced wasn't even whether to take military action against Iran – something I knew, from Bob Gates and others, that the Obama administration viewed no more favourably than George W. Bush. It was

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whether that would even be *possible* to strike before the Iranians entered their "zone of immunity" – the point at which the amount of damage we could do to their nuclear program would be too negligible to be worth the operational, political and diplomatic risks from such an attack. In the early months, my priority was to ensure we at least had a military option. A full year before joining Bibi's government, as Defense Minister under Olmert, I'd first tried to put an operational plan in place, only to find that the lack of heavy munitions and refuelling aircraft made it impossible. That was especially frustrating because at that point, our experts calculated that a successful strike could have set back the Iranian nuclear effort by about six years. Given the Iranians' knowledge we could attack again, and their need to restart clandestine efforts to secure key components abroad, that meant a very real prospect of ending the nuclear program altogether. On joining Bibi's government, I began working, both with the *kirya* and the engineers and technological experts in our military industries, to make sure we had the weaponry and equipment, and an operational plan for a surgical strike. It was not until mid-2010, a year into Bibi's government, that I was confident we'd reached that point, in part thanks to Israeli-produced heavy bombs and tanker aircraft. Our experts estimated we would still be able to set back the Iranian nuclear efforts by up to four years, almost certainly enough to end them indefinitely.

Yet making military action possible proved to be the easy part. The question now became whether we *should* be prepared to launch a strike against Iran's nuclear facilities. Answering it was like a contest of three-dimensional chess, involving both an internal debate among Israel's political and military leadership and discussions with an Obama administration whose priority remained to *negotiate* an end to Iran's nuclear program. On major security decisions in Israel, two ministers always mattered the most: the Prime Minister and Defense Minister. Neither Bibi nor I doubted we had to ready to strike if that proved necessary. Nor did Foreign Minister Lieberman. Even for us, it was an option to be considered only when all other ways to rein in the Iranians were failing. We also agreed on two other preconditions. We would have to secure international legitimacy, most of all from the Americans, for what would be a clear act of self-defense. And we'd need to demonstrate an imperative urgency to act, with the approach of the "zone of immunity" that would take any military option off the table for good.

Ideally, we hoped the US-led campaign of economic and diplomatic pressure would get Iran to abandon its nuclear ambitions, as Libya had done in the wake of

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its terror attack on a Pan American airliner in the late 1980s. Or, as in South Africa, that a change in nuclear policy might come from a change in régime in Tehran. Yet realistically, we couldn't count on either. And there was no doubt in our minds that a nuclear Iran represented a hugely serious threat. If the Shi'ite Muslim regime in Iran did get a nuclear weapon, Sunni Arab states like Egypt and Saudi Arabia, and Turkey as well, would try to go nuclear. Neither they nor we could assume that Iran was developing a bomb as a mere act of deterrence. We couldn't exclude the possibility that, especially in a crisis threatening the survival of the ayatollahs' rule, Iran would use the weapons it was developing. It could even send a nuclear device in a container smuggled on board a commercial vessel docking in one of Israel's ports.

While few in Israel disputed the seriousness of the threat, a number of top political and military figures had deep misgivings about military action. Given the need for secrecy, most of our discussions took place within the so-called Group of Eight, often also including the chief of staff and other top generals from the *kirya*. Both Dan Meridor and Benny Begin, Menachem Begin's son and a minister without portfolio, were opposed to an Israeli attack from the start. They were convinced that the implications for the region, and for our relations with the wider world, were difficult to predict and potentially dire. Dan raised a further concern. He feared an Israeli attack might actually intensify Iran's effort to get a nuclear bomb, only now with political cover, because it would argue it was acting in self-defense. The view of those opposed to an Israeli strike was that we should rely on American economic and political pressure to deal with the threat. And, if that failed, on *American* military action.

In November 2010, the internal debate came to a head, at a meeting involving the Group of Eight as well as the chief of staff, the head of military intelligence and the commander of the air force. We convened in a villa that the Mossad kept for clandestine foreign visitors, near the coastal road north of Tel Aviv. The meeting began with a presentation by the generals of our attack plan. There was still a core of ministers opposed: chiefly Dan Meridor and Benny Begin, but also Boogie Ya'alon, a former Sayeret Matkal commander and chief of staff who Minister of Strategic Affairs. But the confidence and detail with which the plan was laid out, and the fact that Bibi, Lieberman and I were in favor of being prepared to act, gave me the sense that a majority would back military action if it became necessary. The proviso would be the need for the chief-of-staff, and ideally

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the heads of military intelligence and Mossad, to sign off on the operational viability of the plan.

That was what now ended any prospect of military action, at least for a few months. Bibi, Lieberman and I withdrew into a side room to talk with the chief of staff, Gaby Ashkenazi, as well as the heads of military intelligence, the Mossad and and Shin Bet. We emphasized that no final decision on whether to attack had been taken. That would require a further meeting with the Group of Eight, and then the full cabinet. But we asked each of them for their views on the operation. We knew they had political reservations, along the lines of those voiced by Dan Meridor. On an issue of this magnitude, it was accepted practice that military and intelligence commanders could weigh in on the political implications as well. But their formal role was operational and professional. Ashkenazi and the other generals did concede that in every area – planning, materiel, training and intelligence – our attack plan was far ahead of where it had been a year earlier. Yet Ashkenazi, in particular, concluded that the preparations had not yet "crossed the threshold of operational capability".

I was furious. I respected the considered opposition of ministers like Dan or Benny Begin. I had no problem with the chief-of-staff or other generals expressing similar views on the political or geo-strategic implications of an Israeli attack, even though our intelligence assessments suggested the concerns were almost certainly unfounded. Yet what I found astonishing was Ashkenazi's suggestion that the "operational threshold" had not been crossed. Yes, this would be a demanding mission. It was not without risks. No operation was. But having followed every stage and detail of the preparations – and as a former chief of staff and intelligence chief myself – I believed it was simply wrong on a *professional* level to say that we lacked the capacity, and a workable plan, for a military strike if the order was given.

Ashkenazi's objection did mean there was no way we were going to attack at least until well into the new year. Our discussions would continue, as would our refinement and strengthening of the attack plan. So would Iran's progress toward its "zone of immunity," which we now believed would begin late in 2012, a couple of years away. As that point drew closer, we'd face an ever-more-pressing need to decide finally whether military action was necessary.

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Yet the delay in getting to that point had serious implications for my role as Labor Party leader. Since the negotiations with the Palestinians were stuck in neutral, I was under increasing pressure from within Labor to pull out of Bibi's government. What on earth was the point of *staying*, they asked. All I was doing, from their perspective, was giving Bibi political cover for abandoning any serious effort to get a peace agreement. Their argument was entirely reasonable. My frustration was that, due to the need for military secrecy, the *counter-argument* was impossible for me to make: that I felt I had a responsibility to stay at a time when there remained a real possibility Israel might need to take military action against Iran. To a mix of consternation and anger among many Labor colleagues, I ended up taking what seemed to me the only realistic option. In January 2011, I left the Labor Party. With three other of our ministers in the government – who were, of course, aware of the ongoing Iran discussions – I set up a new "centrist, Zionist" party called *Ha'Atzmaut*, or Independence. We remained in Bibi's government.

* * *

My main focus was now on the Americans. In order to secure the "international legitimacy" any Israeli attack required, we had to win at least their *understanding* that we might feel it necessary to act. Fortunately, I had built up a good relationship with the key figures in the Obama administration. That had not always been easy, given the tension between the Americans and Bibi. That wasn't just because of the deadlock in the peace process, still a priority for President Obama. There were other complications. Ever since the initial pressure for a settlement freeze, right-wing politicians and commentators, and Bibi himself, had taken to portraying President Obama as fundamentally unsympathetic to Israel. After the Republicans' victory in the mid-term Congressional elections in November 2010, Bibi went a step further. He began cozying up to congressmen and senators on the other side of the aisle. This overt meddling in the internal politics of our closest ally was not just a breach of longstanding tradition, but of common sense. Members of the Administration began privately calling Bibi "the Republican senator from Rechavia" – a reference to the Jerusalem neighborhood where the Prime Minister's residence was located.

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Yet especially with my main points of contact in the administration – first Bob Gates and then his successor, Leon Panetta, as Secretary of Defense –our broadly shared views, mutual respect, and the strength of the US-Israeli alliance outweighed any of that. Neither they, nor indeed President Obama, wavered from their commitment to the principle that Israel needed to retain our "qualitative military advantage" over any combination of threats we might face, nor to the $3 billion package of annual US aid that underpinned it. We were even able to agree on additional US backing for our increasingly effective range of anti-missile systems: the Arrow, against long-range ballistic missiles, developed in coordination with the US defense contractor Raytheon; "David's Sling," to target enemy forces' mid-range missiles, cruise missiles and aircraft; and our new Iron Dome system, integrating sophisticated Israeli radar and guidance technology and designed to deal with the missile threat from Hizbollah on our northern border and Hamas in Gaza. It had not yet been used in battle. But from test firings, we were confident it could destroy incoming rockets with nearly 90-per-cent success.

By late 2011, the issue of Iran had taken on much greater urgency. There was still no sign the American-led diplomatic efforts were succeeding in removing the nuclear threat. As for an American military strike, though the President intermittently declared that "all options" remained on the table, I knew from senior administration members that it was extremely unlikely to happen. Iran, meanwhile, had been acquiring thousands more centrifuges, more uranium, and heavier protection around its key sites. And the "window of vulnerability" was now only about a year away.

Operationally and politically, at least now a majority of the key players in Israel agreed that we had to be prepared to take military action if there was no alternative way to rein in the Iranians. Ashkenazi's successor as chief-of-staff, Benny Gantz, had signed off on the attack plan. While the Iranians were getting ever closer to nuclear-weapons capability, the strike force that we were assembling was also better equipped, trained and prepared to mount a complex, yet almost certainly successful, operation. The damage to Iran's nuclear ambitions would be considerably less than if we had acted earlier. But our intelligence analysts still estimated we could set back the Iranians' program by about two years.

The immediate problem turned out to be timing. A major joint military exercise with the Americans, agreed on two years earlier, was due to take place in Israel in April 2012. It would include Patriot missile batteries, naval vessels, and thousands

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of uniformed US personnel. The focus was, of all things, on defense against a missile attack from Iran. I contacted Leon Panetta to see whether we could delay it. The official reason cited by the Americans, when they agreed to do it, did have the merit of being true: that Bibi was coming under pressure to shift our budgetary priorities away from defense toward social and economic issues. But Panetta understood that my request for a delay meant we were at least considering military action. He also realized that if we did launch an attack, it was in the Americans' own interest for their troops be as far away from Israel as possible. We agreed to reschedule the exercise for October 2012. That meant that if we did decide to attack, we'd have until well into September, when significant numbers of US troops would begin arriving.

As we weighed our final decision, I held a series of high-level meetings in Washington: with Panetta, national security adviser Tom Donilon, Hillary Clinton, and President Obama himself. Though not explicitly saying we were ready to attack, I left no doubt that we were seriously considering it, and explained the reasons we believed our country's fundamental security interests might make it necessary. The message from all of the Americans I met was that the administration shared our basic goal: to prevent, or at least seriously impair, Iran's drive to get a nuclear bomb. But they continued to believe that *non*-military pressure was the best way to do it.

The Americans knew we were skeptical that the non-military route would work, and that we were deeply worried about the implications of not taking military action if it failed. I discussed our thinking – and, in general terms, our plans – in my meetings with Panetta. He already had a pretty good idea of the broad contours of what we were contemplating, since US radar systems and electronic intercepts had been recording the volume and nature of air force exercises we'd been conducting over recent months. Leon and I had by now got to know each other well, having first met when he was in charge of the CIA at the start of the Obama administration. In one of our early meetings at CIA headquarters in Langley, there had been a small bunch of grapes on his desk and I plucked a few in my mouth with obvious enjoyment. Now, at the Pentagon, he had a big bowlful ready whenever we met. The fact that he opposed an Israeli military operation made him no less of a pleasure to deal with. He was unfailingly calm and even tempered. He had an encyclopedic grasp of issues of defense, intelligence, budgets and policy. He was always rock-solid in America's commitments to Israel. It's worth

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remembering that, in spite of Israel's insistence from 1948 onward that we would never ask others to do our fighting for us, even as Leon and I were meeting, US radar operators were working around the clock to provide us with early warning against any incoming Iranian missiles. Patriot batteries were ready to deploy in Israel within 72 hours of any attack. AEGIS naval vessels were within 96 hours of our shores, to reinforce Israel's Arrow missile defense system with sea-launched weapons.

Panetta made no secret of the fact he didn't want us to launch a military strike, effectively killing off the many months of intensive work the Americans had devoted to building international political and economic pressure on the Iranians. He urged me to "think twice, three times," before going down that road. But he recognized that Israel would be affected far more dramatically by a nuclear Iran. "It's your conflict. It's your neighborhood," he said. At one point, he asked me outright: "If you do decide to attack the Iranian facilities, when will we know?" I told him we couldn't give him more than a few hours' notice. Otherwise, the Americans would have to alert their bases in the Gulf, and worldwide. That might well put Iran on guard before our operation was launched. But I did recognize our responsibility not to leave the Americans in the dark, not only because they were a key ally but because their own military and naval personnel might be at risk from any Iranian retaliation. "We know your command-post deployment and the communications protocols with your forces," I told him. "We'll make sure you have enough time to tell your people," I said. "We won't endanger a single American life, any of your positions or your personnel."

My most important meeting was with the President. Though I knew him less well than I did Panetta, we had met on a number of occasions. The first time was when he was still Senator Obama, on a visit to Israel during the 2008 presidential campaign. As Defense Minister, I escorted him to Sderot, the town in southern Israel bearing the brunt of Hamas rocket attacks from Gaza. Back in Jerusalem, we spent a half-hour talking in my office: about Iran. I argued that a nuclear Iran was a challenge not only for Israel and the Middle East, but for America, too. I urged him, if elected, to commission an early study of what the Iranians were seeking to do and what could be done to stop them either by diplomatic means or, if necessary, by force. Also, what the Iranians could, or more relevantly could *not*, do in response to an American or indeed an Israel attack, since our intelligence assessments suggested their options for retaliation would be fairly limited. Obama

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struck me from that first meeting as strong, cool-headed, highly intelligent and intensely cerebral. Though we didn't go into the details of the Iranian nuclear threat, he did talk at some length about the implications for the region, and about broader Middle Eastern security challenges. He displayed a grasp of the cultural and political nuances of an increasingly diverse and complex world that was more impressive than many of the other American political or military leaders whom I'd met.

When he and I now returned to the issue of Iran, in the White House, he had an undeniable command of the details of Iran's nuclear program, and of the American military options, should he choose to use them. He opened by summarizing the US position. He emphasized that his and our objective was the same: the keep Iran from developing a nuclear weapon. We were already cooperating to achieve that, for instance through cyber-attacks to slow down the nuclear program. The difference, he said, was that Israeli leaders seemed to feel an *urgent* need to reach a decision on military action. In Obama's view, such a move would be both premature and potentially harmful to the coalition he'd helped assemble to exert diplomatic and economic pressure on Iran.

Maybe you had to be an Israeli truly to understand our urgency about Iran. In the early years of the state, the explanation we gave for our preoccupation with security – our near-obsession, as some non-Israelis saw it – was that we were surrounded by Arab countries pledged not just to defeat us, but erase us from the map. Egypt or Syria, Jordan or Iraq, could afford to lose an Arab-Israeli war. Israel's first defeat, however, would be its last. That picture had changed dramatically over the decades. We no longer had to worry about the prospect of losing a war. The "qualitative edge" we possessed over all enemy armies in the region ensured that. As Israel's chief of staff, Prime Minister, and now Defense Minister, I had made it a major priority to safeguard that advantage, not just through our alliance with the US but with the remarkable domestic resources we possessed in military engineering, manufacturing, design, invention and high-tech. But the new-order challenge represented by Iran was not just theoretical or academic. Though we had a policy of not commenting on on our own nuclear status, it was widely assumed in the Arab world and internationally that Israel had, at the very least, the capacity to manufacture nuclear weapons. But whatever nuclear capability we might possess was for deterrence. Even when threatened with conventional defeat, however briefly, in the Yom Kippur War of 1973, it is

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worth noting that the conflict remained conventional. Iran was different. Only the most naïve observer would exclude the possibility that if the Iranians did get a nuclear weapon, they might use it. And even if they didn't, the entire strategic picture would change, with the need to find a response not just to a nuclear Iran, but potentially a nuclear Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.

I was not about to lecture President Obama on this. While Bibi liked to portray him variously as weak, naïve or tone-deaf to interests and security of Israel, I knew from our previous meetings that he was none of these things. Yet I did, in a deliberately non-didactic way, raise the issue of our different perspectives on the Iranians' getting nuclear arms. "You see it in the context of the whole world," I told the President. "If Iran, in spite of all our efforts, gets a nuclear weapon, yes, it will be bad. But for you, it's just one more nuclear state. It won't dramatically change the situation for America. For us, it can turn into a real, existential threat."

He agreed that we inevitably looked at the situation differently. But after pausing a few seconds, he said: "Ehud, think of it this way. You get to school in the morning and there's this big, nasty bully. You can take him on, maybe give him a black eye. But you have this bigger, stronger friend, who can knock him out cold. The only problem is that your friend won't be there until the afternoon."

I would have liked nothing more than to wait for our "bigger, stronger" friend, especially since I knew through my contacts in the American military and intelligence establishment how much bigger and stronger an American attack would be. During the first couple of years that Israel was working on acquiring the capability for a military strike, the Americans had been no more ready than we were. They did have the tanker aircraft and the heavy bombs. But their *plan* – a kind of Iraq-style shock and awe – was so obviously prone to lead to a wider conflict that it would never have received the go-ahead from President Obama, or probably any president. I used to joke with colleagues in the Pentagon that while Israel's idea of a "surgical operation" was the equivalent of a scalpel, they seemed to favor a chisel and a ten-pound hammer. By the time I met the President in 2012, that had changed. Under Gates and then Panetta, an intensive research-and-development effort and enormously improved planning and training had yielded results. The Americans now had high-precision heavy munitions we couldn't dream of, and stealth air-attack capabilities we also lacked. They had an operational plan which, within a period of hours, could push the Iranian nuclear

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program back by years. And even if the Iranians knew it was coming, they'd be able to do nothing to stop it.

"Our problem, Mr, President," I said, "is that we can't be sure our friend will show up. Since Iran is already very nearly in a zone of immunity against an Israeli attack, we can't afford to wait until the afternoon. By then, with *our* capabilities, we won't even be able to give the bully a black eye." I said I trusted what he'd just told me. "I'm sure it genuinely reflects your intentions now. But there are no futures contracts in statesmanship. There's no way that you, or any leader, can commit yourself to what will happen in a year or two. When the moment of decision arrives, nothing will be able to free you from the responsibility to look at the situation as it is *then*, with *American* interests in mind."

He accepted the point. But he reiterated his view that "kinetic action" – US security-speak for a military strike – would not only remove his ability to exhaust the non-military alternatives. He said it wouldn't be in Israel's interests, either. "We hear that even people high up in your military, in military intelligence and the Mossad, are against it."

That, I couldn't deny. "We highly respect our top people in the military, and in intelligence. We make a point of listening to them before taking action," I said. "But here's the difference. When they look up, they see Netanyahu, or me. When Bibi and I look up, we see heaven. Whoever is up there, we clearly can't go to them for advice. *We* are responsible for Israel's security."

The president smiled, but brought the discussion back down to earth. When he again urged us to consider the American position in any decision, I replied: "Mr President, I feel compelled to tell you frankly how I see the situation. We highly appreciate, and are grateful, that America supports Israel in so many ways. I believe we're doing our best to support American interests in the Middle East as well. But when it comes to issues critical for the security and future of Israel, and in a way for the future of the Jewish people, we can't afford to delegate responsibility even to our best friend and ally. When we face such situations, we have to decide on our own, and act on our decisions. I would expect the United States, and you as its president, to respect that position." He did not seem especially happy with what I'd said. But he showed no anger. Though we differed, it was clear that he understood and respected our position. In any case, I believed it

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was important to convey to him honestly, face-to-face, where Israel stood on Iran. Or at least where I stood.

* * *

With our joint exercises pushed back until the fall, the logical time for us to attack was the summer of 2012, when the atmospheric and weather conditions were optimal. Operationally, everything was ready. Politically, those ministers who were against military action had not changed their minds. If anything, they seemed more strongly opposed. Ironically, they now argued that because we'd *waited* so long, the Iranians were too close to their "window of immunity." Even some senior members of the military and security establishment, though in agreement over the technical aspects of the attack plan, retained political reservations. But as I'd told President Obama, now that we had the operational support of the military and intelligence professionals, the decision in effect rested with Bibi and me. The fact we were ready to go ahead in those circumstances was not unprecedented. When Menachem Begin ordered the bombing of Saddam Hussein's nuclear reactor in 1981, he had acted against the advice of the then-heads of both the Mossad and military intelligence, the chairman of our nuclear energy commission, and of Shimon Peres, who was head of the Labor opposition.

But as we neared our final, formal decision, we were forced into another delay. In the summer of 2012, an unrelated flare-up of tensions in the Gulf caused Iran and several of its neighbors to place their forces on heightened alert. Though the peak-alert phase passed quickly, Iran's military was still not back on a fully normal footing by the start of September, and when small American advance teams began arriving for the joint exercises, Iran's alert level went up again. Technically, we could still have gone ahead with the attack. In all probability, it would still have succeeded, setting back the Iranians' program by at least a year and, depending on how quickly they could rebuild and resupply clandestinely abroad, perhaps for significantly longer.

But as more and more American soldiers and sailors arrived, I finally decided against an Israeli strike – not because I doubted the damage it would do to Iran's nuclear efforts, but because of the damage it would surely do to our ties with the

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US. No matter how we might explain our attack, with the joint exercises soon to begin, it would come over as a deliberate attempt to implicate our most important ally in a potential conflict with Iran, against the explicit wishes of President Obama. I felt this even more strongly when, a few weeks later, I was contacted by one of Bibi's close political allies. He sounded me out on the possibility of launching our strike against Iran *after* the joint exercise: barely two weeks before the 2012 US election. Politically, he argued, Obama would then feel *compelled* to support Israel's action, or at the very least to refrain from criticizing it. In other words, we would be setting a political trap for the President of the United States. I couldn't quite believe he was suggesting it. But my reply to this last-gasp suggestion of a way for us to attack the Iranian sites required no hesitation, and only two words: "No way."

Bibi would have known I would oppose such a ploy. But as with so much else in the years I spent in his government, I think it was the *politics* of the scheme, more than the substance, that enticed him. Almost everything he did seemed increasingly about creating a kind of grand narrative to secure his position on the right, solidifying a base which he figured would sustain him in office. At its core, the narrative presented a picture of vulnerability and victimhood: a kind of "fortress Israel" threatened by terror, missiles on its northern and southern borders, and now potential nuclear annihilation from Iran, while our main ally, the United States, was under the sway of a President who neither understood nor fundamentally supported us. In day-to-day policy terms, this allowed Bibi to insist we couldn't *risk* serious engagement with the Palestinians. On domestic issues as well, like the widening gap between those at the top of our high-tech economy and a painfully squeezed middle class, the sense of crisis he encouraged gave him license to hunker down, warn of impending doom, and do virtually nothing.

Effective though the narrative was for him politically, it bore no resemblance to reality. Yes, President Obama disagreed with us on issues of policy, both the peace process and on how to deal with Iran. But he was unquestionably committed to America's alliance with Israel. I had dealt face-to-face with four US presidents: both of the Bushes, President Clinton and now President Obama. In terms of Israeli security, none had proved as consistently supportive and helpful as Obama. And yes, Israel did face an array of security challenges. A nuclear-armed Iran would undeniably make things worse. But far from being under existential threat, we

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were a regional superpower, with a military as effective as any in the world, and a high-tech economic sector justifiably compared to Silicon Valley.

Every few weeks, Bibi, Lieberman and I would meet for a wide-ranging discussion on the patio of the Prime Minister's residence. Shortly after we'd abandoned the idea of a military strike, I raised head-on my objections to the skewed image Bibi was promoting of our country. It wasn't just inaccurate, I said. Especially when his rhetoric was in full flight, and he compared the prospect of a nuclear Iran to a new "Holocaust," it struck me as a betrayal of the core tenet of Zionism: an state in which Jews were in control of their own destiny. "We *are* in that position now," I said. It was nonsensical to argue we were so threatened by everything around us, for instance, that we couldn't "risk" taking the initiative required to disentangle ourselves from the Palestinians on the West Bank. "I don't get you," I said, turning to Lieberman as well. "Your *rhetoric* suggests you have spines of steel. But your behavior is living proof of the old saying that it's easier to take Jews out of the *galut*, than take the *galut* out of the Jews." *Galut* is Hebrew for the diaspora. "The whole Zionist project was based on the idea of taking our fate into *our own hands*, and actively trying to change the reality around us. But you behave as if we never left the *galut*. You're mired in a mindset of pessimism, passivity and anxiety, which in terms of policy or action, leads to paralysis. Of course, there are risks in any action, or any policy initiative. But in the situation where Israel finds itself, the biggest risk of all is being unable or unwilling to take risks, as if we somehow on the brink of destruction."

I was especially upset by Bibi's increasingly use of Holocaust imagery. "Just think of what you're saying," I told him. "You're Prime Minister of the State of Israel, not a rabbi in a *shtetl*, or a speaker trying to raise funds for Israel abroad. Think of the implications. We're not in Europe in 1937. Or 1947. If it is a 'Holocaust,' what's our response: to fold up and go back to the diaspora? If Iran gets a bomb, it'll be bad. Very bad. But we'll still be here. And we'll find a way of dealing with the new reality."

Yet "fortress Israel" was irresistibly comfortable for Bibi politically. I now had to accept that, while he and I had known each other for more than half-a-century, nothing I could do or say was going to change that. With the next Israeli election months away, in January 2013, I confided to Nili, and then to my closest aides, that I was not going to run for a seat in the Knesset. Israeli military action against Iran

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was off the agenda. The diplomatic process with the Palestinians was stalemated. I could see no point in remaining in the government.

Like my last period in Olmert's government, my final few months were dominated by finding a way to end Hamas attacks from Gaza. During one 24-hour period in November, Hamas launched more than 100 rockets at towns in the south, while also attacking two military units across the border. Especially since our military response would be the last during my time as Defense Minister, I was determined that, this time, it would have a strictly defined objective and a finite time frame. The overall objective hadn't changed since Olmert's premiership: to hit Hamas hard, bring down the number of rocket attacks to as near zero as possible, and reach an agreement, through the Egyptians, which established a period of calm on our border for as long as we could. Bibi's "victimhood" narrative notwithstanding, one aspect of the military balance in the south was now dramatically different. With my backing as Defense Minister, we now had Iron Dome, which I was confident would help deal with the inevitable shower of Hamas rockets that would follow our initial attack. Again, I felt it was essential to start with a quick, unexpected, damaging first strike. Then, through sustained air bombardment, to keep up enough pressure to secure the political arrangement we wanted. And, unlike under Olmert, to end the operation as soon as we'd achieved its aim.

On the afternoon of November 14, we launched a targeted air strike on Hamas's *de facto* chief of staff, Ahmed Jabari. We'd gone after Jabari in the past but, for one reason or another, had failed. We also hit nearly two dozen other Hamas targets, including all of the main missile sites we had identified. The whole operation lasted a week. Hamas fired nearly 1,500 rockets into Israel, not just locally manufactured Qassems but longer-range Iranian Fajr-5s and Russian Grads. For the first time since the 1991 Gulf war, several were targeted at Tel Aviv and Jerusalem. Fortunately, they were not significantly more accurate than in the past. More than half landed in fields or orchards. And with Iron Dome deployed around our major towns and cities, more than 80 per cent were intercepted.

We hit nearly 1,500 targets over the seven-day period, mostly launch-pads, Hamas government installations and weapons stores, but also a number of apartment complexes being used by Hamas as bases or firing points. Bibi rightly pointed out that we were forced to fight a fundamentally asymmetric battle. While Israel began with the principle of directing our fire *away* from civilian areas,

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Hamas based its launchers in precisely those places. So it was not easy. At one point, we announced a call-up of reserves. We hinted at a possible ground incursion. But both Bibi and I knew we were going to avoid that if at all possible, and we did. Though there were inevitable civilian casualties, most of the Palestinians killed were Hamas fighters and leaders, including not just Jabari but the head of Hamas's rocket program. By limiting ourselves to air strikes and naval fire, the Palestinian death toll was around 150, about one-tenth of what it had been in 2008. Six Israelis, including four civilians, lost their lives. On the 21st of November, the cease-fire was announced.

Yet with the election approaching, and my time in public life drawing to a close, I had no illusion that this latest military operation, or future ones, would bring us closer to the negotiating peace with the Palestinians that had eluded us since Oslo. Nor was I confident that, having been unable to mount a military strike of our own on Iran, Obama's "bigger, stronger kid" in the schoolyard would take military action. I did trust him to do all he could to use diplomacy to constrain Iran's efforts to get a bomb. I feared he might fail. Even if he succeeded, I figured the best case would be an agreement that, at least on paper, delayed the Iranians' development of a weapon. My hope remained that Israel's relationship with the Americans would be sufficiently strong for us to reach a formal understanding of what form of surgical military strike each of our countries might take if Iran didn't honor the terms of a negotiated deal.

When I first left political life after my election defeat in 2001, I'd described my status as the equivalent of a reserve officer. I said, and believed, it was unlikely I'd return for the foreseeable future. But I knew it wasn't impossible. This time was different. When I announced publicly that I was leaving politics, five days after the Gaza cease-fire, I pointed that I had spent the greater part of my life as a soldier. I'd never had a burning desire to be a politician. Though I believed that what I'd attempted, and achieved, in government would prove to have safeguarded and strengthened Israel, I knew that important challenges and decisions still lay ahead. So did our unfulfilled dream of being a country that was not just strong, secure and prosperous, but socially just and at peace. Yet I believed it was right to draw my time on the front line of politics to an end. Though I didn't say so, I thought to myself: this time doesn't feel like a step back into the reserves, but genuinely like the end of something. Though my dedication to a secure, strong, just, democratic and ultimately peaceful Israel would not change, whatever contribution I might

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make to our getting there would no longer be on the battlefield, in the *kirya* or around the cabinet table.

As a number of reporters pointed out, when I made the announcement I was relaxed. I looked content, and I was smiling.

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THE HOUSE OF THE NOBLE MAN

CURATED BY WOLFE VON LENKIEWICZ AND VICTORIA GOLEMBIOVSKAYA

Boswall House, 2 Cornwall Terrace
13th - 20th, October 2010

PRESS CLIPPING

INTERNET

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028281

DAZED DIGITAL

http://www.dazeddigital.com/artsandculture/article/8775/1/the-house-of-the-nobleman

Arts & Culture

The House Of The Nobleman

Old Masters are hung in the company of some of the most notorious contemporary artists on the block in a show opposite Frieze Art Fair

Text by John-Paul Pryor

For what is a man profited, if he gains the whole world and loses his own soul? Perhaps this is one question that could be asked of any billionaire art collector. In *The House of The Nobleman*, artist Wolfe von Lenkiewicz examines our relationship to art and the role of the supposedly worldly or noble collector from a non-judgemental critical distance, and exhibits art both old and new (from Manet and Cézanne to The Chapmans and Damien Hirst) in a show that promises to prove contentious. Here, Lenkiewicz's own "resequenced" Picassos will be exhibited against their original counterparts, effectively folding art history in upon itself to create an entirely new kind of dialogue. Dazed Digital went down to his studio to talk nobility, history and the reasons why a lost battle is a battle one thinks one has lost.

Dazed Digital: What is the concept that informs *The House Of The Nobleman*?
Wolfe von Lenkiewicz: When I started to plan the exhibition with the co-curator Victoria Golembiovskaya (by whom I was fascinated because she was instrumental in manoeuvring a submarine in the grand canal in Venice), I began to think about the notion of quality in the 21st century as opposed to the set of values pursued by Marsilio Ficino. The dislocation and decertification of a stable position in the world, which was formally the aristocrat, the king… the noble man. The artist, being perceived at the centre, was seen as a God, and within Ptolemaic concentric rings one moved from dog, to angel, to God. This is a hierarchical linear model, which has been attractive for five centuries in one form or another. The idea of this show is to explore a post-humanist form of compassion – the world is dynamically changing, and no matter how flexible our map may be to quantify it, we will be in an eternal struggle with meaning.

Royal Academy of Arts

http://www.royalacademy.org.uk/ra-magazine/blog/the-house-of-the-nobleman,61,BAR.html

The House of the Nobleman

Posted: 14 October 2010 by Sarah Greenberg, RA Magazine Editor

Most people selling a property try to make it seem welcoming by brewing coffee and - at a stretch – baking bread. But in a world gone mad for property and art, the stakes have been raised. How about a house that's been 'staged' (as they say Stateside) with a built-in art collection, including an eclectic array of work from Picasso to Grayson Perry, Rodin to Richter, Manet to, predictably, Murakami, the artist who famously emblazoned his designs on Louis Vuitton bags.

Yes, the £29m budget is a bit steep, but it needn't put you of from booking a tour to see this renovated mansion in Cornwall Terrace that has been curated by Victoria Golemblovskaya and artist Wolfe Von Lenkiewicz, with the participation of the Saatchi Collection and Channel 4.

Exhibition open until 20 October, 11am – 6pm, by appointment only
www.cornwallterrace.co.uk/boswallhouse

Boswall House Map here
2 Cornwall Terrace
Regent's Park
London NW1 4QP

http://www.timeout.com/london/art/event/203383/the-house-of-the-noble-man

The House of the Noble Man

This event has now finished Until Wed Oct 20 *Boswall House, 2 Cornwall Terrace, London, NW1* Full details & map

Time Out says

Old Masters and famous names from contemporary art, including Picasso, Manet, Cézanne, Damien Hirst, Banksy, Martin Kippenberger and Gerhard Richter, in a show curated by Wolfe von Lenkiewicz and Victoria Golembiovskaya held in an eighteenth-century building close to the Frieze Art Fair. Work from the Saatchi Gallery's 'New Sensations 2010 ' exhibition of graduating students is also on show. Entry is free but by appointment only. Visit the website to book.

Boswall House details

11am-6pm Mon-Sat by appointment only

Address

Boswall House

2 Cornwall Terrace, London, United Kingdom NW1

Transport Baker Street

http://www.cornwallterrace.co.uk/boswallhouse

jotta

http://www.jotta.com/article/events-other/1136/the-house-of-the-noble-man

The House of the Noble Man

15.10.2010

2 Cornwall Terrace, a magnificent 18th-century building off Regent's Park and a stone's throw from Frieze art fair, will be the venue for this spectacular exhibition featuring Old Masters and famous names from contemporary art, including Picasso, Manet, Cézanne, Damien Hirst, Banksy, Martin Kippenberger and Gerhard Richter. Work from the Saatchi Gallery's 'New Sensations 2010 ' including jotta artist Joshua Bilton also on show.

The show imagines the house's inhabitant as a hugely successful trader. Having used his mastery of technology and the possibilities of the information age to amass vast wealth, he aspires to find a shaping narrative for the etiolated form of his existence. Art is one of the avenues in his search.

He may live in a nobleman's house, but he's no blue blood. A tax exile, nomadic by habit, our collector spends his days - and nights - bathed in the blue light of a computer screen, as he trades in dematerialized securities, or prices options based on weather conditions on the other side of the globe: drowned cities viewed remotely via CNN, or better, modelled via a computer simulation.

The roles of the nobleman and artist found a convergence in the figure of Don Quixote, a fool who aspired to the chivalric codes he'd read about in antiquated texts. But this fantasy was a liberation; allowing him to contend with base matter, infusing it with near-infinite possibilities, just as the empirical certainties of the Renaissance would soon give way to the vertiginous perspectives of the new mathematics.

The exhibition updates the Don Quixote model to cast the collector/artist/nobleman as a man without qualities, occupying the privileged space of the capitalist elite, looking down through a virtual window to plot the constantly-changing vectors of matter, bodies and events as they hurtle by on the other side of the glass.
Curated by Victoria Ionina-Golembiovskaya and Wolfe Von Lenkiewicz

Friday 15th to Wednesday the 20th October, 11 am - 6 p.m, by appointment only

2 Cornwall Terrace, The Regent's Park, London NW1

http://798district.com/798/en/blog/tag/the-house-of-the-noble-man/

6m GBP worth of Picassos to go on show during Frieze 0

Posted on September 14, 2010 by Cindy Van Der Rijt

Four rare works by Picasso thought to be worth over £6m and an 1875 Cézanne oil on canvas will go on sale during Frieze week next month in an ambitious exhibition to be held at a London property part owned by a Russian billionaire. The show, entitled "The House of the Noble Man" (12-20 October), will open at 2 Cornwall Terrace, an 18th-century building off Regent's Park in London near to the Frieze Art Fair site. The exhibition is curated by artist Wolfe von Lenkiewicz, whose works will feature in the display, and Russian curator Victoria Golembiovskaya. Around £20m worth of art will be for sale, approximately a third of the show, confirms Von Lenkiewicz.

According to the co-curator, the Picasso pieces on offer will include *Buste d'Homme à la Pipe* (1969, priced at £3m); the 1905 drawing *The Family of Saltimbanques* and a cubist painting, *Nature Morte au Gobelet* (around 1914). An 1875 oil on canvas by Cézanne, *Don Quixote*, is priced at £1.25m. Works by Yves Klein, Egon Schiele, Gerhard Richter, Damien Hirst and Andy Warhol will also be for sale. Von Lenkiewicz's own works will be in the £30,000-£60,000 price range.

Read the full article

Tags: CézanneFrieze Art FairPicassoThe House of the Noble Man
Category Art, Exhibitions

http://www.spoonfed.co.uk/spooners/tom-699/editor-s-choice-exhibitions-3982/

Editor's Choice - Exhibitions

18 October, 2010
by: Tom Jeffreys

Every Monday our editors bring you their personal highlights of the week ahead. Tom Jeffreys selects his top three exhibitions.

Until Wednesday 20th October
House of the Nobleman @ 2 Cornwall Terrace

Of all the bits and bobs that crop up across the capital during Frieze week, this was one of the highlights.

Victoria Golembiovskaya and Wolfe Von Lenkiewicz curate an exhibition in the sumptuous splendour of 2 Cornwall Terrace.

On display are paintings and sculpture by major artists fromn throughout history like Schiele, Picasso, and Manet, dotted among which are this year's Saatchi/Channel 4 New Sensations.

London Evening Standard

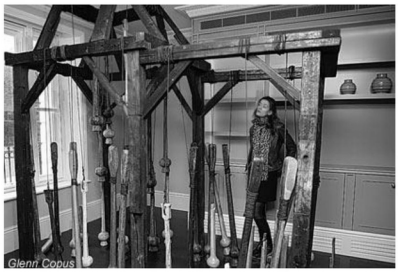
http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-23888111-future-art-stars-cause-a-new-sensation.do

Future art stars cause a New Sensation

Louise Jury, Chief Arts Correspondent
15.10.10

Twenty artists hailed as stars of the future are getting the chance to show their work alongside that of 60 masters, from Picasso and Warhol to Manet, Rodin and Cézanne.

The 20 were chosen from hundreds of graduate students in the New Sensations Prize, a contest now in its fourth year, organised by Charles Saatchi's gallery and Channel 4.



Their work is part of The House of the Nobleman, an exhibition of art borrowed from international collections that is being staged in an 18th-century mansion in Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, a stone's throw from the Frieze Art Fair.

Four of the graduates were selected to receive £1,000 bursaries to develop a project for inclusion. They are: German Pablo Wendel, 30, whose degree work involved squatting in a derelict chip shop to which he built a staircase, later dismantled by Royal College of Art staff in a health and safety row; Katie Surridge, 25, and Russian Nika Neelova, 23, both Slade School graduates, and Ross M Brown, 24, who is still studying in Dundee. One of them will be named this year's overall winner on Monday and the exhibition runs until Wednesday.

Rebecca Wilson, associate director of the Saatchi Gallery, said: "The 20 shortlisted artists have created a stunning range of work, including
photography, painting, installation and sculpture. The exhibition offers a wonderful opportunity to discover the bright stars of the future."

More than half of the graduate artists are based in the capital. "London is still one of the best places to do a fine art degree and has that reputation across the world, as well as being one of the most vibrant centres for contemporary art," Ms Wilson added.

New Sensations at the House of the Nobleman, 2 Cornwall Terrace, is open until Wednesday.

London Evening Standard

http://www.thisislondon.co.uk/standard/article-23885619-how-art-can-make-greed-look-fabulous.do

How art can make greed look fabulous

Olivia Cole
07.10.10

Literature's most sinister art connoisseur is probably Henry James's Gilbert Osmond, the collector of beautiful objects to whom Isabel Archer shackles her fortunes in The Portrait of a Lady. She is at first dazzled by his advice that "one ought to make one's life a work of art", before realising that he has no imagination of his own, only acquisitiveness: beauty by proxy. By that time, as his wife, she is part of his collection.

So how to spot a Gilbert Osmond today? You might imagine one lives in The House of the Nobleman, an exhibition opening next week in a vast Edwardian pile on the borders of Regent's Park to coincide with the nearby Frieze art fair.

Surveying the J20 million-worth of paintings, from Poussin to Warhol via Picasso, visitors are invited to believe that they are in the house of an extravagantly committed collector. This imagined character is someone like Randolph Hearst in Citizen Kane: a rich man with non-existent morals but exquisite taste. Like Dick Fuld, Lehman Brothers' last CEO: earlier this month, it took Christie's days to sell off the bank's art collection.

Here there is no so such owner: this collection has been curated by two artists, Victoria Golembiovskaya and the painter Wolfe von Lenkiewicz. The nobleman of their title is a modern-day Don Quixote, caught between fantasy and reality. Von Lenkiewicz says City practices such as shorting have "no direct relationship to reality". Their modern-day nobleman hankers for meaning and order: beauty even. Hence the kind of people who fervently collect in London. The compulsion to be known not only as loaded but cultured is often observed but rarely examined. It's interesting that this show is staged by artists all of whom have a complex relationship with the kind of people characterised by Vince Cable as merely "spivs and gamblers". Wolfe refers to people who do "unspeakable things" before reiterating that the show isn't a moral judgment.

Even so, their show tries to lift the veil on the activity at Frieze. As a centre for commercial art sustained still by swilling disposable income, London eclipses Paris and New York. Frieze will be swarming with both people like me, who go to look, and hundreds of the modern-day "noblemen" with their Black Amex cards. It's no small irony that The House of the Nobleman naturally has its own massively wealthy backer, Russian property giant Mirax. Greed might not be good but it sure can look fabulous.

And what about the savvier artists? Tracey Emin whines about arts cuts yet moans about her tax bill. Damien Hirst has exploited the market in his own work as ruthlessly as any hedge-funder. Wolfe himself confidently discusses algorithms and is a favourite of collectors such as Bono and Richard Devereux, co-founder of Virgin. London's most successful artists aren't exactly in the gutter, looking at the stars.

THE ART NEWSPAPER

http://www.theartnewspaper.com/articles/£6m-worth-of-Picassos-to-go-on-show-during-Frieze/21495

£6m worth of Picassos to go on show during Frieze

The exhibition, to be held in a property co-owned by a Russian billionaire, also includes works by Warhol, Hirst, Richter and Saatchi's "New Sensations"

By Gareth Harris | Web only
Published online 9 Sep 10 (News)

Four rare works by Picasso thought to be worth over £6m and an 1875 Cézanne oil on canvas will go on sale during Frieze week next month in an ambitious exhibition to be held at a London property part owned by a Russian billionaire. The show, entitled "The House of the Noble Man" (12-20 October), will open at 2 Cornwall Terrace, an 18th-century building off Regent's Park in London near to the Frieze Art Fair site. The exhibition is curated by artist Wolfe von Lenkiewicz, whose works will feature in the display, and Russian curator Victoria Golembiovskaya. Around £20m worth of art will be for sale, approximately a third of the show, confirms Von Lenkiewicz.

According to the co-curator, the Picasso pieces on offer will include *Buste d'Homme à la Pipe* (1969, priced at £3m); the 1905 drawing *The Family of Saltimbanques* and a cubist painting, *Nature Morte au Gobelet* (around 1914). An 1875 oil on canvas by Cézanne, *Don Quixote*, is priced at £1.25m. Works by Yves Klein, Egon Schiele, Gerhard Richter, Damien Hirst and Andy Warhol will also be for sale. Von Lenkiewicz's own works will be in the £30,000-£60,000 price range.

"The Picassos etc. are from anonymous dealers who will take their portion of the percentages. Any other proceeds made during the show will go back into the funding of the exhibition which is hugely expensive despite its sponsorship [by the Russian real estate company Mirax]," adds Von Lenkiewicz. A selection of works from Charles Saatchi's "New Sensations 2010" roster of emerging artists will also be for sale. Twenty students shortlisted for the prize, which is sponsored by Cadogan Tate, have been chosen to present their work; these artists include Matthew Welch, Katie Sims and Pablo Wendel. A non-selling section will include works from the London-based Zabludowicz Collection and the holdings of the Iraqi-born industrialist Ragdan El-akabi.

"The show came about when I was in Moscow exhibiting my work at Triumph Gallery. Victoria took me to the Mirax city project, a huge development in central Moscow. She talked to Sergei Polonsky [head of Mirax] about the Cornwall Terrace buildings which he has shares in. He was willing to sponsor the show," says Von Lenkiewicz. The Mirax group are co-developers of the Cornwall Terrace historical complex, parts of which are up for sale.

DailyMAIL FOLD GALLERY

http://www.foldgallery.com/cgi-bin/mail.cgi/archive/fold/20101011025541/

PHYSICAL PAINTING REMINDER

Simon Callery

Fold Gallery London would like to invite you to the Physical Painting private view this Tuesday evening.

The gallery will be running special extended opening hours this week, we will be opening Wednesday 13th to Sunday 17th from 12 - 6pm.

To coincide with the show at Fold Gallery one of Callery's large-scale paintings will also be on display in The House Of The Nobleman exhibition. Located at 2 Cornwall Terrace in Regents Park and just across from Frieze Art Fair, this show includes works by Picasso, Poussin and Cezanne.

For press on 'The House Of The Nobleman' Exhibition see below link

http://www.theartnewspaper.com/articles/%C2%A36m-worth-of-Picassos-to-go-on-show-during-Frieze/21495

To book a viewing for 'The House Of The Nobleman' Exhibition see below link

http://www.cornwallterrace.co.uk/boswallhouse/

FT.com FINANCIAL TIMES

http://www.ft.com/cms/s/2/e8bd5d0c-d4d5-11df-b230-00144feabdc0.html

Elsewhere in London: what's on and what to see

Published: October 13 2010 01:20 | Last updated: October 13 2010 01:20

With the absence of Zoo, the Pavilion of Art & Design (PAD) (until October 17; www.padlondon.net) will this year play second fiddle to Frieze. This sophisticated fair of modern and contemporary art, design, photography and tribal art from 1860 was conceived by Patrick Perrin and Stéphane Custot and is now in its fourth year. PAD has retained its place in Berkeley Square, a site that offers limited space expansion, but a sought-after Mayfair address.

As auction houses all jostle to cash in on the festival spirit, Christie's is launching an initiative entitled Multiplied (October 15-18; www.multipliedartfair.com) at its South Kensington saleroom. The focus of this fair is contemporary art editions – photographs, prints, artists' books and 3D multiples – and there will be big names, including John Baldessari, Mat Collishaw and Gerald Laing, on sale for small prices.

Another example of canny innovation – or outsiders crashing the party – is House of the Nobleman at 2 Cornwall Terrace (October 15-20; www.cornwallterrace.co.uk/boswallhouse). This is a property viewing with a difference: not only is the house itself on the market, but so is much of the art – including works by Pablo Picasso, Helen Chadwick and Grayson Perry – that decorates its interior.

While the majority of Frieze Week events take place in grandiose settings in London's West End, a couple of contrasting fairs are capitalising on sites in the city's East End. The Future Can Wait (until October 17; www.thefuturecanwait.com), an alternative fair started by trusted talent-spotters Zavier Ellis and Simon Rumley, returns to Shoreditch Town Hall for the fourth year running.

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028292

artnet

http://www.artnet.com/magazineus/news/artnetnews/frieze-week-preview10-8-10.asp

HERE COMES FRIEZE WEEK

Oct. 8, 2010

Here it comes. Next week, Oct. 14-17, 2010, is London's time to shine like the diamond it is in the international art-market sun, as **Frieze Week** bows in the British super-city. With dozens of events and most of the best galleries making the trip, the whole thing is exhausting just to think about. Here, then, a quick-and-dirty summary of some of the highlights. We're sure we've missed a few, but this'll do to start:

FRIEZE
Of course the centerpiece, as usual, is the **Frieze Art Fair** itself, going up in Regent's Park. The selection is top-notch, with some 173 exhibitors on board, including most of the top dealers you'd expect.

MORE, MORE, MORE
Much more is going on, including big events like the launch of **Ai Weiwei**'s Turbine Hall installation at **Tate Modern**. We, however, prefer to focus on some of the freakier offerings.

Or what about the **The Museum of Everything** in Primrose Hill, which was "regarded as the most successful new addition to the Frieze scene last year" (according to the *Independent*). For the third exhibition at the space, opening Oct. 13, Pop art pioneer **Peter Blake** curates a show of "outsider" art and artifacts, including pieces by **Morton Bartlett**, **James Castle**, **Henry Darger** and **Martin Ramirez**. During Frieze Week, contemporary art stars like Bob & Roberta Smith, Polly Morgan and **Jeremy Deller** are scheduled for various tours and talks at the Museum. Worth a swing by.

Then there is the mysterious **House of the Noble Man**, Oct. 12-20, at 2 Cornwall Terrace, an 18th-century building off Regent's Park, near Frieze. What exactly this show *is* remains unclear, but it is some kind of conceptual selling exhibition, sponsored by the Russian billionaire who owns the property, and curated by artist **Wolfe von Lenkiewicz** with Russian curator **Victoria Golembiovskaya**. Lenkiewicz, for his part, describes it as "a curatorial concept playing with the idea of commerce, mirroring the [art] market with irony." *The Art Newspaper* reports that some £20-million in art will be for sale, including works by **Picasso** and **Cézanne**, as well as a selection of works from **Charles Saatchi**'s "New Sensations 2010" roster of emerging artists, and the holdings of the Iraqi-born industrialist **Ragdan El-akabi**.

artnet

http://www.artnet.com/magazineus/reviews/jones/frieze-art-week10-22-10.asp

LONDON DISPATCH

by Laura K. Jones

Powerless against the magnetic force towing them in to the bowels of Regent's Park, 60,000 visitors to the eighth edition of the Frieze Art Fair were faced with a decision. What to buy from an array of works whose combined price came to $365 million?

Would it be *The True Artist Helps the World by Revealing Mystic Truths*, a sprawling Damien Hirst cabinet containing a school of pickled fish, priced at $5.6 million? The huge work turned out to be the star sale of the fair, as was widely reported, when it was flogged immediately from the White Cube stand during the Frieze preview. Apparently, the cynical press refers to the vernissage as "Billionaires Day," and indeed, attendees included Claudia Schiffer, Charles Saatchi, Steve Cohen (a first timer to the fair) and Dasha Zhukova.

So powerful has Frieze become that commercial galleries, public spaces and auction houses now tie their activities to it more than ever. Off-site auctions saw Phillips de Pury selling David Hockney's *Autumn Pool* for $2 million and Christie's flogging Andreas Gursky's photograph of the New York Stock Exchange for $700,000, almost three times its estimate.

Harry Blain and Graham Southern, former directors of Haunch of Venison, inaugurated their new gallery, BlainSouthern, with "Creation Condemned," a hypnotic and troubling show by Mat Collishaw of images of pole dancers, frenzied burning butterflies and the great ravines that were left when the Taliban destroyed the Bamiyan Buddhas. Fusing symbols of decadence and decay, Collishaw makes lithophanes -- in this case, images etched in thin, translucent Corian, lit from behind with slowly pulsating lights. Blain and Southern afterwards invited the art world to the Ivy Club until the early hours of the next morning.

Then, it was onwards and upwards to "The House of the Noble Man," a super-slick exhibition in an 18th-century Cornwall Terrace townhouse near to the Frieze site (an address, according to the *Art Newspaper*, thought to be being prepped for sale to former U.S. president Bill Clinton) that was co-curated by polymath artist Wolfe Lenkiewicz and Victoria Golembiovskaya. The show felt like serious money, including as it did Andy Warhol works I'd never even seen *images* of before, plus things by Poussin, Manet, Cézanne, Picasso, Hirst and Kippenberger.

Over its five floors, "Noble Man" also housed work from the Saatchi Gallery's "New Sensations 2010" exhibition of graduating students. Stand-out pieces included *So Over*, a room full of animal hides by Kate Surridge, a sculpture student at Slade School, and *I Used to Think*, an exceptional cautionary film about the bleeding-eyed X Factor generation by a man called Lee Holden. Amazingly sinister, the slo-mo montage included images of Britney Spears, a live lobotomy, a childlike Japanese robot and a woman suffering paranoid delusions, all to a haunting soundtrack of modern music and computer sounds.

ArtLyst

http://www.artlyst.com/articles/top-10-frieze-week-art-events

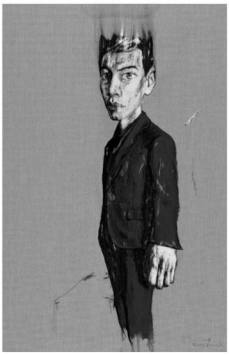
Top 10 Frieze Week Art Events

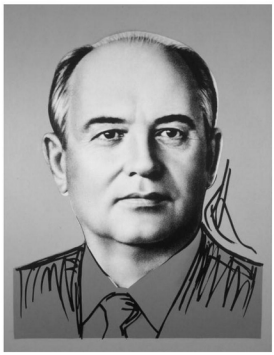
This is the ArtLyst top 10 list of events and exhibitions in and around London during Frieze week . The corridor is jam packed with exciting things to experience and see before the phenomenon finishes on the 17 October. Frieze costs around £30 but many of the other events are actually Free !

Frieze Art Fair 14 – 17 October features over 150 of the most exciting contemporary art galleries in the world. The fair also includes specially commissioned artists' projects, a prestigious talks programme and an artist-led education schedule. Around £30 for a one day pass. Fair Information

Ai Weiwei, Tate Modern Unilever series turbine hall installation. Tate Modern London Bankside Free

Vanitas - The Transience of Earthly Pleasures. The exhibition will take place in the sumptuous setting of the former Sierra Leone Embassy on 33 Great Portland Street during this year's Frieze Art Fair.The Age of the Marvellous exhibition, which attracted over 4,000 visitors during Frieze Art Fair last October was in ArtLyst's top ten exhibitions of 2009. Now All Visual Arts (AVA) has announced its upcoming fall show Vanitas: The Transience of Earthly Pleasures. Conceived and curated by Joe La Placa and Mark Sanders of AVA, the exhibition is a contemporary update on the four hundred year old theme of the Vanitas first developed in Holland and Northern Europe in the mid to late 17th century. from October the 11th until the 17th. Free





House of the Noble Man, Oct. 12-20, at 2 Cornwall Terrace, an 18th-century building off Regent's Park, near Frieze. Modern Masters in opulent setting.

ARTINFO

http://www.artinfo.com/news/story/36017/artinfo-uks-guide-to-frieze-week-2010/

ARTINFO UK's Guide to Frieze Week 2010

By Coline Milliard, ARTINFO UK

Published: October 11, 2010

LONDON— **Frieze Week** is upon us! Europe's largest contemporary art fair has staked its tent in **Regent's Park**, bringing with it an estimated $375 million in work by brand-name artists and emerging talents alike, and London is seething with exhibitions and events to welcome the collectors, tastemakers, and various art grandees descending on the city. What to see? Where to go? **ARTINFO UK** has a few recommendations.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 13 With still two days to go before **Frieze Art Fair** opens to the public, today is the perfect day to indulge in a bit of London tourism, mixing in visits to the city's West End galleries. Stroll down Piccadilly and stop at **Thomas Dane Gallery**, on Duke Street, for the **Kelley Walker** exhibition. On Heddon Street — a continental oasis at the heart of Central London — Aicon Gallery has put together an excellent exhibition retracing artist and thinker Rasheed Araeen's first fifteen years of production, beginning in 1959. Two other good shows on the same street are Paola Pivi at **Carlson** and Jimmie Durham at **Sprovieri**. You can also discover Sadie Coles' new space in **New Burlington Place**, inaugurated with an exhibition of Urs Fisher's sculptures.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14 You've done Tate Britain, do you really need to go to **Tate Modern**? Of course you do. First, the newly opened **Gauguin** exhibition is stunning and simply impossible to miss (it has been described by the Times as "the show of the season — in fact of the whole year). Second, the new commission by **Ai Weiwei**, was recently unveiled in **Turbine Hall**. You can then head north to enjoy Fergus Henderson's English cuisine at **St. John Bar & Restaurant** in Smithfield, before wandering to **ROKEBY** for their exhibition of German-born, London-based artist Bettina Buck.

Today is also a good day to see "The House of the Noble Man," an exhibition curated by artist Wolfe von Lenkiewicz and Russian curator Victoria Golembiovskayan. It includes a **Cézanne**, £6 million ($9.6 million) worth of **Picasso**, as well as pieces by Damien Hirst, Christian Boltanski, Andy Warhol, **Gerhard Richter**, and many more — all in the historical setting of **Cornwall Terrace** as it overlooks Regent's Park. *(This event is by appointment only at Boswell House, 2 Cornwall Terrace, Regents Park, London NW1. To arrange a visit, register at: http://www.cornwallterrace.co.uk/boswallhouse/).*

PaulFraser Collectibles

http://www.paulfrasercollectibles.com/section.asp?docid=4519&catid=26

Rare Picasso works worth over £6m to be sold in October auction alongside Hirst and Warhol

Four pieces by the Cubist painter go on sale next month and could see record prices

Regent's Park in London is set to be the home of four very special artworks by the world renowned Spanish artist Pablo Picasso.

The works, believed to worth over £6m ($9.3m) will be exhibited as part of a show called "The House of the Noble Man" which is running from October 12 to 20 at 2 Cornwall Terrace in Regents park, London.

The works will go on sale alongside an 1875 Cézanne oil on canvas work, during Frieze week.

According to the co-curator of the exhibit, the four Picasso works on offer will include a 1905 drawing entitled "The Family of Saltimbanques", a 1914 Cubist painting titled "Nature Morte au Gobelet" and the 1969 piece "Buste d'Hommeà la Pipe" which is currently price at £3m ($4.6).

In addition to this the exhibit will have works by Yves Klein, Gerhard Richter, Egon Schiele and the more familiar names of Andy Warhol and Damien Hirst.

The Picasso works are believed to have come from anonymous dealers, whilst a selection of pieces has also come from Charles Saatchi's "New Sensations 2010" roster of emerging artists.

However, for many collectors the undoubted focus of the event will be the four works by Picasso.

Picasso's work is arguably some of the most valued and collectible on the market due to his position as a pioneer and co-creator of the artistic form of Cubism.

There works subverted the traditional notion of painting an object, instead breaking them up and re-assembling them in a abstract work to create an ambiguous and thought provoking piece of art.

Harper's BAZAAR

http://www.harpersbazaar.co.uk/fashion/blog/the-editors/house-of-noble-man

House of Noble Man

Oct 18, 2010 04:06:00 PM by Sarah Bailey

I love the extraordinary and intriguing exhibitions which one encounters around the edges of Frieze. 2009's *The Age of the Marvellous* at One Marylebone (curated by AVA) was one such discovery - dark and theatrical - which stayed with me all year...

This year's *House of Noble Man* (a collaboration between the Saatchi Gallery and Channel 4's New Sensations), is another spectacular show of a very different flavour mounted in No. 2 Cornwall Terrace, a gleaming showcase of *super-prime* real-estate. (I attended on the opening night and was treated to a tour of two other oligarch-ready show mansions at No.6 and 11 Cornwall Terrace, by a dashing Knight Frank estate agent by the name of Darren Daggers... Quite surreal, but, of course, an incredibly resonant statement about the current art market).

Back at No. 2 Cornwall Terrace, *House of Noble Man* curated by Victoria Golembiovskaya and artist-of-the-moment Wolfe Von Lenkiewicz mixes work from the giants of modern art - Cezanne and Picasso - with some dazzling and provocative contemporary pieces plus, of course, Channel 4's New Sensations discoveries.

I loved the filigree *Cement Truck* sculpture by Wim Delvoye (the Belgian conceptual artist probably best-known for his work in the 90s involving the tattooing of live pigs), Rachel Whiteread's dolls house chess set and New Sensation Elizabeth Jordan's dream-like kinetic installation, which she is showing in an upper bedroom. Of course, there's nothing like a Frieze party to lure out London's finest exhibitions and I was very pleased to meet showgoer Philip Levine, who uses his bald pate (bejeweled on this occasion as though he is wearing a Swarovski swim cap) as his canvas. His next show, he informs me, is being sponsored by Gilette...

House of Noble Man is on until Wednesday October 20, so do try and see it. Entry is free, but you have to book an appointment.
2 Cornwall Terrace, London, United Kingdom, NW1, cornwallterrace.co.uk
(Image: 'House of Noble Man', curated by Victoria Golembiovskaya and Wolfe Von Lenkiewicz.)

THE INDEPENDENT

http://www.independent.co.uk/news/business/news/art-in-residence-redeveloped-park-terrace-hosts-exhibit-2102450.html

Art in Residence: Redeveloped park terrace hosts exhibit

By Deirdre Hipwell

Sunday, 10 October 2010

Curators Victoria Golembiovskaya and Wolfe Von Lenkiewicz, in collaboration with the Saatchi Gallery and Channel 4's New Sensations, will host an art exhibition starting next Sunday showcasing famous works by artists such as Paul Cezanne and Pablo Picasso.

The House of the Nobleman exhibit, which coincides with the Frieze Art Fair, will be held at the mansion No 2 Cornwall Terrace in Regents Park and will include works from several international art collections. No 2 Cornwall Terrace has been extensively redeveloped by developer Oakmayne Bespoke and is part of a much larger redevelopment of Cornwall Terrace to create eight mansions. The houses are up for sale starting at £29m.

THE INDEPENDENT

http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/art/features/frieze-art-fair-2010-get-ready-for-british-arts-biggest-week-2100683.html

Frieze Art Fair 2010: Get ready for British art's biggest week

Frieze Art Fair is back – and it's bigger than ever, with 173 international galleries. Alice Jones looks forward to this year's event and the week-long whirl of auctions, exhibitions and parties it brings to London

Friday, 8 October 2010

As always, the proof will be in the purchasing, but signs that confidence has returned to the market can already be found in the buzz around the traditional run of Frieze week auctions. At Christie's, Hirst will be auctioned alongside two works by Gerhard Richter (valued at up to £1m) and, hollow laugh, Andreas Gursky's photomontage of the New York Stock Exchange, last seen hanging in the boardroom at Lehman Brothers (estimate: £100,000 – £150,000). Sotheby's has Jerry Hall's extraordinary collection up for sale – including work by Frank Auerbach, Lucian Freud and Andy Warhol. And Phillips de Pury will hope to break the £1m mark with David Hockney's Autumn Pool while Maurizio Cattelan's Una Domenica a Rivara, a rope of knotted bedsheets to hang from a window, is estimated to sell at £400,000 to £600,000. Elsewhere, in a bold new addition to the landscape, £20m-worth of art will go on sale in an 18th-century mansion part-owned by the Russian real-estate billionaire Sergei Polonsky. The House of the Noble Man, a stone's throw from Frieze in Cornwall Terrace, is curated by Victoria Golembiovskaya and the artist Wolfe von Lenkiewicz and will include four rare Picassos and Cezanne's Don Quixote.

For all of these and more, the international arterati will descend on London next week, jetting in from the traditional hot spots of New York, Berlin and Moscow, as well as from the emerging collector territories of the Middle East, India and China for what is now known simply as Frieze week. It's no longer just about the fair; a whole city's-worth of cultural activity has coalesced around those big white marquees. The breakfast views are booked in, the big museum shows are up and the parties – from a Frieze week opener at the Groucho Club to the ritzy annual Cartier dinner at Bar Boulud and ArtReview's Power 100 party at Sketch – are planned. After its initial struggles, the hype-filled boom years and fear-filled bust years, Frieze is now firmly established, an unmissable stop-off between Basel and Miami on the global art calendar. A decade ago, London didn't even have its own contemporary art fair. Now, for five days in mid- October, the art set wouldn't dream of being anywhere else.

ARTOFFICIALSPACE

http://www.artofficialspace.co.uk/exhibitions.htm

Exhibitions

Upcoming Shows

House of the Nobleman
f/ Ben Grainger & Sean Penlington
Friday 15th - 20th October, 2010
2 Cornwall Terrace,
London, NW1 4QP
www.saatchigallery.com/4newsensations

Past Shows

How It All Worked Out @ International 3
f/ Ben Grainger & Sean Penlington
Saturday 10th - 30th July, 2010
The International 3
8 Fairfield st
Manchester
UK
M1 3GF
Opening night on the 9th @ 6:00pm

Bernard Evans

http://www.bernardevans.co.uk/artNews.php?nlId=2728

The Art Market: a house party

2010-Oct-11

By Georgina Adam www.google.co.uk

"Frieze week" kicks off this week in London, drawing the cream of the art world to Britain's capital. It is centred of course on the fair that started it all (Frieze opens to the public in Regent's Park on Thursday), but a host of satellite events are also on offer. One of the more intriguing is taking place just down the road from the fair, at 2 Cornwall Terrace, part of an enormously expensive real estate project being developed and sold.

In what appears to be a sophisticated way of selling both art and the property, the 18th-century mansion is being used as a temporary venue for an exhibition entitled *The House of the Nobleman*, October 15-20. The format is hybrid, both commercial and non-commercial, with 68 works on show, half of them loans from collectors – one is David Roberts, the rest are secret – the other half consisting of works of art for sale.

The House of the Nobleman is curated by the artist Wolfe von Lenkiewicz, who has teamed up with a young Russian curator, Victoria Golembiovskaya. It is backed by Mirax, a Russian real estate company that has a "significant but minority" stake in the Cromwell Terrace complex. Mirax belongs to a Russian billionaire, Sergei Polonsky, but Mirax has been troubled since the financial recession and has a reported $120m in debt; the firm did not respond to a request for comment. The eight houses in the Cromwell Terrace complex are priced between £29m and £60m.

Various dealers, from the UK and elsewhere, are contributing works of art to the show; they range from two paintings by Poussin to Picasso's "Buste d'Homme à la Pipe" (1969), priced at £3m. Banksy, Richter, Klein, Rodin, Cézanne and Warhol are the unlikely bedfellows in the show, which includes two works by Von Lenkiewicz himself (at £60,000 and £50,000) and about 22 consigned by Charles Saatchi. While entry is free, visitors must register for admission (**www.cornwallterrace.co.uk**); they will be taken around in groups of 50, according to the curators.

SAATCHI ONLINE

http://magazine.saatchionline.com/top-10-shows/editor%E2%80%99s-pick-%E2%80%93-top-international-shows

Editor's Pick – Top International Shows

By Rebecca Wilson · October 11, 2010 · Top 10 Shows, Worldwide ·

Frieze Art Fair
October 14 – 17, 2010
Regent's Park London NW1
http://www.friezeartfair.com/

It's Frieze Week once again with 170 galleries from around the world presenting their artists at the fair. There are also talks by Wolfgang Tilmanns, Thomas Demand, Jeremy Deller and Bridget Riley, plus an exciting music and film programme. With Zoo not happening this year, the best emerging artists will be found at Sunday, a new fair at P3 Ambika space on Marylebone Road (just a stone's throw from Regent's Park) and supported by the Zabludowicz Collection.

New Sensations 2010
15-20 October 2010
2 Cornwall Terrace London NW1
www.saatchigallery.com/4ns

This year's New Sensations show, featuring 20 recent graduates shortlisted for the Saatchi Gallery and Channel 4's prize for art students, is taking place on Cornwall Terrace overlooking Regent's Park as part of a much larger exhibition, 'The House of the Nobleman' which showcases many remarkable works form private collections by artists such as Picasso, Beuys, Kippenberger, Hirst, and Gupta. New Sensations offers a fantastic opportunity to buy works by bright stars of the future.

QUINTESSENTIALLY™

http://www.quintessentially.com/insider/tag/london-art-gallery/

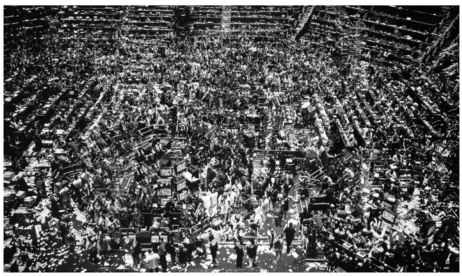
Posts Tagged 'london art gallery'

The Inferno in the Frieze
Thursday, October 14th, 2010

As Frieze mania draws to a close, the capital is playing host to a number of enthralling and original surrounding exhibitions and events this weekend.

The labyrinth of tunnels beneath Waterloo Station have been taken over by the Lazarides Gallery, who have installed a mind blowing exhibition called 'Hell's Half Acre'. The space has been transformed into a large-scale evocation of Dante's literary masterpiece *Inferno* in which a group of young, cutting-edge artists have produced a multi-sensory interpretation of hell, a strange consort of voodoo dolls, taxidermy, suspended bodies and barking staffies. For something a little lighter, seek out Conor Harrington's fleet of suspended model ships and their shadows, as well a Jonathan Yeo nude in 3D. *Until 17th October.*

Catch the 'Anticipation Show' in Selfridges' Ultra-lounge. It has fast become a celebrated, annual showcase of the hottest artists of the moment, and is curated by Kay Saatchi and Catriona Warren. Photographers Noemie Goudal and Robin Friend make stunning contributions with their antithetical takes on the natural landscape. And painter Robert Dowling is no doubt a star in the making material with his clean, monochromatic wall pieces. With arresting video installations and jaw dropping sculptural work from Blue Curry on show too, get yourself down there for a glimpse of the future. *Until 10th November.*



For a star studded affair with big names and big pieces, check out 'The House of the Nobleman'. A special exhibition curated by 'All Visual Arts' Wolfe von Lenkiewicz and Victoria Golembiovskaya, you'll see heralded gems from the likes of Edouard Manet and Picasso jostle alongside iconic Yves Klein and Ron Arad design pieces. The makers and shakers of Modern and Contemporary art await your perusal. Rarely will see you such a heavyweight list of artists all showing under one roof. *Until 20th October at Boswall House, 2 Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, NW1. By appointment only.*

www.cornwallterrace.co.uk/boswallhouse.

Ross M Brown

http://www.rossmbrown.co.uk/articles.html

News

Saatchi New Sensations 2010
28/09/10

I have been selected to exhibit at the Saatchi/Channel 4 New Sensations show in London alongside 20 other graduates from across the country.

The exhibition will be held at 2 Cornwall Terrace next to Regent's Park from the 14th to the 20th of October. New Sensations will be on display alongside the exhibition "The House of the Noble Man", curated by Wolfe von Lenkiewicz.

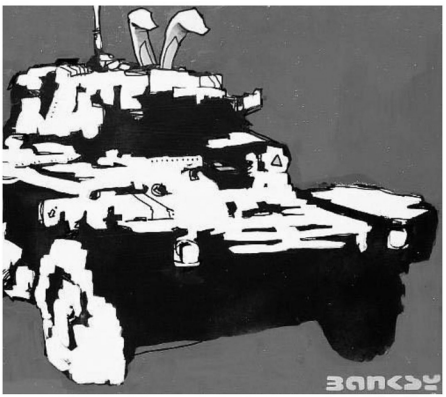
http://www.4rss.com/cadogan-tate-sponsors-new-sensations-art-exhibition.html

Cadogan Tate Sponsors 'New Sensations' Art Exhibition

(PRWEB) October 17, 2010

Cadogan Tate, the world class art moving, storage and shipping specialist in contemporary art, has sponsored the 'New Sensations 2010' exhibition for UK art students. Organised by Channel 4 and The Saatchi Gallery, this prestigious event aims to discover the most imaginative and talented artists graduating from BA and MA courses in the UK and to support students leaving art college.

A total of 20 students were shortlisted to present their work in the exhibition. This is being held at Boswall House, 2 Cornwall Terrace - a magnificent 18th century building off Regent's Park - from 14th to 20th October. The event forms part of 'The House of the Nobleman', under the curatorship of Wolfe von Lenkiewicz and Victoria Golembiovskaya.



Four of the finalists in New Sensations 2010 - Pablo Wendel, Katie Surridge, Nika Neelova and Ula Wiznerowicz - have each been given a bursary to develop a new work for the exhibition. A short film about each of them was aired on Channel 4 in early October.

Stephen Glynn, Cadogan Tate's Fine Art Director, comments: "We are delighted to be the sponsors of this important exhibition, which showcases the talent of some remarkable young artists. We have spent many years transporting and storing the world's most precious contemporary art for leading museums, galleries and collectors. It therefore seemed very appropriate that we should support and encourage the UK's leading art students through this exciting event."

THE HUFFINGTON POST
NOVEMBER 24, 2010

http://www.huffingtonpost.com/artinfo/artinfo-uks-guide-to-frie_b_759911.html

ARTINFO UK's Guide to Frieze Week 2010

Posted: October 12, 2010 03:11 PM

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WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 14

You've done Tate Britain, do you really need to go to Tate Modern? Of course you do. First, the newly opened Gauguin exhibition is stunning and simply impossible to miss (it has been described by the Times as "the show of the season -- in fact of the whole year). Second, the new commission by Ai Weiwei, was recently unveiled in Turbine Hall. You can then head north to enjoy Fergus Henderson's English cuisine at St. John Bar & Restaurant in Smithfield, before wandering to ROKEBY for their exhibition of German-born, London-based artist Bettina Buck.

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EURO2day

http://www.euro2day.gr/ftcom_en/126/articles/607101/ArticleFTen.aspx

The Art Market: a house party

Published: **21:54 - 06/10/10**

The tabular content relating to this article is not available to view. Apologies in advance for the inconvenience caused.

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http://markets.financialcontent.com/stocks/news/read?GUID=15146274

Cadogan Tate Sponsors 'New Sensations' Art Exhibition

Sunday October 17, 2010 - 06:04 AM EDT

Cadogan Tate, the world class art moving, storage and shipping specialist in contemporary art (http://www.cadogantate.com/fineart/contemporary-art-services.html), has sponsored the 'New Sensations 2010' exhibition for UK art students. Organised by Channel 4 and The Saatchi Gallery, this prestigious event aims to discover the most imaginative and talented artists graduating from BA and MA courses in the UK and to support students leaving art college.

A total of 20 students were shortlisted to present their work in the exhibition. This is being held at Boswall House, 2 Cornwall Terrace - a magnificent 18th century building off Regent's Park - from 14th to 20th October. The event forms part of 'The House of the Nobleman', under the curatorship of Wolfe von Lenkiewicz and Victoria Golembiovskaya.

Four of the finalists in New Sensations 2010 - Pablo Wendel, Katie Surridge, Nika Neelova and Ula Wiznerowicz - have each been given a bursary to develop a new work for the exhibition. A short film about each of them was aired on Channel 4 in early October.

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Read the full story at http://www.prweb.com/releases/2010/10/prweb4659384.htm.

http://the-original-neonneon.blogspot.com/2010_10_01_archive.html

The Neon Art of Tracey Emin

Monday, 11 October 2010

Last Friday was spent at 2 Cornwall Terrace, London NW1 next to Regent's Park installing "I Kiss You" by Tracey Emin for "The House of the Nobleman" art exhibition running from October 15th-20th and coinciding with the Frieze Art Fair. Curated by artist Wolfe von Lenkiewicz and Victoria Golembiovskaya the show comprises 68 works of art from both private collectors and art dealers including works by Picasso, Poussin, Rodin, Cezanne, Warhol, Banksy and of course Tracey Emin.

Entry to the exhibition is free but you will need to register for admission. Well worth a look if you are going to Frieze.

http://stuartblakley.blogspot.com/2010/10/house-of-nobleman.html

The House of the Nobleman
Yes But Is It Art?

An Elegant Madness: High Society in Regency England
Saturday morning. What to do what to do? Fortunately a rather nice invite has arrived to the mysteriously named House of the Nobleman. It's Before Midday and North of The River but said nobleman is allegedly a Russian billionaire so it's hard to say no. Plus champers and canapés are champers and canapés. And it's a gallery in a house so really we have to check out the competition.
http://www.oakmayneproperties.com
"Highlight of Freeze!" shouts the press release. We'll see. First impressions are good. The house is on the Outer Circle of The Regent's Park and just like the theatre that's the place to be hot. Important looking girl asks us have we been invited. "Qu'est-ce que c'est?"

Indoors, the ceilings are surprisingly low for us six footers. The interior designer clearly has a penchant for egg-&-dart cornicing. It's everywhere, except where it's broken by over-scaled doors. Marble bathrooms, lit stair treads, shiny black kitchen. It's all a bit bling for Lavender's Blue taste and we don't really do Post 1900 anyway.

But my gosh the art on display reads like a Who's Who list. Here's a tour:

"Is it Art or is it a Chair?" asks Zelda in a loud stage whisper

But where's the Bubbly?
When Alvar met Andy on the landing

http://www.olyviafineart.com/blog/?cat=1

The House of a Noble Man

Posted on October 14, 2010 by admin

Olyvia Fine Art invites you to the exhibition "The House of a Noble Man" , where we'll be exhibiting some works by Andy Warhol. THE HOUSE OF A NOBLE MAN 15 – 20 October 2010 Boswall House, 2 Cornwall Terrace, … Continue reading →

Posted in Uncategorized | Leave a comment

Diplomat Magazine, October 2010

Posted on October 12, 2010 by admin

Posted in Uncategorized | Leave a comment

Evening Standard Magazine, September 2010

Posted on October 12, 2010 by admin

Posted in Uncategorized | Leave a comment

Must have, Must See, Must Do … Daily Mail 19/10/2010

Posted on October 4, 2010 by admin

Posted in Uncategorized | Leave a comment

"An Intimate Exhibition … on an Influential Movement" Shortlist Magazine

Posted on September 16, 2010 by admin

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http://artbistro.monster.com/news/articles/11590-6m-worth-of-picassos-to-go-on-show-during-frieze

£6m worth of Picassos to go on show during Frieze

Gareth Harris, October 15, 2010

Four rare works by Picasso thought to be worth over £6m and an 1875 Cézanne oil on canvas will go on sale during Frieze week next month in an ambitious exhibition to be held at a London property part owned by a Russian billionaire. The show, entitled "The House of the Noble Man" (12-20 October), will open at 2 Cornwall Terrace, an 18th-century building off Regent's Park in London near to the Frieze Art Fair site. The exhibition is curated by artist Wolfe von Lenkiewicz, whose works will feature in the display, and Russian curator Victoria Golembiovskaya. Around £20m worth of art will be for sale, approximately a third of the show, confirms Von Lenkiewicz.

According to the co-curator, the Picasso pieces on offer will include *Buste d'Homme à la Pipe* (1969, priced at £3m); the 1905 drawing *The Family of Saltimbanques* and a cubist painting, *Nature Morte au Gobelet* (around 1914). An 1875 oil on canvas by Cézanne, *Don Quixote*, is priced at £1.25m. Works by Yves Klein, Egon Schiele, Gerhard Richter, Damien Hirst and Andy Warhol will also be for sale. Von Lenkiewicz's own works will be in the £30,000-£60,000 price range. "The Picassos etc. are from anonymous dealers who will take their portion of the percentages. Any other proceeds made during the show will go back into the funding of the exhibition which is hugely expensive despite its sponsorship [by the Russian real estate company Mirax]," adds Von Lenkiewicz. A selection of works from Charles Saatchi's "New Sensations 2010" roster of emerging artists will also be for sale. Twenty students shortlisted for the prize, which is sponsored by Cadogan Tate, have been chosen to present their work; these artists include Matthew Welch, Katie Sims and Pablo Wendel. A non-selling section will include works from the London-based Zabludowicz Collection and the holdings of the Iraqi-born industrialist Ragdan El-akabi.

"The show came about when I was in Moscow exhibiting my work at Triumph Gallery. Victoria took me to the Mirax city project, a huge development in central Moscow. She talked to Sergei Polonsky [head of Mirax] about the Cornwall Terrace buildings which he has shares in. He was willing to sponsor the show," says Von Lenkiewicz. The Mirax group are co-developers of the Cornwall Terrace historical complex, parts of which are up for sale. Ironically the exhibition, awash with blue-chip items, is meant to reflect the typical tastes of a 21st-century collector who may well treat art as a commodity. "The notion of the noble man with *sangre azul*, [with] blue blood developing a blue-grey skin tone from eating off the family silver, has prevailed for centuries. But this idea is bankrupt, outmoded. Our collector spends his days and nights bathed in the blue light of a computer screen, as he trades in dematerialised securities, or price options based on weather conditions on the other side of the globe," according to a press statement. "It is important that the show comes across strongly as a curatorial concept playing with the idea of commerce, mirroring the [art] market with irony. We based the idea around nobility and bankrupt values in a post humanist age," says Von Lenkiewicz.

scene.
art design culture ideas

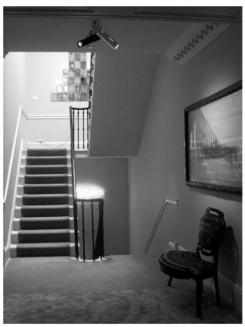
http://www.alyngriffiths.com/scene/2010/10/the-house-of-the-noble-man/

The House of the Noble Man

October 18th, 2010

This presentation of works by some of the world's best known artists was intended more as a showcase for the incredible property in which it took place than for the art itself. The eight residences in this newly redeveloped Regency terrace happen to be on the market at the moment and, with the Frieze Art Fair taking place a stone's throw away in Regent's Park, this was a perfect opportunity to entice wealthy collectors to view a potential home or pied-à-terre.

The House of the Noble Man is supposed to evoke the home of a fictitious 21st century merchant – a digital tycoon, trader and investor who collects art as a way of lending materiality to his otherwise transient and ethereal existence.



Only the best will do in this sort of setting and curators Wolfe von Lenkiewicz and Victoria Golembiovskaya managed to procure an astonishing selection of pieces including paintings, sculpture and installation works by Yves Klein, Alexander Calder, Gerhard Richter, Andy Warhol, Damien Hirst, Tracey Emin and Banksy.

Contemporary design furniture from Carpenters Workshop Gallery helped to remind the visitor that you were in a home rather than a gallery.

Also included in the presentation were the works of the four finalists from Channel 4 and the Saatchi Gallery's New Sensations 2010, a prize for artists graduating from UK art courses.

It would be impossible not to be impressed by the ambition and quality of this presentation and it certainly provided a refreshingly serene and luxurious experience in comparison to the mêlée down the road at Frieze. However, there was something uncomfortable about viewing all of this wonderful art in what was, in essence, the world's most expensive show home. I guess the true success of this exhibition will be determined by whether any of the properties sell and, for me, art should be treated as more than a sales tool.

Zabludowicz Collection

http://www.zabludowiczcollection.com/collection/art-diary/2010/11/paris-new-york-london

Anita's Art Diay

Tuesday 02 November 2010

We made it to Paris for fiac which as usual was a delightfully elegant experience. Paris for the day by Eurostar is so easy. Everyone was smiling, happy and friendly.

We loved at Mitchell-Innes & Nash William Pope. L's performance: three world leaders holding a huge-looking meteorite excreting dye all over them at their own command.....

Francis Chantala would not let me look at the Josh Smith paintings he was being most difficult.

There are some strange sights at art fairs: a woman artist dragging around a Louis Vuitton dustbin. Perhaps she was hoping someone would drop in a nice little unwanted designer package into her bin.

We dropped by to see Jim Lambie in his show in Paris. My amazing designer friend Jean Pierre Tortil, Elliot Mcdonald and Jim.

Back to London and we visited Wolfe Lenkiewicz at his show The House of the Noble Man. It was a very lovely show in a lavish £50 million home in Regents Park.

We found on the top floor a lovely work by Matthew Welch called In The Glass Coffin of the Virgin Forest, the artist was one of Channel 4s New Sensations.

glass

http://www.theglassmagazine.com/forum/article.asp?tid=1968#title

frieze art fair: a glass guide

Our online art team pick out what – and who – to watch out for at this year's fair
Posted: 12 October 2010

Despite the difficult last two years, Frieze is playing host to some big numbers this time around. Christie's will hold its annual October Post-War and Contemporary Art evening auction, with the top lot - I Am Become Death, Shatterer of Worlds, a butterfly canvas by **Damien Hirst** – going for an estimated £2.5m-£3.5m. Other notable sales to watch out for are **Andreas Gursky**'s photomontage of the New York Stock Exchange, last seen hanging in the boardroom at Lehman Brothers (estimate: £100,000 – £150,000), and Sotheby's sales from **Jerry Hall**'s extraordinary collection, which includes work by Frank Auerbach, Lucian Freud and Andy Warhol.

The fair's fringe is looking more diverse than ever this year. For quiet classicism, **The House of the Noble Man**, a stone's throw away in Cornwall Terrace, is a definite highlight. Curated by **Victoria Golembiovskaya** and the artist **Wolfe von Lenkiewicz**, it will include four rare Picassos and Cezanne's Don Quixote. Meanwhile, purveyors looking for modern artist-led work should head to Screening. An independent art exhibition on 203-205 Brompton Road – a purpose-built exhibition space within a Knightsbridge office block – rising stars will be showing alongside heavyweight **Toby Ziegler** and much-talked about video artist **Ryan Trecartin**. The temporal format of video art will be considered in this sprawling building as an extension of work on canvas – with the help of some of London's brightest new young painters.

There are a few satellite fairs for the collectors craving boutique shopping after getting an eyeful at the main event. **The Pavilion of Art and Design** will be returning to Berkeley Square, Mayfair, for the fourth year running, featuring 50 distinguished international dealers of modern art, design, decorative arts, photography, jewellery and tribal art. **SUNDAY**, a free three-day event in Marylebone's Ambika P3, is shaping up to be an intriguing replacement to Zoo,, according to the Independent. Sponsored by the Zabludowicz Collection, it features 20 up-and-coming galleries from all over the world. **Whitechapel Gallery** is also making some noise on the periphery, displaying works from the D.Daskalopoulos collection in Greece – one of the foremost collections of contemporary art in Europe.

Syma Tariq, art editor

PRWeb
Online Visibility from Vocus

http://www.prweb.com/releases/2010/10/prweb4659384.htm

Cadogan Tate Sponsors 'New Sensations' Art Exhibition

Cadogan Tate, the world class art moving, storage and shipping specialist in contemporary art, has sponsored the 'New Sensations 2010' exhibition for UK art students. Organised by Channel 4 and The Saatchi Gallery, this prestigious event aims to discover the most imaginative and talented artists graduating from BA and MA courses in the UK and to support students leaving art college.

"We have spent many years transporting and storing the world's most precious contemporary art for leading museums, galleries and collectors."

(PRWEB) October 17, 2010

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Four of the finalists in New Sensations 2010 - Pablo Wendel, Katie Surridge, Nika Neelova and Ula Wiznerowicz - have each been given a bursary to develop a new work for the exhibition. A short film about each of them was aired on Channel 4 in early October. Stephen Glynn, Cadogan Tate's Fine Art Director, comments: "We are delighted to be the sponsors of this important exhibition, which showcases the talent of some remarkable young artists. We have spent many years transporting and storing the world's most precious contemporary art for leading museums, galleries and collectors. It therefore seemed very appropriate that we should support and encourage the UK's leading art students through this exciting event."

CITY A.M.
BUSINESS WITH PERSONALITY

http://www.cityam.com/lifestyle/books/the-art-world-heats-once-more

The art world heats up once more

Wednesday, 13th October 2010

Timothy Barber has a look around Frieze Art Fair, which opens to the public today

AS an army of glamorous art industry movers and shakers traipsed into Frieze Art Fair's marquee yesterday, a young woman was standing outside distributing paper leaflets for an upcoming exhibition. Not that surprising perhaps – some galleries need all the help they can get publicising themselves – except that the gallery in question was the Royal Academy. That London's most august art institution should find itself flyering outside a tent in Regent's Park is one measure of the extent to which the capital's art scene now triangulates itself around Frieze.

There are others. The National Gallery's new exhibition of works by the 18th century Venetian artist Canaletto has coincided with Frieze this week; the merry-go-round of satellite exhibitions now includes one from The Saatchi Gallery – its owner, Charles Saatchi, practically gave birth to London's contemporary art scene as we know it, after all – called The House of the Noble Man, in a residence near Frieze, which puts Cezanne, Manet, Poussin and Picasso alongside Richter, Murakami and Hirst; and of course, Frieze now dictates the timing of the contemporary art auctions that are the most immediate signifier of the health – or otherwise – of the art market.

As far as that goes, Anders Petterson, managing director of art market analyst ArtTactic, says the mood is cautiously optimistic. After a rotten 2009, record-breaking February sales apparently signified a return to business as normal, but momentum slowed in the summer with some shows falling significantly short.

"People got carried away with the rebound earlier in the year and sellers got a little greedy with the estimates they demanded, so the summer sales were a bit down," Petterson says. "Since then the market has revived a bit, and people are being more realistic about the situation."

yeeyan译言
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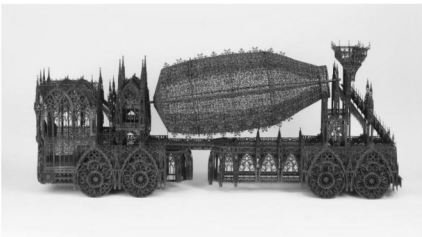
http://source.yeeyan.org/view/180252_0bf/

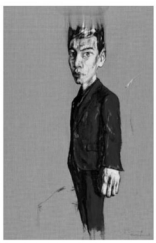
FRIEZE 2010

luckyzhouxi 推荐于 2010-11-06 21:29:34

This year's annual London Frieze 2010 was the strongest Frieze fair since the global economic collapse that began in autumn 2008. Frieze 2010 saw noticeable increases in artwork sales activity; better certainly than the last two Frieze fairs. Good or bad, these temporary exhibits in ritzy mansions in central London's most expensive neighborhoods, are a far cry from the gritty underground art happenings of earlier alternative venues. Temporarily setting up in fashionablecentral London locales walking distance to Frieze's fair grounds inside Regent Park is admittedly an ultra commercial way to sell art.

After all, one might argue, the aim of selling art is the same whether in a humble fair booth, or an exaggerated mansion. This author admits to attending two suchevents, one in a historic townhouse former embassy of an African nation,[1] the other in a newly built super-luxury home with not only artwork for purchase but also the venue – a newly built marble fixtured mansion in Regent's Park itself for sale, with a price tag of50 million dollars.[2] The former showed newly commissioned works made especially for the exhibition by a variety of contemporary artists including Jake and Dinos Chapman, Tim Noble and Sue Webster and Wim Delvoye.





The latter showed everyone from Cezanne to Rodin to Zeng Fanzhi and Yin Zhaoyang, and felt more like a collective effort of secondary market sale works consigned from various dealers and owners. The artworks one assumes are used to make the house-for-sale more beautiful and presumably also more sale-able. Interesting Russian contemporary works were also included, fueling rumors of Russian financial backing for the Regent's Park situated mansion-for sale-with-or-without- artworks.

MegMaggio
Beijing,October 2010

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[1] See the aptly titled "Vanitas: The Transience of Earthly Pleasures"organized by All Visual Arts at 33 Portland Place, London, W1B 1QE, www.allvisualarts.org

[2] See "The House of the Nobleman", Boswall House, 2 Cornwell Terrace,Regent's Park, London, NW1 4QP

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028319

http://www.benzinga.com/press-releases/10/10/p527693/cadogan-tate-sponsors-'new-sensations-art-exhibition

Cadogan Tate Sponsors 'New Sensations' Art Exhibition

Posted on 10/17/10 at 6:00am by webmaster

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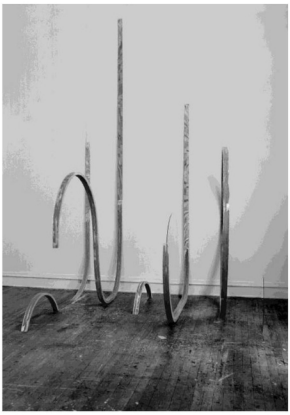
For the original version on PRWeb visit: http://www.prweb.com/releases/prweb2010/10/prweb4659384.htm

http://www.abodyofartshop.com/art-moran-body-shop/cadogan-tate-sponsors-new-sensations-art-exhibition.html

Cadogan Tate Sponsors New Sensations Art Exhibition

October 18, 2010 by
Filed under art moran body shop

(PRWEB) October 17, 2010



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Interiors

The art of the home deal

Culture can be key to the marketing of a grand property, writes **Kasia Maciejowska**

Nowadays you have to try a little harder to sell any house. For deluxe developers, having a mutually beneficial link with the fine-art world is a key strategy. At Frieze, the celebrity-soaked autumn London art fair, the developer Oakmayne Bespoke held an exhibition — *The House of the Nobleman* — in one of the grand London town houses that it has for sale.

The result? Significant interest in the two properties — offers of £29 million and £39 million — with another to go on the market next year, along with the sale of six major artworks.

The properties in Cornwall Terrace overlook Regent's Park, where the fair is held. Frieze was attended by the world's wealthiest collectors, the highest-profile dealers, including Jay Jopling, curators for the top museums and art enthusiasts such as Claudia Schiffer, Gwyneth Paltrow and Lily Allen.

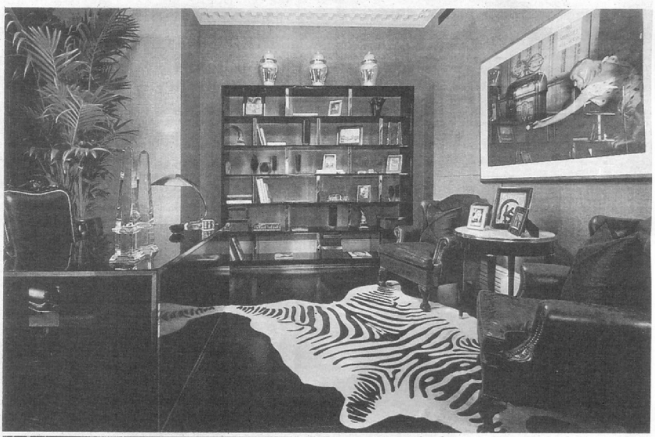
The exhibition, held in connection with the Saatchi Gallery, was curated by two Russians, Wolfe von Lenkiewicz and Victoria Golembiovskaya. Mirax, the Russian property firm owned by Sergei Polonsky, has a stake in the Cornwall Terrace project. Works by Cézanne, Picasso, Andy Warhol, Tracey Emin and Damien Hirst were among those on show in the staircases, bathrooms and attics of the house. James Simpson, a partner at Knight Frank, says: "The interplay between luxury art and property sales has always existed, but it's only now, starting with Cornwall Terrace, that we are formally doing launches and activities that bring together the two."

Beth Dean, the sales and marketing director at Oakmayne, agrees: "Even at this top end of the property market, sales need to be 'worked'. It is no longer enough to do a basic stand-alone launch with a residential product. You need to do something unique, stylish and very special to differentiate your brand."

Simpson says that there are more Damien Hirst works in the residences surrounding Regent's Park than in any other London location: "The marriage of the classic Regency properties and contemporary art works really well."

cornwallterrace.co.uk, knightfrank.co.uk, christiesgreatestates.com

> **It is no longer enough to do a stand-alone launch, even at the top end of the market**



Main picture: The interior of a Cornwall Terrace mansion; Regent's Park, above, is just on the doorstep; and the art collector Claudia Schiffer, below, at this year's Frieze art fair in London

Luxury art

Sales figures from Christie's and Knight Frank show that the purchase of a luxury property is frequently followed by a string of high-value art purchases. Christie's even takes extremely valuable works to the new home before it has been purchased, as a test run. If it is not suitable, the piece is returned free of charge. A room is usually decorated in keeping with the work of art, rather than the reverse.

How to pick up affordable art without the hassle

Anyone looking to pick up more modestly priced works of art may encounter an obstacle — a snooty gallery owner questioning you about what pieces you already own. However, you can avoid such terrifying scenarios by buying online. Culture Label recently opened an online art shop, with work from 550 artists costing between £100 and £2,000. The shop is a collaboration with Own Art, an Arts Council initiative, through which you can pay in interest-free instalments.

Meanwhile, the website easyart.com, which tailors its artworks to buyers with interior decoration in mind, has launched an iPhone app that lets you test 50,000 prints, in different frames, in a picture of the room that you wish to decorate.

Not everyone recommends buying online, however, as we discovered by asking top interior designers for their tips on purchasing art for your home.

Joanna Wood, head of the eponymous luxury interior design firm, firmly states that buying online is never a good idea for original artworks. "For a series of prints that you have seen before, online could be an option. But don't buy an original painting from a website because so much of it is about texture, feel and perspective."

Wood shops for works in the streets off Piccadilly, but also recommends the Art London fair for affordable pieces, as does Anita Kohn, of the architectural firm Living in Space, who also loves the Affordable Art Fair. "The atmosphere is buzzy, the gallerists are friendly and no piece costs more than £3,000," she says. "I used to buy randomly, but now I am more focused and collect works on paper — Old Master drawings or Impressionist works, often from sale rooms."

Kamini Ezralow, of the international design company Intarya, recommends scouring markets and galleries when travelling to pick up local art and craft pieces. "If you see a work in a gallery that you like closer to home, go back and ask to see more by the same artist. You can then build a relationship with that gallerist and use them as a regular source for pieces that suit your taste and price capacity."

Kohn recommends starting with prints and advises shopping with an open mind "so that you don't buy something purely because it fits with your self-imposed criteria. The vital thing is to buy something that you love, because you will be looking at it every single day".

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028322

Around the city

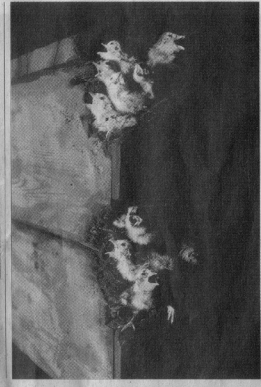
East west, art's best: you can even buy the house it's shown in

With the absence of Zoo, the **Pavilion of Art & Design (PAD)** (until October 17; www.padlondon.net) will this year play second fiddle to Frieze. This sophisticated fair of modern and contemporary art, design, photography and tribal art from 1860 was conceived by Patrick Perrin and Stéphane Custot and is now in its fourth year. PAD has retained its place in Berkeley Square, a site that offers limited space expansion, but a sought-after Mayfair address.

As auction houses all jostle to cash in on the festival spirit, Christie's is launching an initiative entitled **Multiplied** (October 15-18; www.multipliedartfair.com) at its South Kensington saleroom. The focus of this fair is contemporary art editions – photographs, prints, artists' books and 3D multiples – and there will be big names, including John Baldessari, Matt Collishaw and Gerald Laing, on sale for small prices.

Another example of canny innovation – or outsiders crashing the party – is **House of the Nobleman** at 2 Cornwall Terrace (October 15-20; www.cornwallterrace.co.uk/boswallhouse). This is a property viewing with a difference; not only is the house itself on the market, but so is much of the art – including works by Pablo Picasso, Helen Chadwick and Grayson Perry – that decorates its interior.

While the majority of Frieze Week events take place in grandiose settings in London's West End, a couple of contrasting fairs are capitalising on sites in the city's East End. **The Future Can Wait** (until October 17; www.thefuturecanwait.com), an alternative fair started by trusted talent-spotters Zavier Ellis and Simon Rumley, returns to Shoreditch Town Hall for the fourth year running.



Variety Top, from left: Zipora Fried, 'R.H.'; Sunday; John Baldessari, 'Brain/Cloud (With Seascape & Palm Tree)'; Christie's/Multiplied; Polly Morgan, 'Carrion Call'; Moniker; Labrona, 'Trinity'; Moniker; Nicolas Pavel, 'Test (Yellow Flower)'; Sunday. Below: a Bamana figure from Ségou, PAD

HOUSE_OVERSIGHT_028323

Future art stars cause a New Sensation

Graduates' work is exhibited with masterpieces

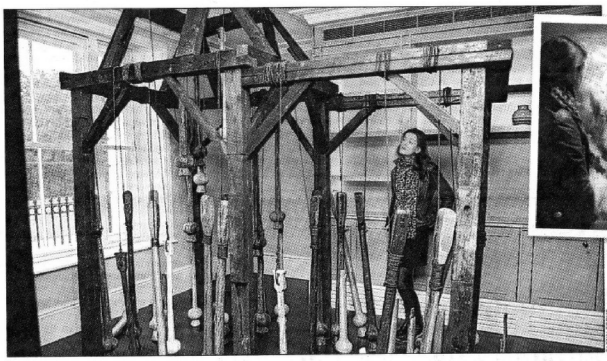
Louise Jury
Chief Arts Correspondent

TWENTY artists hailed as stars of the future are getting the chance to show their work alongside that of 60 masters, from Picasso and Warhol to Manet, Rodin and Cézanne.

The 20 were chosen from hundreds of graduate students in the New Sensations Prize, a contest now in its fourth year, organised by Charles Saatchi's gallery and Channel 4.

Their work is part of The House of the Nobleman, an exhibition of art borrowed from international collections that is being staged in an 18th-century mansion in Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, a stone's throw from the Frieze Art Fair.

Four of the graduates were selected to receive £1,000 bursaries to develop a project for inclusion. They are: German Pablo Wendel, 30, whose degree work involved squatting in a derelict chip shop to which he built a staircase, later dismantled by Royal College of Art staff in a health and safety row; Katie Surridge, 25, and Russian Nika Neelova, 23, both Slade School graduates, and Ross M Brown, 24, who is still studying in Dundee. One of them will be named this year's overall winner on Monday and the exhibition runs until Wednesday.



GLENN OTHS

Promise: Nika Neelova's Principles Of Surrender, above, and St Peter's Seminary: Wilderness 2010 by Ross M Brown

Rebecca Wilson, associate director of the Saatchi Gallery, said: "The 20 shortlisted artists have created a stunning range of work, including photography, painting, installation and sculpture. The exhibition offers a wonderful opportunity to discover the bright stars of the future."

More than half of the graduate artists are based in the capital. "London is still one of the best places to do a fine art degree and has that reputation across the world, as well as being one of the most vibrant centres for contemporary art," Ms Wilson added.

■ *New Sensations at the House of the Nobleman, 2 Cornwall Terrace, is open until Wednesday.*

> 'The 20 shortlisted artists have created a stunning range of work'
>
> **Rebecca Wilson**
> associate director, Saatchi Gallery

For more, log on to: **cornwallterrace.co.uk/boswall house**

ART IN RESIDENCE
Redeveloped park terrace hosts exhibit

Curators Victoria Golembiovskaya and Wolfe Von Lenkiewicz, in collaboration with the Saatchi Gallery and Channel 4's *New Sensations*, will host an art exhibition starting next Sunday showcasing famous works by artists such as Paul Cezanne and Pablo Picasso. The House of the Nobleman exhibit, which coincides with the Frieze Art Fair, will be held at the mansion No 2 Cornwall Terrace in Regents Park and will include works from several international art collections. No 2 Cornwall Terrace has been extensively redeveloped by developer Oakmayne Bespoke and is part of a much larger redevelopment of Cornwall Terrace to create eight mansions. The houses are up for sale starting at £29m.

Deirdre Hipwell

REGENTS' GALLERY Cornwall Terrace, above, will house art by Nicolas Poussin, far left, Wolfe Von Lenkiewicz, left and Paul Cezanne, right

TESSA ANGUS; PICASA 3.0

Help jobless homes, help the economy

The City Diary

The Prince and the

Another week, another meeting betw BG Group (British Gas in old money) a Prince Andrew, our special representa international trade and investment. T company has a rather cosy relationsh the Duke of York, having met him thr in five weeks early this year.

Now I see that BG's chief executive Chapman, was back at the Palace last his fourth audience in six months, wh nothing to quell rumours that someth rumbling in Kazakhstan, where the co has important interests.

Prince Andrew is exceptionally w connected in that country through h friendship with Goga Ashkenazi (top socialite-cum-oil executive who has with Timur Kulibayev, the son-in-la Kazakhstan's president. Kulibayev a bought a house from the Prince, son for a generous fee.

Horse trials

Betfair, the soon-to-be-floated betting exchange, reveals in its prospectus that it has abandoned its new high-roller business, which it was testing out. This was despite it booking first-quarter revenues of £25m and making a £7m profit – at least at the Ebitda level – but it did involve the company taking on the

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The drama, explained.","textStyle":"titleTextStyle","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-heading-1","layout":"dekLayout","role":"heading","text":"Dueling leaks told many different stories on Monday.","textStyle":"dekTextStyle","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.vox.com/authors/andrew-prokop","range":{"length":13,"start":3},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-byline-1","layout":"bylineLayout","role":"byline","text":"By Andrew Prokop | September 24, 2018 2:30 pm","textStyle":"bylineTextStyle","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-header-1","layout":"headerImageLayout","role":"header","style":"_anf-cs-1","type":"container"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-1","layout":"captionLayout","role":"caption","text":"Rod Rosenstein leaves the White House Monday, still deputy attorney general â€" for now.","textStyle":"captionTextStyle","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-2","layout":"captionLayout","role":"caption","text":"Alex Wong/Getty Images","textStyle":"captionTextStyle","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2018/9/24/17896576/rod-rosenstein-resignation-mueller-noel-francisco","range":{"length":14,"start":107},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-1","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"The political world went into a frenzy Monday morning as various reports suggested Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein â€" special counsel Robert Muellerâ€™s boss â€" was out. Some reports claimed he had resigned, and some that he was about to be fired.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-23","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"But as of early Monday afternoon, Rosenstein was still in his job. And apparently, heâ€™ll be there for at least a few more days â€" the White House has said heâ€™ll meet with President Trump on Thursday.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-24","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Trump has complained about Justice Department investigations into his associates for over a year now, and has repeatedly discussed firing various top Justice Department officials, including Rosenstein, so he could replace them with loyalists.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-medium_rectangle_advertisement-1","layout":"_defaultComponentLayout","role":"medium_rectangle_advertisement","type":"medium_rectangle_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AdHo1AGpBRiCpAYZt1t9nVA","range":{"length":21,"start":61},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-2","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"The precipitating incident for Mondayâ€™s drama, though, was a New York Times report that, after Trump fired FBI Director James Comey last year, Rosenstein discussed the possibility of secretly recording the president of invoking the 25th Amendment to remove him from office. (Rosenstein has disputed the report.)","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-25","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"As deputy attorney general, Rosenstein was responsible for the day-to-day running of the Justice Department. But the main reason his departure would have such import is that he appointed Mueller and continues to oversee the Russia investigation (thanks to Attorney General Jeff Sessionsâ€™s recusal on the topic). Many have feared that Trump would try to install a crony to replace Rosenstein who would rein the probe in or even shut it down completely.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-26","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"All this comes at a crucial moment for the probe â€" just a week and a half after Paul Manafort agreed to cooperate with the special counselâ€™s team, but during a preelection period when Mueller isnâ€™t expected to make other big new moves. And, as is common these days, much of this drama has unfolded in competing and contrasting leaks to the press.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-heading3-1","layout":"heading1Layout","role":"heading3","text":"Who is Rod Rosenstein?","textStyle":"heading1TextStyle","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-photo-1","imageIdentifier":"394ad56afbf68962175ac1e3cb8adf99","layout":"photoLayout","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-3","layout":"captionLayout","role":"caption","text":"Drew Angerer/Getty Images","textStyle":"captionTextStyle","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-27","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Rosenstein joined the Justice

Department all the way back in 1990 and has been there ever since, serving as a public corruptions prosecutor and then taking on management jobs under presidents of both parties. In 2005, President George W. Bush appointed him to be US attorney for the state of Maryland, and he held that position throughout the Obama presidency as well.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-28","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"After Trump won the presidency, he picked Jeff Sessions to be his attorney general. As a US senator, Sessions was an outsider to the DOJ. So he wanted someone who knew the department well in the deputy post (which is traditionally responsible for running things day to day). So he chose Rosenstein, who was respected by legal professionals in both parties.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-medium_rectangle_advertisement-2","layout":"_defaultComponentLayout","role":"medium_rectangle_advertisement","type":"medium_rectangle_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-29","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"The pick got little attention at the time â€" but proved to be supremely important. In March 2017, Sessions announced he would recuse himself from the Russia investigation â€" meaning that, as soon as Rosenstein was confirmed by the Senate, heâ€™d be the top Justice Department official in charge of it.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-30","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Then, once Rosenstein was finally sworn in in late April, Trump waited only two weeks before inviting him and Sessions to the White House to discuss firing James Comey. On May 8, 2017, Rosenstein wrote a memo harshly criticizing Comeyâ€™s handling of Hillary Clinton email investigation, and gave it to the White House. The very next day, Trump fired Comey and released Rosensteinâ€™s memo as his justification.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-heading3-2","layout":"heading1Layout","role":"heading3","text":"Rosenstein appointed Robert Mueller and has overseen his investigation since","textStyle":"heading1TextStyle","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-photo-2","imageIdentifier":"27eff60f48171aefebfcc876def040c3","layout":"photoLayout","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-4","layout":"captionLayout","role":"caption","text":"Rosenstein announces the indictment of 12 Russian intelligence officers in connection with election-related email hacking in July 2018.","textStyle":"captionTextStyle","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-5","layout":"captionLayout","role":"caption","text":"Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images","textStyle":"captionTextStyle","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://thehill.com/homenews/house/333803-first-republicans-talk-impeachment-for-trump","range":{"length":16,"start":540},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-3","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Comeyâ€™s firing was a shocking breach of political and institutional norms (the FBI director traditionally stays on for a 10-year term), and it threw the US political system into crisis. The ensuing chaotic days were filled with leaks claiming that Trump had privately pressured Comey for â€œloyalty,â€ that heâ€™d and urged Comey to drop an investigation into Michael Flynn, and that heâ€™d disclosed classified information to Russian officials in the Oval Office. With such allegations of Trump apparently trying to corrupt the rule of law, even some Republicans began to talk about impeachment.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-31","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"It was Rosenstein who made the key choice that abated this crisis â€" appointing Robert Mueller as special counsel to oversee the Russia probe on May 17, 2017. The appointment of a special counsel restored confidence that the rule of law would be preserved and that, if there was anything to the Russia scandal, heâ€™d get to the bottom of it. Mueller in particular had sterling credentials as former FBI director appointed by George W. Bush, which likely made him feel empowered to investigate quite vigorously.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-32","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Since then, thereâ€™s been an endless amount of ink spilled about the â€œMueller investigation.â€ Yet all along, Mueller has had a boss: Rod Rosenstein. And Rosensteinâ€™s backing of Mueller has clearly been crucial in shaping the probe so far.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-medium_rectangle_advertisement-3","layout":"_defaultComponentLayout","role":"medium_rectangle_advertisement","type":"medium_rectangle_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/Ayrw-VmCqQYKiVUOk3BjbyA","range":{"length":17,"start":15},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://cdn.vox-cdn.com/uploads/chorus%5Fasset/file/10576825/Rosenstein%5Fletter%5Fto%5FMueller.0.pdf","range":{"length":45,"start":379},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-

4","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":866,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Muellerâ€™s team has said in court that they inform Rosenstein of all their major decisions in advance, and that he would have the authority to overrule them.\nRosenstein approved Muellerâ€™s assembly of an all-star team that at its height totaled 17 prosecutors.\nIn August 2017, Rosenstein wrote a memo to Mueller listing many people and topics he was authorized to investigate (the publicly released version is heavily redacted).\nRosenstein held press conferences announcing Muellerâ€™s two major indictments of Russians for election interference â€" the social media propaganda indictment in February, and the email hacking indictment in July.\nHe was also reportedly involved in Muellerâ€™s decision to refer an investigation into Michael Cohen to federal prosecutors in Manhattan, resulting in Cohenâ€™s guilty plea to tax, bank fraud, and campaign finance charges in August.\n","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.cnn.com/2017/12/13/politics/rod-rosenstein-house-judiciary-committee/index.html","range":{"length":29,"start":272},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-5","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Finally, Rosenstein has also helped preemptively protect Mueller from firing. He did so by testifying that the regulation under which he appointed Mueller gives only him â€" not the president â€" the authority to fire Mueller. He has also said that he believes the regulation only permits Muellerâ€™s firing for â€œgood cause.â€ With that testimony, itâ€™s clear that a Trump order to fire Mueller would be legally dubious.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/A3rPEgojWQeilk4Kln-6V8Q","range":{"length":28,"start":38},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-6","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"So, naturally, the president began to muse about firing Rosenstein instead.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-heading3-3","layout":"heading1Layout","role":"heading3","text":"Trump and his allies have discussed getting rid of Rosenstein (or Sessions) for months","textStyle":"heading1TextStyle","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-photo-3","imageIdentifier":"201db923dc1e64edbc8ec419b342dcca","layout":"photoLayout","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-6","layout":"captionLayout","role":"caption","text":"Sessions and Rosenstein, in June 2017","textStyle":"captionTextStyle","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-7","layout":"captionLayout","role":"caption","text":"Chip Somodevilla/Getty","textStyle":"captionTextStyle","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AcwtPOUaJSNGva7TjLkfSnA","range":{"length":30,"start":216},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-7","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"The president has raged about the Russia probe and his Justice Department for well over a year now, both privately and publicly, with Sessions and Rosenstein frequent targets of his ire. (Heâ€™s reportedly dubbed them â€œMr. Magooâ€ and â€œMr. Peepers.â€)","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-33","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Heâ€™s repeatedly complained that the Russia investigation is a â€œwitch hunt,â€ that â€œflippingâ€ witnesses (like Michael Flynn, Rick Gates, and Paul Manafort) almost ought to be illegal, and that the Justice Department isnâ€™t doing enough to investigate Democrats like Hillary Clinton and isnâ€™t loyal enough to him personally.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-medium_rectangle_advertisement-4","layout":"_defaultComponentLayout","role":"medium_rectangle_advertisement","type":"medium_rectangle_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/Adf5uPA_kToCCRkvy5_FO-g","range":{"length":27,"start":209},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-8","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Trumpâ€™s staunchest allies in Congress and in conservative media have joined him in this effort, too, training criticism on Sessions and Rosenstein. Hardline House conservatives even threatened to force a vote on Rosensteinâ€™s impeachment this summer, based on the thinnest of pretexts (though they eventually backed down).","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-34","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"The obvious fear many have is that if Trump ousts Sessions or Rosenstein, he could at least temporarily install a crony who would take over the Russia probe â€" one who could manage to rein it in or even shut it down entirely, to protect the president.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AjqKlVWvUTlWR3rI7davLXA","range":{"length":24,"start":259},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://apple.news/AcKaxlbIqTzWfUyyeYhnC-A","range":{"length":13,"start":355},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-9","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"A permanent replacement for either Sessions or Rosenstein would have to be confirmed by the Senate. And traditionally, the temporary replacement would be whoeverâ€™s next in line in the Justice Departmentâ€™s

line of succession. (Solicitor General Noel Francisco is next after Rosenstein.) However, itâ€™s possible that Trump could try and use a law called the Vacancies Act to slot in someone from elsewhere in the government (any appointee already confirmed by the Senate would do).","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-heading3-4","layout":"heading1Layout","role":"heading3","text":"A New York Times report amped up discussions of Rosensteinâ€™s ouster","textStyle":"heading1TextStyle","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-photo-4","imageIdentifier":"a6aca5684809e23302747ee180cc681b","layout":"photoLayout","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-8","layout":"captionLayout","role":"caption","text":"Mario Tama/Getty","textStyle":"captionTextStyle","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.wsj.com/articles/its-fantastic-trump-warms-to-rosenstein-1533720601","range":{"length":26,"start":67},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-10","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"For a time, it appeared that Rosenstein had weathered the storm. A Wall Street Journal report from early August even claimed that his and Trumpâ€™s relationship was improving.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-35","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Later that month, however, Paul Manafort was convicted of financial crimes charged by Mueller, and Michael Cohen pleaded guilty to tax, bank, and campaign finance violations referred by Mueller to SDNY. Then, a week and a half ago, Manafort struck a plea deal with Mueller and agreed to cooperate. Cohen, too, has reportedly talked with Muellerâ€™s team for hours in recent weeks.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-medium_rectangle_advertisement-5","layout":"_defaultComponentLayout","role":"medium_rectangle_advertisement","type":"medium_rectangle_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AdHo1AGpBRiCpAYZt1t9nVA","range":{"length":49,"start":95},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-11","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"But what seems to have put Rosensteinâ€™s future in the most immediate jeopardy was a report the New York Timesâ€™s Adam Goldman and Michael Schmidt published on Friday.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/A45wIUqRLQ3iB-XHJaXlHZg","range":{"length":14,"start":372},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-12","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"The report describes purported conduct by Rosenstein in mid-May 2017, during the chaotic days between Comeyâ€™s firing and Rosensteinâ€™s decision to appoint Mueller. The Times claimed that, in meetings with top FBI and Justice Department officials, Rosenstein made two eyebrow-raising suggestions: first, that they try to secretly record the president, and second, using the 25th Amendment to remove Trump from office. (Neither was carried out.)","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-36","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"The Times report was based primarily on anonymous source accounts and descriptions of contemporaneous memos written by then-acting FBI director Andrew McCabe. But Rosenstein publicly disputed the report. And in the hours after its publication, various outlets were told by an anonymous source in the room for the â€œrecordingâ€ comments that Rosenstein was clearly being sarcastic.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/A2eqDOJadTJeXuNdvwi8Jkw","range":{"length":22,"start":215},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-13","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Trump critics fearful of Rosensteinâ€™s ouster soon latched onto the â€œhe was being sarcasticâ€ excuse. But the Timesâ€™s Michael Schmidt professed to be quite confident that wasnâ€™t the case. He said in an interview with Slateâ€™s Isaac Chotiner:","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"components":[{"components":[{"identifier":"_anf-quote-1","layout":"quoteLayout","role":"quote","style":"innerQuoteContainerStyle","text":"If this was a joke, we donâ€™t think it would have been so difficult for us to have worked to get to this information. If this was a joke, this would not have been memorialized, documented, and discussed in the FBI in the way that it was. If this was a joke, Rod Rosenstein probably wouldnâ€™t have made it more than once. Also, if this was a joke, the other thing is, this 25th Amendment stuff is in a memo as well. So this is likeâ€"is this a broader conspiracy of jokes that was going on?","textStyle":"quoteTextStyle","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-3","layout":"_defaultComponentLayout","role":"container","style":"innerQuoteContainerStyle","type":"container"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-1","layout":"pullquoteContainerLayout","role":"container","style":"quoteContainerStyle","type":"container"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AHyL7Ral6SB-hvNIQeowo7A","range":{"length":24,"start":32},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-14","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Indeed, other accounts, such as from the Washington Post, seem to confirm that McCabe thought Rosenstein was serious and has

been telling people such. (McCabe, another frequent target of Trumpâ€™s ire, was fired from the FBI this March and may be prosecuted for lying to investigators about leaks he had authorized.)","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-medium_rectangle_advertisement-6","layout":"_defaultComponentLayout","role":"medium_rectangle_advertisement","type":"medium_rectangle_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-37","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"It is, however, important to keep in mind what was going on before Rosenstein allegedly made the â€œrecordingâ€ comments on May 16, 2017. For one, it had just been reported that Trump had disclosed classified intelligence to the Russian foreign minister and ambassador in the Oval Office. For another, Comeyâ€™s accounts of Trumpâ€™s private pressure on him had just leaked out. It was a wild time.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AHyL7Ral6SB-hvNIQeowo7A","range":{"length":23,"start":177},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-15","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"At the time, Trump was interviewing candidates to replace Comey as FBI director, and it was widely feared that heâ€™d appoint a corrupt crony whoâ€™d made him private promises. The Washington Post reports that Rosensteinâ€™s suggestion was that FBI director candidates record their private interviews with Trump.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-heading3-5","layout":"heading1Layout","role":"heading3","text":"Dueling leaks about Rosenstein resigning or being fired spilled out Monday morning â€" but it seems the decision has been put off","textStyle":"heading1TextStyle","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://thehill.com/homenews/media/407829-foxs-ingraham-calls-for-trump-to-fire-rosenstein","range":{"length":7,"start":127},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://apple.news/AbBYOp1JNQGaAn1_NmUZryQ","range":{"length":27,"start":201},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-16","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":3,"start":229},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-2"}],"layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Trumpâ€™s staunchest supporters were split on what he should do in the wake of the Times report. On Friday, Foxâ€™s Laura Ingraham tweeted that â€œRod Rosenstein must be fired today,â€ but Foxâ€™s Sean Hannity notably urged the president not to fire anyone. (Ingraham later deleted her tweet.)","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AmyEuC7xxSNi5WySPp6sjqg","range":{"length":12,"start":302},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-17","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"One interesting line of argument from some Trump supporters was that the allegations about Rosenstein were based primarily on memos written by Andrew McCabe â€" who the president has tried to attack and discredit for months now, and who may soon be prosecuted. Firing Rosenstein based on McCabeâ€™s memos, some thought, would grant him credibility.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AReHxDUzBRl2s99y7ClfXwg","range":{"length":36,"start":25},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-18","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Then, on Monday morning, Axiosâ€™s Jonathan Swan dropped a bomb, publishing a short post claiming that Rosenstein had â€œverbally resignedâ€ to White House chief of staff John Kelly, in anticipation of being fired by President Trump.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/A0XwJxhwlQFKTp_UURfgskA","range":{"length":26,"start":322},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-19","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"In the next few hours, there was a frenzy of leaks claiming several different things. Some claimed Rosenstein was not going to resign and was instead going to make Trump fire him. Others claimed he was merely â€œexpecting to be fired.â€ Others said he had offered his resignation but stressed that it had not been accepted. (Vanity Fairâ€™s Gabe Sherman even suggested the spectacle may have been entirely intended to distract from sexual assault accusations against Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh.) But no one really seemed to know what was happening as Rosenstein headed over to the White House.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://twitter.com/PressSec/status/1044267286322970625","range":{"length":56,"start":137},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-20","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"There, Rosenstein met Kelly, and spoke with Trump (who is in New York) over the phone â€œto discuss the recent news stories,â€ according to a statement by White House press secretary Sarah Sanders. â€œThey will meet on Thursday when the President returns to Washington,â€ Sanders continued.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-1","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-38","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"So, after all that, Rosenstein is still the deputy attorney general â€" at least, it seems, until Thursday.","textStyle":"_anf-cts-

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to market, he flies them using
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expanded to an additional $200 billion worth of goods on Monday, are prompting many
companies to rethink their supply chains. As tariffs begin to make China look more
expensive, many companies are considering cheaper places to make their products, like
Vietnam, Cambodia, Bangladesh and Ethiopia. Already, companies with significant
American business like Steve Madden, the fashion designer, and Puma, the German sports
brand, have said they will look to shift production out of
China.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":"Suits at the Man Ou Garment Company
factory in Prey Nob near the port city of Sihanoukville, Cambodia. Adam Dean for The
New York Times","captionComponent":{"text":"Suits at the Man Ou Garment Company factory
in Prey Nob near the port city of Sihanoukville, Cambodia. Adam Dean for The New York
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jackets and jeans to the minerals used in iPhones, China makes or processes many of the
ingredients that go into todayâ€™s consumer goods. It has a dependable source of
workers who know how to hold down factory jobs. It has reliable roads and rail lines
connecting suppliers to assembly plants to
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Chinaâ€™s vast supplier base and dependable roads. More workers have to be trained.
Many companies have to start from scratch.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-
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said Elli Bobrovizki, who runs a factory in Phnom Penh that makes Bloch ballet
shoes.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-
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to places like the United States takes at least a day or two longer than it would in
China, he said. To reach his factory, a visitor has to travel down a bumpy dirt
road.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":"Bloch ballet shoes in production in
Phnom Penh. Transporting the shoes to places like the United States takes at least a
day or two longer than it would in China. Adam Dean for The New York
Times","captionComponent":{"text":"Bloch ballet shoes in production in Phnom Penh.
Transporting the shoes to places like the United States takes at least a day or two
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they blocked my gate,â€ Mr. Bobrovizki
said.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/23/business
/international/china-jobs-donald-trump.html?partner=applenews&ad-
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the trade war. Average wages have risen by about one-third in recent years, according to official data. The average Chinese factory worker makes roughly $10,000 a year, the official data shows. By contrast, the minimum wage for Cambodian garment workers amounts to about one-fifth of that. But rising tariffs, and the prospect of more on the horizon, add to the urgency.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":"China will be hard to quit, even if labor costs elsewhere, like the Man Ou factory near Sihanoukville shown here, are cheaper. China makes or processes many of the ingredients that go into todayâ€™s consumer goods. Adam Dean for The New York Times","captionComponent":{"text":"China will be hard to quit, even if labor costs elsewhere, like the Man Ou factory near Sihanoukville shown here, are cheaper. China makes or processes many of the ingredients that go into todayâ€™s consumer goods. 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That Phnom Penh factory plans to hire 1,000 more workers in the next month and employ nearly 10,000 workers by next year.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2018/0330/c1001-29899735.html","range":{"length":28,"start":143},"type":"link"},{"URL":"http://www.worldshipping.org/about-the-industry/global-trade/top-50-world-container-ports","range":{"length":28,"start":221},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-24","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":283,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":283,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Still, China remains an efficient place to do business. Its logistics network is vast and quick-moving. Over the past three decades, China has built 4.7 million kilometers, or about 2.9 million miles, of highways. It has 13 of the worldâ€™s 50 largest ports, and three of the top five.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/nv.ind.manf.cd?end=2016&start=1960&year_high_desc=true","range":{"length":5,"start":117},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-25","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":196,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":196,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Chinaâ€™s sheer manufacturing capabilities are unrivaled. One measure of its output, called manufacturing value added, shows that China makes roughly as much as the United States and Japan combined.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":"Workers in the Bloch factory cut leather from Brazil, apply glue and carefully pinch, gather and hammer the material into soles. The work could be partly automated, but Cambodian labor costs are low. Adam Dean for The New York Times","captionComponent":{"text":"Workers in the Bloch factory cut leather from Brazil, apply glue and carefully pinch, gather and hammer the material into soles. The work could be partly automated, but Cambodian labor costs are low. Adam Dean for The New York Times"},"identifier":"100000006120729_5ba97c630d7d4","imageIdentifier":"935a352410b5bfdb5fc594fe6364dbdd","layout":"fullbleed-image","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-5","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":33,"start":199},"textStyle":"photo-credit"}],"layout":"default-caption","role":"caption","text":"Workers in the Bloch

factory cut leather from Brazil, apply glue and carefully pinch, gather and hammer the material into soles. The work could be partly automated, but Cambodian labor costs are low. Adam Dean for The New York Times ","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-4","layout":"image-container","role":"container","type":"container"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-26","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":342,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":342,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œThe entire supply chain is based in China, so if we were to move, we would still have to procure components in China, and then export them somewhere else,â€ said Aaron Emigh, co-founder of Brilliant, an American start-up that makes smart-home devices. Brilliant is releasing its product just as the Trump administrationâ€™s tariffs take effect.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-4","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-27","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":83,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":83,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œMoving out of China is not purely a matter of cost, but of possibility,â€ he added.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-28","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":260,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":260,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Brilliantâ€™s devices have more than 700 components, most of which are sourced in China. The country offers the best manufacturing options for some of Brilliantâ€™s most technical needs, like printing circuit boards, injection-molded plastics, screens and modules.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-29","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":95,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":95,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Some companies believe they have to look for alternatives no matter how appealing China can be.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-30","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":256,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":256,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Inventec, a Taiwanese electronics manufacturer of laptops and devices for companies like HP, Toshiba and Acer, has drawn up contingency plans to move China production to Taiwan, the Czech Republic, Mexico and Houston, according to Ada Chang, a spokeswoman.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-31","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":211,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":211,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Moving the entire supply chain out of China would be too complicated, she said. But Inventec could assemble the final product in other places so the â€œcountry of originâ€ certificate would not say China, she said.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":"In Cambodia many unions are backed by either the party of Hun Sen, the prime minister, or the opposition, adding to political risks for foreign companies. Adam Dean for The New York Times","captionComponent":{"text":"In Cambodia many unions are backed by either the party of Hun Sen, the prime minister, or the opposition, adding to political risks for foreign companies. Adam Dean for The New York Times},"identifier":"10000000612071 7_5ba97c630d97a","imageIdentifier":"b808a2231226b529c8f2ea614fea364a","layout":"fullbleed-image","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-6","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":33,"start":154},"textStyle":"photo-credit"}],"layout":"default-caption","role":"caption","text":"In Cambodia many unions are backed by either the party of Hun Sen, the prime minister, or the opposition, adding to political risks for foreign companies. Adam Dean for The New York Times ","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-5","layout":"image-container","role":"container","type":"container"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-32","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":363,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":363,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Peter Baum knows well the challenges of operating in a country like Cambodia. An owner of Baum-Essex, a company that makes umbrellas for Costco and cotton bags for Walmart in contracted factories in Vietnam and Cambodia, he gets frustrated when he has to turn to multiple countries for the parts and material he needs because it means more opportunity for delays.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-5","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-33","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":203,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":203,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-

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His competitors thought he was crazy, he said, because China was still cheap. â€œI saw the writing on the wall,â€ said Mr. Holten, whose company, Pactics, still makes cloth bags for Burberry in China.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":"Factory workers during down time after their shifts in a special economic zone in Phnom Penh. Adam Dean for The New York Times","captionComponent":{"text":"Factory workers during down time after their shifts in a special economic zone in Phnom Penh. Adam Dean for The New York Times"},"identifier":"100000006120719_5ba97c630da92","imageIdentifier":"8ccb94685f587fc098a0710059ec56d2","layout":"fullbleed-image","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-7","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":33,"start":93},"textStyle":"photo-credit"}],"layout":"default-caption","role":"caption","text":"Factory workers during down time after their shifts in a special economic zone in Phnom Penh. 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The project took a year and cost $960,000.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-6","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-38","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":98,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":98,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"It was worth it, Mr. Holten said. â€œIf we were still in China,â€ he said, â€œweâ€™d be out of business.â€","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.khmertimeskh.com/50101599/key-agreements-signed-china-expressway-airport/","range":{"length":23,"start":214},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://www.khmertimeskh.com/50101599/key-agreements-signed-china-expressway-airport/","range":{"length":10,"start":237},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://www.khmertimeskh.com/50101599/key-agreements-signed-china-expressway-airport/","range":{"length":33,"start":247},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-39","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":333,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":333,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Transition in Cambodia has been slow. Paradoxically, one source of change may be China itself, as it looks to win political favor in Southeast Asia. During an official visit this year, Li Keqiang, Chinaâ€™s premier, pledged to build a new expressway from Phnom Penh to Sihanoukville to supplement the Khmer-American Friendship Highway.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-40","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":197,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":197,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"More foreign companies have called or emailed Ken Loo, secretary general at the Garment Manufacturers Association in Cambodia, in recent months about doing business there. His advice: Be realistic.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-41","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":184,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":184,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œItâ€™s not like going into the shop to buy something and you just go to the next shop,â€ Mr. Loo said. Starting a factory from scratch, he said,

â€œtakes months, if not a year and a half.â€","type":"text"},{"components":[{"identifier":"_anf-divider-3","layout":"ComponentLayout-10","role":"divider","stroke":{"color":"#222222","style":"solid","width":"1.0pt"},"type":"line"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-42","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":28,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-69"},{"range":{"length":28,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-69"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Cao Li contributed research.","textStyle":"footer-text","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-section-3","layout":"default-section","role":"section","type":"section"},{"components":[{"identifier":"_anf-heading6-1","layout":"related-coverage-heading","role":"heading6","text":"RELATED COVERAGE","textStyle":"related-coverage","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/Ahz4VRb_WTeqJCifqg2zmyg","range":{"length":67,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-2","layout":"related-link","role":"body","text":"Chill Remains Between China and United States in Latest Trade Talks Aug. 23, 2018","textStyle":"related-link","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-divider-4","layout":"ComponentLayout-11","role":"divider","stroke":{"color":"#e2e2e2"},"type":"line"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/A7fKukT_fSh2R_HWrOXSjJA","range":{"length":64,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-3","layout":"related-link","role":"body","text":"8 Ways Trumpâ€™s Next Round of China Tariffs Could Pinch Consumers Aug. 21, 2018","textStyle":"related-link","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-divider-5","layout":"ComponentLayout-11","role":"divider","stroke":{"color":"#e2e2e2"},"type":"line"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/08/business/trump-trade-china.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006070020","range":{"length":76,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-4","layout":"related-link","role":"body","text":"Trumpâ€™s Tariffs Are Changing Trade With China. Here Are 2 Emerging Endgames. Aug. 8, 2018","textStyle":"related-link","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-divider-6","layout":"ComponentLayout-11","role":"divider","stroke":{"color":"#e2e2e2"},"type":"line"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AUrCZQJ0kTraQlpLOPRhqEg","range":{"length":67,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-5","layout":"related-link","role":"body","text":"Chinese Goods May Face 25% Tariffs, Not 10%, as Trumpâ€™s Anger Grows Aug. 1, 2018","textStyle":"related-link","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-divider-7","layout":"ComponentLayout-11","role":"divider","stroke":{"color":"#e2e2e2"},"type":"line"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/17/world/asia/hun-sen-cambodia-china.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006070020","range":{"length":63,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-6","layout":"related-link","role":"body","text":"Embracing China, Facebook and Himself, Cambodiaâ€™s Ruler Digs In March 17, 2018","textStyle":"related-link","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-section-4","layout":"_defaultComponentLayout","role":"section","type":"section"},{"components":[{"identifier":"_anf-heading4-1","layout":"bottom-banner-head","role":"heading4","text":"Get the full New York Times experience","textStyle":"bottom-banner-head","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://rvw-s.tlnk.io/serve?action=click&publisher_id=229811&site_id=50290&my_campaign=AppleNews_iOSFusion_Footer","range":{"length":61,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-7","layout":"bottom-banner-body","role":"body","style":"_anf-cs-3","text":".","textStyle":"bottom-banner-body","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-7","layout":"ComponentLayout-15","role":"container","style":"_anf-cs-1","type":"container"}],"documentStyle":{"backgroundColor":"#FFFFFF"},"identifier":"100000006070020","language":"en","layout":{"columns":8,"gutter":20,"margin":84,"width":1024},"metadata":{"campaignData":{"keywords":["International Trade and World Market","China","Cambodia","Factories and Manufacturing","Labor and Jobs"],"section":["business"]},"canonicalURL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/24/business/china-tariffs-manufacturing-cambodia.html","dateModified":"2018-09-25T00:07:41.000Z","datePublished":"2018-09-24T13:42:55.000Z","generatorName":"papi","generatorVersion":"v1","thumbnailImageIdentifier":"bb5bbe5e6aa893b75f865fb792af9474","transparentToolbar":false},"resources":{"00487975-7986-46e5-8368-36d8b0761462":{"URL":"asset://00487975-7986-46e5-8368-36d8b0761462","classification":"image","dimensions":{"height":720,"width":1080},"fileSize":0,"identifier":"00487975-7986-46e5-8368-

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And they said the revised agreement includes few provisions that will appreciably change the trade balance between the two countries, which Mr. Trump has complained about.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-1","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://money.cnn.com/2018/03/27/news/companies/south-korea-us-automakers/index.html","range":{"length":32,"start":176},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-10","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":255,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":255,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"For example: The agreement would double a cap on the number of American automobiles that may be easily exported to South Korea, to 50,000 from 25,000 a year per automaker. But no American automaker came close to reaching the existing, lower cap last year.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-11","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":336,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":336,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œThe president referred to this deal as one of the worst agreements ever,â€ said Wendy Cutler, a vice president at the Asia Society Policy Institute, who helped negotiate the initial Korean agreement as a member of Mr. Obamaâ€™s administration. â€œAnd if you look at what was agreed to, it doesnâ€™t seem to change the agreement dramatically.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-12","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":92,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":92,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œI view this as a win-win deal, some solid improvements,â€ she added, â€œbut nothing dramatic.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-13","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":96,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":96,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Business groups cheered the updated pact, but stopped well short of calling it transformational.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-14","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":352,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":352,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œManufacturers were glad to see the president recommit himself to the U.S. trading partnership with Korea today,â€ said Linda Dempsey, the vice president of international economic affairs at the National Association of Manufacturers. â€œA robust U.S.-Korea F.T.A. is essential to the jobs of hundreds of

thousands of manufacturing workers across America.â€","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-2","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-04-03/south-korea-india-cut-trade-surpluses-with-u-s-as-trump-rails","range":{"length":32,"start":217},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-15","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":451,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":451,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The United Statesâ€™ trade deficit in goods and services with South Korea had already been falling before the agreement was signed, to just above $9 billion last year from just under $17 billion in 2016, as the country increased purchases of machinery, liquefied natural gas and other goods from America. South Korea was also among the countries subjected to steel and aluminum tariffs, making those metals less lucrative to export to the United States.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://ustr.gov/about-us/policy-offices/press-office/fact-sheets/2018/march/new-us-trade-policy-and-national","range":{"length":11,"start":101},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-16","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":251,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":251,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The trade deal will exclude South Korea from the steel tariffs, in exchange for that country capping its exports to the United States at 70 percent of the average of its export levels from 2015 through 2017. Korea will still face the aluminum tariffs.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/Ac4MflpdbTWGKFPgeVvsasQ","range":{"length":30,"start":287},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-17","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":471,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":471,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The revised agreement also lacks the robust â€œside dealâ€ on currency manipulation that administration officials said would be included to prevent South Korea from weakening its currency, the won. Currency devaluation, as it is called, has been of particular concern to Mr. Trump, who has accused other trading partners, like China and the European Union, of trying to weaken their currencies so that Americans using the United States dollar can buy more of their products.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.npr.org/2018/03/28/597556727/trump-administration-strikes-major-trade-deal-with-south-korea","range":{"length":17,"start":261},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-18","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":381,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":381,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œWeâ€™re going to be able to defend ourselves against currency undervaluations because, as part of this deal, thereâ€™s a very nice side deal agreement that the secretary of Treasury is negotiating over currency undervaluation,â€ Peter Navarro, a top trade adviser, told NPR in March. Mr. Navarro added that the currency agreement is â€œa benchmark for what weâ€™ll be doing going forward.â€","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-3","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://ustr.gov/sites/default/files/files/Press/Releases/KORUS%20Texts%20Outcomes.pdf","range":{"length":31,"start":89},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-19","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":424,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":424,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"That side deal has yet to materialize. In August, the United States trade representative published the â€œagreed outcomesâ€ from its negotiations with the Koreans: 24 pages of technical language and correspondence between officials from both countries, including agreements on American auto and prescription drug exports and Korean textile exports. There is no mention of currency in the agreement, or of any pending side deal.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-20","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":395,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":395,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"In a fact sheet released Monday afternoon by the White House, Trump administration officials said that â€œoutsideâ€ the Korea pact, â€œthe Treasury Department has an understanding with South Korea to avoid competitive devaluation and practices that provide an unfair competitive advantage. The understanding includes strong commitments on exchange rate practices, robust transparency, and reporting.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-21","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":135,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":135,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-

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Make your future bigger than your
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Recipe of the day: Take a break from meat with sheet-pan tostadas with black beans and
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10"},{"range":{"length":11,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-102"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"• The Vatican reached a tentative deal with the Chinese government over the right to appoint bishops in China. If finalized, the agreement would be the biggest breakthrough since the two sides severed diplomatic ties in 1951.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/world/middleeast/iran-attack-rouhani.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006119195","range":{"length":64,"start":35},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-34","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":186,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":186,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":32,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-102"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"• President Hassan Rouhani of Iran blamed an unidentified Persian Gulf country allied with the U.S. for an attack on a military parade that killed 25 people and wounded nearly 70 others.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/world/europe/uk-labour-party.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006119195","range":{"length":47,"start":88},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-35","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":136,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":136,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":35,"start":1},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-102"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"• Britain's opposition Labour Party began its annual meeting, where the big question is whether the country should vote again on Brexit.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-6","layout":"ComponentLayout-10","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/sports/golf/tiger-woods-wins-pga-tour.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006119195","range":{"length":25,"start":14},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-36","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":113,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":113,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":12,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-102"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"• Tiger Woods won the Tour Championship, his first victory in five years, after a career derailed by back injury.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":"Tiger Woods's victory on Sunday was his 80th PGA Tour win, two short of Sam Snead's career record. Tim Bradbury/Getty Images","captionComponent":{"text":"Tiger Woods's victory on Sunday was his 80th PGA Tour win, two short of Sam Snead's career record. Tim Bradbury/Getty Images"},"identifier":"100000006123309_5ba8ff857016d","imageIdentifier":"787cce754e247bcb11c718113dcb5993","layout":"fullbleed-image","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-3","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":26,"start":98},"textStyle":"photo-credit"}],"layout":"default-caption","role":"caption","text":"Tiger Woods's victory on Sunday was his 80th PGA Tour win, two short of Sam Snead's career record. Tim Bradbury/Getty Images ","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-4","layout":"image-container","role":"container","type":"container"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/sports/nfl-week-3.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006119195","range":{"length":33,"start":67},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-37","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":101,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":101,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":13,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-102"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"• In the N.F.L., the Detroit Lions upset the New England Patriots, one of the highlights from Week 3.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/sports/baseball/mlb-playoff-races.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006119195","range":{"length":28,"start":64},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-38","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":93,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":93,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":18,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-102"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"•

Baseball playoffs: It’s the final week of the regular season. Here’s where the teams stand.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/movies/house-with-a-clock-in-its-walls-no-1.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006119195","range":{"length":35,"start":97},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-39","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":166,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":166,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":38,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-102"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"• “The House With a Clock in Its Walls,” a fantasy from Steven Spielberg’s Amblin Entertainment, earned $27 million and the top spot at the North American box office.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-heading4-9","layout":"heading4","role":"heading4","text":"Noteworthy","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-40","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":16,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":16,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":14,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-102"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"• Listen to this","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/us/silence-escapes-noise-pollution-travel.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006119195","range":{"length":35,"start":56},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-41","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":142,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":142,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Who doesn’t want a little peace and quiet? Our reporter tagged along with wilderness lovers who travel to remote areas in a quest for silence.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/09/21/magazine/voyages-travel-sounds-from-the-world.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006119195","range":{"length":34,"start":109},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-42","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":349,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":349,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"And yet … what if we chose destinations based on sound? One of our most popular stories over the weekend was this piece from The Times Magazine, which takes you on a sonic journey around the world. Listen to the earth cracking in the Atacama Desert of Chile, the deafening roar of a waterfall in Iceland, and the rush of wind through aspens in Utah.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-43","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":23,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":23,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":21,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-102"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"• “Magnum P.I.” returns","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/arts/television/magnum-pi-review-reboot-jay-hernandez.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006119195","range":{"length":19,"start":188},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-44","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":208,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":208,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"A reboot of the private-eye-in-paradise series begins tonight on CBS. It is “sleek, loud and possessed of less personality than the expensive vehicles it shoots up and drives off cliffs,” our reviewer writes.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-45","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":22,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":22,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":21,"start":1},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-102"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"• Quotation of the day","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-46","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":48,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":48,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":" “I’m not sure it’s justice. But it’s something.”","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/24/us/glacier-david-marchant-sexual-harassment.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006119195","range":{"length":16,"start":2},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-

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Jane Willenbring, a professor at the University of California, San Diego, who said she was harassed by
Prof. David Marchant while she worked with him on an Antarctic glacier that carried his name. The
glacier has since been renamed.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-
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"Valentino Dixon has never played golf, but he is passionate about golf illustrations — which until
recently, he was drawing from prison in upstate New York. Mr. Dixon was released last week after
serving 27 years for a murder he didn't commit, thanks in part to reporting by Golf Digest. 'I know it
makes no sense,' he says, 'but for some reason my spirit is attuned to this game.'
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","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-4","layout":"image-container","role":"container","type":"container"}],"identifier":"_anf-section-2","layout":"default-section","role":"section","scene":{"fadeColor":"#FFFFFF","type":"fading_sticky_header"},"type":"section"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-3","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":234,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":234,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"WASHINGTON â€" Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh, facing mounting allegations of sexual impropriety and growing doubts over his confirmation to the Supreme Court, vowed on Monday to fight the â€œsmears,â€ saying he will not withdraw his nomination.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-4","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":410,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":410,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œThese are smears, pure and simple. And they debase our public discourse,â€ he wrote in a letter to the senior Republican and Democrat on the Senate Judiciary Committee. â€œBut they are also a threat to any man or woman who wishes to serve our country. Such grotesque and obvious character assassination â€" if allowed to succeed â€" will dissuade competent and good people of all political persuasions from service.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-5","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":277,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":277,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œI will not be intimidated into withdrawing from this process,â€ he continued. â€œThe coordinated effort to destroy my good name will not drive me out. The vile threats of violence against my family will not drive me out. The last-minute character assassination will not succeed.â€","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://int.nyt.com/data/documenthelper/319-brett-kavanaugh-letter-sexual-misconduct/d3dfb41ad1f992b33acd/optimized/full.pdf#page=1","range":{"length":30,"start":1},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-6","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":32,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":32,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":30,"start":1},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-36"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"[Read Judge Kavanaughâ€™s letter.]","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-7","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":409,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":409,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Senior Republicans, led by Senator Mitch McConnell, the majority leader, are closing ranks around the nominee, and they echoed Judge Kavanaughâ€™s claims, accusing Democrats of running â€œa smear campaignâ€ to derail his confirmation. Mr. McConnell took to the Senate floor Monday afternoon to declare unequivocally that the Senate will move forward with a planned hearing on Thursday and a vote on the nomination.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-1","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-8","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":358,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":358,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œI want to make it perfectly clear, Mr. President: Judge Kavanaugh will be voted on here on the Senate floor,â€ Mr. McConnell said, addressing the Senateâ€™s presiding officer and leaving no room to pressure the nominee to withdraw. â€œUp or down. On the Senate floor, this fine nominee to the Supreme Court will receive a vote in this Senate in the near future.â€","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":"In a speech on the Senate floor, Senator Mitch McConnell, the majority leader, defended Judge Brett Kavanaugh against the sexual misconduct allegations against the Supreme Court nominee and said Democrats were helping conduct a â€œsmear campaign.â€","identifier":"_anf-video-1","layout":"video","resourceIdentifier":"VideoResourceRef-1","role":"video","stillImageIdentifier":"51de701d52032712414662e37fc9d436","type":"video"},{"identifier":"_anf-heading6-1","layout":"video-headline","role":"heading6","text":"McConnell Accuses Democrats of â€˜Trying to Destroyâ€™ Kavanaugh","textStyle":"video-headline","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-2","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":29,"start":245},"textStyle":"photo-credit"}],"layout":"default-caption","role":"caption","text":"In a speech on the Senate floor, Senator Mitch McConnell, the majority leader, defended Judge Brett Kavanaugh against the sexual misconduct allegations against the Supreme Court nominee and said Democrats were helping conduct a â€œsmear campaign.â€ By C-SPAN on Sept. 24, 2018.","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-1","layout":"image-container","role":"container","type":"container"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-

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Fox News is also a favorite venue of the president, offering the judge a more-or-less direct line to make his case to Mr. Trump.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-11","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":359,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":359,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Senator Orrin G. Hatch of Utah, a senior Republican on the Judiciary Committee and its former chairman, issued a statement attacking Democrats, who he said â€œwill stop at nothing to prevent Judge Kavanaughâ€™s confirmation,â€ and called for the panel to vote on Judge Kavanaugh after a hearing set for Thursday. Senator Tom Cotton, Republican of Arkansas, agreed.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-2","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-12","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":166,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":166,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œThe Democrats are engaged in a campaign of delay and character assassination against Judge Kavanaugh,â€ Mr. Cotton said Monday morning. â€œItâ€™s time to vote this week.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-13","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":241,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":241,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The comments from the Republicans â€" as well as from President Trump, who told reporters on Monday that he will back Judge Kavanaugh â€œall the wayâ€ â€" sought to put to rest speculation that the partyâ€™s support for the nominee could be cracking.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-14","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":505,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":505,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"But in a Senate where Republicans hold a 51-to-49 advantage, Republican leaders ultimately will not decide whether Judge Kavanaugh reaches the highest court in the land. He will need the support of virtually every Senate Republican, including two key swing votes, Susan Collins of Maine and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska; one retiring Republican who has expressed misgivings, Jeff Flake of Arizona; and the one Republican up for re-election in November in a state won by Hillary Clinton, Dean Heller of Nevada.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-15","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":429,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":429,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"In light of fresh allegations, Democrats have demanded that Republicans once again delay a hearing, now scheduled for Thursday, when one of Judge Kavanaughâ€™s accusers, Christine Blasey Ford, is to testify against him. Dr. Blasey has said that the judge sexually assaulted her when they were teenagers more than 30 years ago. Judge Kavanaugh has vigorously denied the allegation and has said he wants to testify to clear his name.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-3","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-16","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":548,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":548,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Dr. Blasey has said she intended for her allegations to remain confidential, but after word of them began to leak, she shared her account of the incident with The Washington Post. In a letter sent Saturday to Senator Charles E. Grassley, Republican of Iowa and the chairman of the Judiciary Committee, Dr. Blasey â€" who sometimes goes by her married name, Ford â€" said she decided to share her account with her congresswoman, Representative Anna Eshoo of California, when Judge Kavanaughâ€™s name was being floated as a potential Supreme Court nominee.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":"People protested the nomination of Judge Kavanaugh outside the Supreme Court on Monday. Erin Schaff for The New York

Times","captionComponent":{"text":"People protested the nomination of Judge Kavanaugh outside the Supreme Court on Monday. Erin Schaff for The New York Times"},"identifier":"100000006124223_5ba97c48949fa","imageIdentifier":"7fc5728c5fae283c95854ea58c182d05","layout":"fullbleed-image","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-3","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":35,"start":87},"textStyle":"photo-credit"}],"layout":"default-caption","role":"caption","text":"People protested the nomination of Judge Kavanaugh outside the Supreme Court on Monday. Erin Schaff for The New York Times ","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-2","layout":"image-container","role":"container","type":"container"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-17","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":45,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":45,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Her legal team released the letter on Monday.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://int.nyt.com/data/documenthelper/320-christine-blasey-ford-grassley-letter/b0b9087dd99c887defbc/optimized/full.pdf#page=1","range":{"length":66,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-18","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":260,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":260,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The decision to come forward, she wrote, â€œwas a very difficult one, but I felt that this was something that a citizen couldnâ€™t NOT do. I felt agony yet urgency and a civic duty to let it be known, in a confidential manner, prior to the nominee being selected.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-19","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":408,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":408,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"She went on: â€œMr. Kavanaughâ€™s actions, while many years ago, were serious and have had a lasting impact on my life. I thought that knowledge of his actions could be useful for you and those in charge of choosing among the various candidates. My original intent was first and foremost to be a helpful citizen â€" in a confidential way that would minimize collateral damage to all families and friends involved.â€","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://int.nyt.com/data/documenthelper/320-christine-blasey-ford-grassley-letter/b0b9087dd99c887defbc/optimized/full.pdf#page=1","range":{"length":25,"start":1},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-20","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":27,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":27,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":1,"start":25},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-36"},{"range":{"length":9,"start":16},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-36"},{"range":{"length":15,"start":1},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-36"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"[Read Dr. Blaseyâ€™s letter.]","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2018-09-24%20Grassley%20to%20Ford%20-%20Ford%20Allegations.pdf","range":{"length":8,"start":13},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-21","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":437,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":437,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Mr. Grassley replied that he was committed to making sure she was heard. â€œItâ€™s important to me that you personally know how sincere and thorough this effort has been, including my commitment to make sure committee members and other senators are able to hear directly from you,â€ he wrote, in a letter his aides released Monday. He added a postscript in his own hand: â€œP.S. I look forward to your testimony.â€ He signed the letter, â€œChuck.â€","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-4","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AyWjf_1bkP7-54sKLmXS3Ng","range":{"length":1,"start":195},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://apple.news/AyWjf_1bkP7-54sKLmXS3Ng","range":{"length":66,"start":196},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-22","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":378,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":378,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"On Sunday evening, just hours after lawyers for Dr. Blasey and Senate Judiciary Committee aides finished negotiations on the shape of Thursdayâ€™s hearing, new allegations began to surface. First, The New Yorker published an interview with a woman, Deborah Ramirez, who said that Judge Kavanaugh exposed himself to her at a drunken dormitory party during their first year at Yale.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-

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Ms. Ramirez herself contacted former Yale classmates asking if they recalled the episode and told some of them that she could not be certain Mr. Kavanaugh was the one who exposed himself.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-24","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":45,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":45,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The New Yorker strongly stood by its article.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-25","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":462,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":462,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Adding to Republican concerns, Michael Avenatti, the lawyer for Stephanie Clifford, the pornographic film actress who claims to have had an affair with Mr. Trump before he became president, posted additional salacious allegations on Twitter. A spokesman for Senator Charles E. Grassley, Republican of Iowa and the Judiciary Committee chairman, said Republicans are looking into the new allegations, but they intend to continue with Thursdayâ€™s hearing as planned.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-26","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":435,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":435,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Republicans find themselves caught between the growing anger of many female voters over the Kavanaugh allegations and the demands of core conservative voters infuriated by what they see as a Democratic plot. Religious conservatives have doubled down on their support for Judge Kavanaugh, arguing that the developments are a last-ditch effort by Democrats to derail the conservative judicial agenda that Mr. Trump promised them in 2016.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-5","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-27","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":95,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":95,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"And conservative judicial activists are keeping up the pressure on Republicans to plow forward.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-28","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":423,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":423,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œThe White House is clearly very strongly behind him,â€ said Carrie Severino, chief counsel and policy director of the Judicial Crisis Network, a conservative advocacy group that is coordinating support for Judge Kavanaugh. â€œWe are very strongly behind him. If anything, Iâ€™m seeing conservatives more galvanized by what is going on because it has become such a pattern of unsubstantiated smears and character assassination.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-29","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":118,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":118,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Judge Kavanaughâ€™s lawyers, Beth Wilkinson and Alexandra Walsh, assailed The New Yorker article on Monday as unfounded.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-30","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":381,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":381,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œIt is facts and evidence that matter when accusations of this kind are made,â€ the lawyers said in a statement. â€œNotwithstanding that, the editors of The New Yorker chose to publicize a story describing an alleged incident from Judge Kavanaughâ€™s college days that not a single eyewitness could corroborate and that even the person making the allegation is herself uncertain about.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-31","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":318,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":318,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"They said that â€œtestimony as well as documentary evidence from the timeâ€ will exonerate him of the allegation that he assaulted Dr. Blasey, presumably a reference to calendar pages that Judge Kavanaugh kept from the summer of 1982 that do not show a party clearly matching the small gathering Dr. Blasey has described.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-6","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-32","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":224,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":224,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-

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Credit: Michael Short/Bloomberg News","captionComponent":{"text":"Google CEO Sundar Pichai speaks during the Google I/O Developers Conference in Mountain View, Calif., in May 8. Credit: Michael Short/Bloomberg News"},"identifier":"_anf-photo-1","imageIdentifier":"c2ce9194131e3a1e38ca2d506fa1fad3","layout":"mainImageLayout","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-author-1","layout":"authorLayout","role":"author","text":"By John D. McKinnon and Douglas MacMillan","textStyle":"authorStyle","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-byline-1","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"byline","text":"September 24, 2018, 6:58 pm ET","textStyle":"bylineStyle","type":"text"},{"components":[{"identifier":"_anf-body-1","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"WASHINGTON—Google Chief Executive Sundar Pichai plans to appear at a private meeting of top GOP lawmakers on Friday and again at a public hearing this year, responding to new scrutiny of the company's work with China, its market power and alleged bias against conservatives in its search results.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-2","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"The move comes amid growing regulatory concerns for the Alphabet Inc. unit and other big internet services such as Facebook Inc. and Twitter Inc., as bipartisan worries grow about the companies' size and influence, as well as the potential for abuses.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"identifier":"_anf-image-1","imageIdentifier":"31f826001ad5f149585205e453f43966","layout":"iconLayout","role":"image","type":"image"},{"identifier":"_anf-title-2","layout":"insetTitleLayout","role":"title","text":"What's News","textStyle":"insetTitle","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-3","layout":"insetSummaryLayout","role":"body","text":"What's News is a digest of the day's most important business and markets news to watch, delivered to your inbox.","textStyle":"insetSummary","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.wsj.com/newsletters?sub=401?mod=wsjan","range":{"length":7,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-4","layout":"insetButtonLayout","role":"body","text":"SIGN UP","textStyle":"insetButtonTextStyle","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-4","layout":"whatsNewsInsetLayout","role":"container","style":"_anf-cs-1","type":"container"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-5","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"“Google has a lot of questions to answer about reports of bias in its search results, violations of user privacy, anticompetitive behavior and business dealings with repressive regimes like China," said House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy (R., Calif.), who is organizing Friday's meeting. He added that Mr. Pichai has "kindly" agreed to field Congress's questions with Republican members on Friday. Mr. Pichai also is expected to appear at a House Judiciary Committee hearing after the November election.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-6","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Mr. McCarthy has complained that Google works with China to censor the internet but has canceled a contract with the U.S. military. Google this year said it wouldn't renew a contract with the U.S. Department of Defense

over employee concerns about aiding military projects; the company has also tested a mobile version of its search engine that would adhere to China's strict controls over content, a person familiar with the matter said.","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-1","layout":"ComponentLayout-1","role":"container","type":"container"},{"identifier":"_anf-medium_rectangle_advertisement-1","layout":"mediumAdvertisementLayout","role":"medium_rectangle_advertisement","type":"medium_rectangle_advertisement"},{"components":[{"identifier":"_anf-body-7","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"The tech industry began facing serious political challenges last year, amid revelations of Russian meddling in the 2016 election, but Google initially escaped some of the intense scrutiny that Facebook and Twitter have endured. Since then, however, the company has drawn fire over privacy on its Gmail service and allegations by conservatives that its search results stifle their viewpoints. Lawmakers have also expressed frustration with Google for not sending a top-level executive to a recent hearing.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-8","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"“I look forward to meeting with members on both sides of the aisle, answering a wide range of questions, and explaining our approach. These meetings will continue Google's long history of engaging with Congress, including testifying seven times to Congress this year,” Mr. Pichai said.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-9","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Mr. McCarthy, who is aiming to help preserve the GOP's House majority and improve his chances of becoming speaker, has emerged as a vocal critic of the tech companies in recent months, as conservative voters appear to be focusing more on the issue of alleged political bias. He has been joined by President Trump, who recently accused Google of manipulating search results to highlight negative news reports about him.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"identifier":"_anf-text-2","layout":"moreTitleLayout","role":"body","text":"MORE FROM WSJ","textStyle":"moreTitle","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-5","layout":"whatsNewsInsetLayout","role":"container","style":"_anf-cs-1","type":"container"},{"components":[{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.wsj.com/articles/used-car-sales-boom-as-new-cars-get-too-pricey-for-many-1537700401?mod=wsjan","range":{"length":55,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-10","layout":"moreLinkLayout","role":"body","text":"Used-Car Sales Boom as New Cars Get Too Pricey for Many","textStyle":"moreBody","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-art-market-pounces-on-its-next-big-star-now-she-has-to-hold-on-1537539884?mod=wsjan","range":{"length":70,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-11","layout":"moreLinkLayout","role":"body","text":"Art World's Newest Star Makes $3 Million Paintings. Is the Crash Next?","textStyle":"moreBody","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.wsj.com/graphics/retirement-calculator/?mod=wsjan","range":{"length":34,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-12","layout":"moreLinkLayout","role":"body","text":"Graphic: Can You Afford to Retire?","textStyle":"moreBody","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.wsj.com/articles/the-billion-dollar-mystery-man-and-the-wildest-party-vegas-ever-saw-1536984061?mod=wsjan","range":{"length":67,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-13","layout":"moreLinkLayout","role":"body","text":"The Billion-Dollar Mystery Man and the Wildest Party Vegas Ever Saw","textStyle":"moreBody","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.wsj.com/articles/which-colleges-give-you-the-best-value-in-wsj-the-rankings-1536188485?mod=wsjan","range":{"length":58,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-14","layout":"moreLinkLayout","role":"body","text":"Which Colleges Give You the Best Value in WSJ/THE Rankings","textStyle":"moreBody","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.wsj.com/graphics/genz-is-coming-to-your-office/?mod=wsjan","range":{"length":51,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-15","layout":"moreLinkLayout","role":"body","text":"Gen Z Is Coming to Your Office. Get Ready to Adapt.","textStyle":"moreBody","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-6","layout":"_defaultComponentLayout","role":"container","type":"container"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-16","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Tech firms deny that they skew their news feeds, search or other functions to boost liberals or hurt conservatives.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-17","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Democrats including Sens. Mark Warner of Virginia and Elizabeth Warren of Massachusetts have also criticized Google on China and other issues.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-18","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Additional

meetings planned for Washington this week could provide a glimpse of what steps policy makers and regulators could take to rein in the tech giants.","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-2","layout":"ComponentLayout-1","role":"container","type":"container"},{"identifier":"_anf-medium_rectangle_advertisement-2","layout":"mediumAdvertisementLayout","role":"medium_rectangle_advertisement","type":"medium_rectangle_advertisement"},{"components":[{"identifier":"_anf-body-19","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"On Tuesday, U.S. Attorney General Jeff Sessions is expected to meet with state attorneys general to discuss alleged stifling of conservative speech online, as well as possible antitrust concerns over Google as well as Facebook and others. On Wednesday, the Senate Commerce Committee holds a hearing focused on internet privacy concerns, amid growing bipartisan calls for legislation to govern online data collection and use.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-20","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Tech firms also are facing a new documentary by a prominent conservative author, Peter Schweizer. The film, entitled “The Creepy Line,” raises allegations that tech firms hold too much power and suppress conservative views.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-21","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Conservatives’ current focus on big tech clearly has a potential political upside. A majority of Republicans—64%—say major tech companies support the views of liberals over conservatives, according to a recent Pew Research Center poll.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-22","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Allegations of anticonservative bias also could help divert attention from Russian meddling in the 2016 election that appeared to use tech platforms such as Facebook to manipulate public opinion and support Mr. Trump.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-23","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"But the current antitech atmosphere goes beyond political maneuvering. As concerns grow among lawmakers and regulators, the debate appears to be expanding from politics to policy, and prospects for new regulation are increasing, no matter who wins the midterm election and control of the House and Senate.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-24","layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"That reality came home in a letter that a bipartisan group of senators wrote last week to the Trump administration, urging legislation to impose a new “enforceable nationwide standard” for collection and use of online data. The letter was written by the top Republicans and Democrats on two Senate Commerce subcommittees, Sens. Jerry Moran (R., Kan.), Roger Wicker (R., Miss.), Richard Blumenthal (D., Conn.) and Brian Schatz (D., Hawaii).The administration also could release its own set of principles for online privacy this week. They could further fuel talk of broad online privacy legislation—something the tech companies have successfully avoided for years.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"range":{"length":21,"start":29},"to":"john.mckinnon@wsj.com","type":"email"},{"range":{"length":25,"start":76},"to":"douglas.macmillan@wsj.com","type":"email"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-25","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":8,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"bodyLayout","role":"body","text":"Write to John D. 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2014 at a groundbreaking ceremony in Summit, N.J., for Celgene, the pharmaceutical company he led until stepping down to run for United States Senate. To his right are Representative Leonard Lance of New Jersey and former Gov. Chris Christie. Mel Evans/Associated Press"},"identifier":"100000006098011_5ba8b80411187","imageIdentifier":"e126e7bde26613f50f2609cb8776d827","layout":"fullbleed-image","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-1","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":27,"start":261},"textStyle":"photo-credit"}],"layout":"default-caption","role":"caption","text":"Bob Hugin spoke in 2014 at a groundbreaking ceremony in Summit, N.J., for Celgene, the pharmaceutical company he led until stepping down to run for United States Senate. To his right are Representative Leonard Lance of New Jersey and former Gov. Chris Christie. Mel Evans/Associated Press ","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-5","layout":"image-container","role":"container","type":"container"}],"identifier":"_anf-section-2","layout":"default-section","role":"section","scene":{"fadeColor":"#FFFFFF","type":"fading_sticky_header"},"type":"section"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20180129005762/en/Celgene-Announces-Retirement-Executive-Chairman-Bob-Hugin","range":{"length":34,"start":194},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-6","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":363,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":363,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"When Bob Hugin joined Celgene in 1999 as its chief financial officer, the company was a struggling biotech that sold just one product â€" a leprosy drug â€" and faced a shaky future. By the time he stepped down as executive chairman in February to run for United States Senate, Celgene had become a pharmaceutical powerhouse with a market value of nearly $80 billion.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://ir.celgene.com/press-releases/press-release-details/2018/Celgene-Reports-Fourth-Quarter-and-Full-Year-2017-Operating-and-Financial-Results/default.aspx","range":{"length":17,"start":177},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-7","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":195,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":195,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"And that onetime leprosy drug? It had been transformed into Revlimid, a best-selling cancer drug that, with annual sales of $8.2 billion, made up nearly two-thirds of Celgeneâ€™s net sales in 2017.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://youtu.be/K4AqlkLfs5w","range":{"length":34,"start":174},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-8","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":324,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":324,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Mr. Hugin, a Republican mounting a surprisingly strong challenge to Senator Robert Menendez in New Jersey, has made his career at Celgene a cornerstone of his campaign, with television advertisements boasting that he â€œchose a life of serviceâ€ in the Marines and â€œleading a health care company that develops cancer medicine.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-9","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":299,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":299,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"In deeply blue New Jersey, few expected a real contest for Mr. Menendezâ€™s seat. Yet anger stemming from Mr. Menendezâ€™s federal corruption trial last year â€" a trial that Mr. Huginâ€™s campaign reminds television viewers in New Jersey about on a regular basis â€" has dampened his popularity among voters.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-1","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://twitter.com/realDonaldTrump/status/1016368503723577344","range":{"length":21,"start":213},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://news.gallup.com/poll/12748/business-industry-sector-ratings.aspx","range":{"length":16,"start":238},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-10","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":413,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":413,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"But Mr. Huginâ€™s professional career could also prove to be a liability â€" he is the sole pharmaceutical executive running for statewide office in 2018. Anger over high drug prices has risen and President Trump has vilified the industry. A 2017 Gallup poll found that just 33 percent of the country had a favorable view of the drug industry, the second-lowest of any sector. (The lowest was the federal government.)","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-11","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":394,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-

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Several generic drug companies have sued the company claiming that Celgene denied them access to drug samples needed to make cheaper copies.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RIfs6hthwGo","range":{"length":71,"start":138},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-13","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":334,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":334,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Mr. Hugin has also been targeted by a super PAC run by a cancer patient taking Revlimid that launched a $1.5 million advertising campaign criticizing steep price hikes of cancer drugs during Mr. Huginâ€™s tenure at Celgene. And the Menendez campaign has attacked him around drug prices, personal profits and the $280 million settlement.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-2","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-14","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":38,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":38,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Mr. Hugin has dismissed the criticism.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-15","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":317,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":317,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œNew Jersey voters are a lot smarter than my opponent gives them credit for,â€ Mr. Hugin said in a statement. â€œThey understand that it costs billions of dollars in research and development, and years of hard work by hundreds of researchers and scientists, to develop medicines that successfully treat and cure cancer.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-16","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":237,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":237,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Some experts are not so sure. Patrick Murray, director of the Monmouth University Poll, noted that despite the fact that many large drug companies are based in New Jersey, public opinion in the state likely mirrors the national attitude.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-17","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":228,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":228,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œConcern about being able to afford health care is the top issue mentioned by voters in our polling for this yearâ€™s midterm, in large part because of rising drug costs,â€ Mr. Murray said. â€œThis provides an opening for Menendez.â€™â€™","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":"Mr. Menendez has attacked Mr. Huginâ€™s record as a pharmaceutical executive, accusing him of profiting from major price increases for cancer drugs. Bryan Anselm for The New York Times","captionComponent":{"text":"Mr. Menendez has attacked Mr. Huginâ€™s record as a pharmaceutical executive, accusing him of profiting from major price increases for cancer drugs. Bryan Anselm for The New York Times"},"identifier":"100000006098032_5ba8b80411dfc","imageIdentifier":"5e5526aaedbd7af8c8bade0a70b11da0","layout":"fullbleed-image","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-2","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":36,"start":146},"textStyle":"photo-credit"}],"layout":"default-caption","role":"caption","text":"Mr. Menendez has attacked Mr. Huginâ€™s record as a pharmaceutical executive, accusing him of profiting from major price increases for cancer drugs. Bryan Anselm for The New York Times ","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-1","layout":"image-container","role":"container","type":"container"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-18","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":277,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-

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Even with Mr. Menendezâ€™s vulnerabilities, New Jersey has nearly 900,000 more registered Democrats than Republicans, and a number of competitive House races that have attracted national attention.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-3","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-heading4-1","layout":"heading4","role":"heading4","text":"A once-notorious drug becomes a lucrative cancer weapon","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-19","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":235,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":235,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"When Mr. Hugin arrived at Celgene in June 1999, the company was struggling to figure out how to turn a profit on its only marketed drug, Thalomid, which had been approved a year earlier to treat a rare skin condition caused by leprosy.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-20","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":158,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":158,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Thalomid was Celgeneâ€™s brand name for thalidomide, an old drug that became notorious in the 1960s after it was traced to thousands of birth defects worldwide.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/1997/11/28/us/thalidomide-once-banned-is-in-demand.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006090758","range":{"length":61,"start":55},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/1997/11/28/us/thalidomide-once-banned-is-in-demand.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006090758","range":{"length":11,"start":116},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-21","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":358,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":358,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Thalidomide had fallen into obscurity until the 1990s, when new research suggested it could be useful for a variety of diseases. AIDS activists were smuggling it into the country and selling it through black-market â€œbuyers clubsâ€ after research suggested the drug could be used for AIDS wasting syndrome and Kaposi sarcoma, two serious complications of AIDS.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-22","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":187,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":187,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"F.D.A. officials, alarmed that a notorious drug was being sold illicitly, took the unusual step of seeking out drug companies that might be willing to bring thalidomide to market legally.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-4","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-23","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":109,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":109,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Celgene, then a little-known New Jersey company that had never sold a drug, ultimately took up the challenge.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.hrsa.gov/hansens-disease/clinical-center.html","range":{"length":38,"start":113},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-24","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":251,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":251,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"In 1998, Celgeneâ€™s application was approved to treat erythema nodosum leprosum, a complication of leprosy, which is extremely rare in the United States. In 2007, Celgene said that just 100 prescriptions a year were written to treat the skin condition.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-25","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":256,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":256,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"But leprosy was hardly the point: The F.D.A.â€™s main goal was to keep the drug from harming infants, and it did so by requiring that Celgene set up a first-of-its-kind distribution system that would limit prescriptions to preapproved doctors and pharmacies.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-26","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":320,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":320,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Celgene, meanwhile, had ambitious plans. Thalidomide was generating intense excitement in the medical world, and from the start the company made clear it would not stop at treating leprosy. Celgene needed a finance executive to

pitch its story to Wall Street. It settled on Mr. Hugin, a managing director at J.P. Morgan.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-5","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://bobhugin.com/about/","range":{"length":19,"start":176},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/816284/000100515000000449/0001005150-00-000449.txt","range":{"length":21,"start":223},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-27","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":461,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":461,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"At the time, the companyâ€™s financial situation was perilous. Celgene had 200 employees and was getting by on less than six weeks of cash when Mr. Hugin joined, according to his campaign biography. A year later, the company warned investors that, â€œduring the next several years, we will be very dependent on the commercial success of Thalomid,â€ while also acknowledging that the market for the only disease for which the drug was approved was â€œrelatively small.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-heading4-2","layout":"heading4","role":"heading4","text":"Seeking a windfall by exploiting drug safety rules","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-28","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":387,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":387,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Drug companies are forbidden from promoting a drug for any unapproved uses, but doctors have broad discretion to prescribe a product for a range of diseases. Celgene appeared to exploit this distinction almost as soon as Thalomid arrived on the market, according to company filings, public statements and internal documents included in the whistle-blower lawsuit Celgene settled in 2017.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-29","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":257,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":257,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The company hired a team of 60 sales representatives, many of whom had experience in oncology, according to financial filings, and just months after Thalomid arrived on the market, Celgene announced that it would pursue F.D.A. approval for multiple myeloma.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":"Mr. Hugin has defended his role as a top executive at Celgene, saying that he helped lead a company that developed life-saving medicines. Rick Loomis for The New York Times","captionComponent":{"text":"Mr. Hugin has defended his role as a top executive at Celgene, saying that he helped lead a company that developed life-saving medicines. Rick Loomis for The New York Times"},"identifier":"100000006098033_5ba8b804122ca","imageIdentifier":"c275d4ffa64cd5696e6a2645c43f84a0","layout":"fullbleed-image","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-3","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":35,"start":138},"textStyle":"photo-credit"}],"layout":"default-caption","role":"caption","text":"Mr. Hugin has defended his role as a top executive at Celgene, saying that he helped lead a company that developed life-saving medicines. Rick Loomis for The New York Times ","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-2","layout":"image-container","role":"container","type":"container"},{"additions":[{"URL":"http://wayback.archive-it.org/7993/20170112071439/http://www.fda.gov/downloads/Drugs/GuidanceComplianceRegulatoryInformation/EnforcementActivitiesbyFDA/WarningLettersandNoticeofViolationLetterstoPharmaceuticalCompanies/UCM167840.pdf","range":{"length":47,"start":100},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/2000/05/05/fda-moves-to-curb-ads-for-thalidomide/dd6ce44a-711b-424c-a9a0-ae67168f170c/?utm_term=.f0af824af352","range":{"length":16,"start":246},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-30","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":319,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":319,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The F.D.A. reprimanded Celgene multiple times in those early years, telling the company that it had not adequately warned about thalidomideâ€™s risks in its announcement about multiple myeloma, and calling a meeting in December 1998 to warn of its â€œstrong concernâ€ that Celgene was marketing Thalomid for unapproved uses.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-6","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"http://wayback.archive-it.org/7993/20170112070734/http://www.fda.gov/downloads/Drugs/GuidanceComplianceRegulatoryInformation/EnforcementActivitiesbyFDA/WarningLettersandNoticeofViolationLetterstoPharmaceuticalCompanies/UCM165843.pdf","range":{"length":41,"start":9},"type":"link"}],"i

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that it had evidence the company was improperly marketing Thalomid for a variety of
cancers as well as to promote a feeling of â€œgeneral well-beingâ€ in cancer
patients.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-
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to provide and distribute thalidomide responsibly is essential to the public health,â€
the agency wrote in the
letter.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.sec.gov/Archives/edgar/data/8
16284/000100515001000229/0001005150-01-
000229.txt","range":{"length":20,"start":286},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-
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body","role":"body","text":"Over the next few years, however, Mr. Hugin and other top
executives repeatedly referred to Thalomid â€" and later Revlimid â€" as the key to
Celgeneâ€™s financial future, even though it would not get formal approval to market
the drugs to treat certain cancers until 2005 and 2006. In 2001, the company reported
that 92 percent of Thalomidâ€™s prescriptions were being written to treat cancer, and
at an investor conference in 2004, Mr. Hugin said, â€œThalomid is important, because it
is the financial engine that drives us.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-
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saying it settled the lawsuit in 2017 to avoid the uncertainty, distraction and expense
of protracted litigation.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-
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promising treatments for multiple myeloma, a disease that affects more than 30,000
patients a year, was a windfall for
Celgene.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://media.celgene.com/content/upload
s/revlimid-long-
form.pdf","range":{"length":17,"start":200},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-
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Revlimid, a closely related derivative of thalidomide, initially cost about $6,000. By
2017, Celegene had raised the price of a monthâ€™s supply to more than
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as a result of its legal monopoly. Under federal regulations, a pharmaceutical company
can exclusively market a drug for up to seven years. Once that period expires, along
with any patents, the market opens to generic competition and prices typically fall
precipitously.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-
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mounted an aggressive campaign to extend its
monopoly.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-
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body","role":"body","text":"â€œTheyâ€™ve gone to pretty great lengths to protect that
drug and to build as many walls around it as they can,â€ said Michael Brzica, the vice
president for federal government affairs at the Association for Accessible Medicines,
the generic drug industryâ€™s lobbying group.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-
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to samples of its drugs, which generic companies need to test their competing

products.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-41","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":258,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":258,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"In restricting access to Revlimid and Thalomid, Celgene relied on a federal requirement that the distribution of those drugs be tightly regulated because of their dangerous side effects under a program known as Risk Evaluation and Mitigation System, or REMS.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":"Elaine Kodish, who lives in Los Angeles, said she pays $785 a month for Revlimid, a drug produced by Celgene that helps treat her multiple myeloma. Emily Berl for The New York Times","captionComponent":{"text":"Elaine Kodish, who lives in Los Angeles, said she pays $785 a month for Revlimid, a drug produced by Celgene that helps treat her multiple myeloma. Emily Berl for The New York Times"},"identifier":"100000006098034_5ba8b8041267d","imageIdentifier":"eee32d2f6bc7b8bdb7a6a5d6cab07a43","layout":"fullbleed-image","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-4","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":34,"start":147},"textStyle":"photo-credit"}],"layout":"default-caption","role":"caption","text":"Elaine Kodish, who lives in Los Angeles, said she pays $785 a month for Revlimid, a drug produced by Celgene that helps treat her multiple myeloma. Emily Berl for The New York Times ","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-3","layout":"image-container","role":"container","type":"container"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-42","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":111,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":111,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Congress expressly prohibited drug companies from using these programs to block or delay generic drug approval.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-43","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":88,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":88,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Yet, according to three lawsuits filed by generic drug companies, Celgene did just that.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-44","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":315,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":315,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"It began with a simple refusal to distribute samples of their drugs, citing REMS and demanding that generic drug companies provide written confirmation from the F.D.A. permitting Celgene to provide drug samples. In the case of Mylan, one of the generic drug companies that sued Celgene, this process took 19 months.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-45","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":251,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":251,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"After the generic companies sent approval from the F.D.A., Celgene would request more information before agreeing to distribute the drug. But according to court documents in the Mylan case, these requests were laborious, irrelevant and time consuming.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-46","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":244,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":244,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The voluminous requests from Celgene became a rinse-and-repeat cycle for many of the generic drug companies, according to court documents. Two companies, Lannett and Barr Laboratories, settled with Celgene. Mylanâ€™s suit will soon head to trial.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-47","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":208,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":208,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œThis is really concerning conduct and Celgene is by far the worst offender,â€ Michael Carrier, a professor at Rutgers Law School who studies patent law, said of Celgeneâ€™s tactics to delay generic development.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-heading4-4","layout":"heading4","role":"heading4","text":" Campaign attack ads over soaring drug prices","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://poll.qu.edu/new-jersey/release-detail?ReleaseID=2563","range":{"length":27,"start":160},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-48","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":295,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":295,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"As the Senate race careens toward the final weeks, the Menendez campaign has seen some troubling signs in recent polling. Despite maintaining a six-point lead, a Quinnipiac poll in August found that 49 percent of New Jersey voters believed that Mr. Menendez â€œwas involved in serious wrongdoing.â€","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XE8lizocN4s&feature=youtu.be","range":{"length":21,"start":150},"type":"link"},{"URL":"htt

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body","role":"body","text":"Since Labor Day, Mr. Menendezâ€™s campaign, perhaps in a
sign of vulnerability, has aggressively ramped up its advertising campaign, with a
majority of the political attacks accusing Mr. Hugin of raising drug prices to maximize
profits.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-
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executive and become executive chairman, the company suffered two major setbacks in its
development pipeline: A drug it had hoped would be a breakthrough in treating Crohnâ€™s
disease failed to outperform a control group and Otezla, a psoriasis drug, badly missed
sales expectations.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://ir.celgene.com/press-
releases/press-release-details/2017/Celgene-Provides-Update-on-GED-0301-mongersen-
Inflammatory-Bowel-Disease-
Program/default.aspx","range":{"length":39,"start":21},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://i
r.celgene.com/press-releases/press-release-details/2017/Celgene-Provides-Update-on-GED-
0301-mongersen-Inflammatory-Bowel-Disease-
Program/default.aspx","range":{"length":20,"start":60},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://w
ww.streetinsider.com/Analyst+Comments/Celgene+%28CELG%29%3A+Price+Increases+Add+8c+In+1
7+-
+Suntrust/13411298.html","range":{"length":64,"start":161},"type":"link"}],"identifier"
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Kodish, a 76-year-old retiree from Los Angeles, briefly stopped taking Revlimid after
her Medicare drug plan required she pay more than $450 a month for the drug that keeps
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ballooning out-of-pocket costs â€" she has since returned to taking Revlimid, which now
costs her about $785 per month â€" she said she recently sold her stake. â€œIâ€™m
grateful to the drug companies, donâ€™t get me wrong,â€ Ms. Kodish said. â€œHowever,
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Kavanaugh, his Supreme Court nominee, teetered over a sexual assault allegation from decades ago, President Trump vented his frustration about his own partyâ€™s unwillingness to aggressively hit back.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-4","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":447,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":447,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Speaking to thousands of supporters at a rally in Missouri on Friday, Mr. Trump recounted how he had implored an unnamed senator to â€œfight forâ€ Judge Kavanaugh, and â€œnot worry about the other side.â€ The lawmaker pushed back, the president said, citing his experience from 25 years in politics. But Mr. Trump said he had told the man that he knew better: â€œIâ€™ve been in politics for two and a half years, and Iâ€™m the president of the United States.â€","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/ASDpb1vcRQemX7gbpw9LQYg","range":{"length":45,"start":327},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-5","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":421,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":421,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The exchange highlighted the clash between Mr. Trumpâ€™s pugnacious instincts and the political realities surrounding Judge Kavanaughâ€™s imperiled nomination. Mr. Trump is confronting a situation that is beyond his control, with the Senate Judiciary Committee making the decisions, including a momentous one on Sunday in which it reached an agreement to hear public testimony from the judgeâ€™s accuser, Christine Blasey Ford.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-6","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":414,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":414,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"With one notable exception late last week, Mr. Trump has heeded instructions from his advisers and Republican senators to hold his fire, lest he provoke a calamitous backlash. Constrained by his partyâ€™s perilous electoral prospects and the accusations of sexual misconduct he himself has faced in the past, the president is virtually powerless to influence the outcome of perhaps his administrationâ€™s top priority.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-1","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-7","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":503,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":503,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The public spectacle that will surround Dr. Blaseyâ€™s testimony on Thursday illustrates the degree to which a confirmation effort that was once seen as an island of functionality in a tumultuous White House has become the latest messy episode in a presidency full of them. The development could carry profound consequences not only for the future of the Supreme Court but also for Republicans facing the growing possibility of losing control of Congress in November, partly at the hands of female voters.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AyWjf_1bkP7-54sKLmXS3Ng","range":{"length":14,"start":113},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://apple.news/AyWjf_1bkP7-54sKLmXS3Ng","range":{"length":13,"start":127},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-8","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":266,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":266,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"As the risk that Judge Kavanaughâ€™s nomination could collapse has mounted â€" a new allegation of sexual misconduct published by The New Yorker on Sunday night raised fresh questions about whether he could survive â€" Mr. Trump has been forced into the role of spectator.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-9","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":403,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":403,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The president was briefed on the allegation on Sunday, according to people in contact with him, and was remaining firmly behind Judge Kavanaugh, who is also scheduled to testify before the committee and who has vehemently denied the allegations. But one of the people said the president argued that the new charge showed why the White House should have fought back against Dr. Blasey from the beginning.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-

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For Mr. Trump, the hearing is dangerously unpredictable, carrying the potential to tarnish not only Judge Kavanaugh but also the Republican Party itself weeks before the election.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-12","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":466,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":466,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"While the president, cognizant of the stakes, has mostly restrained himself from attacking Dr. Blasey publicly, he reverted to form on Friday, questioning her credibility in a tweet in which he demanded to know why she or her parents had not reported the assault to law enforcement authorities if it had been â€œas bad as she says.â€ Later, at his rally in Springfield, Mo., Mr. Trump said Judge Kavanaugh would be confirmed because â€œhe was born forâ€ the Supreme Court.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-13","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":264,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":264,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"His tweet drew a backlash from Senator Susan Collins of Maine, one of a few moderate Republicans whose votes will determine whether Judge Kavanaugh is confirmed. She noted that many sexual assaults are never reported, and called the presidentâ€™s remark â€œappalling.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-14","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":368,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":368,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the majority leader, who has teamed up with Donald F. McGahn II, the White House counsel, to try to push through Judge Kavanaughâ€™s confirmation, privately told Mr. Trump that his tweet was not helpful. And on Sunday, Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, a member of the Judiciary Committee, had similar counsel.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-3","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-15","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":91,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":91,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œI would advise the president to let us handle this,â€ Mr. Graham said on â€œFox News Sunday.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-16","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":375,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":375,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Mr. McConnell has explained to the president the political reality that, as much as Republicans might want to try to quickly move past Dr. Blaseyâ€™s allegation, they must tread carefully to avoid alienating Ms. Collins or other senators who have been noncommittal about their position on the judge, including Senator Lisa Murkowski of Alaska and Senator Jeff Flake of Arizona.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-17","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":339,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":339,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"With Senate Republicans holding only a 51-to-49 majority, Senator Charles E. Grassley of Iowa, the Republican chairman of the Judiciary Committee, who led painstaking negotiations with Dr. Blaseyâ€™s legal team over the terms of the hearing, has been driven in large part by a desire to accommodate the concerns of senators in his own party.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-18","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":433,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":433,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œYouâ€™re dealing with two different worlds,â€ said Ron Bonjean, a Republican consultant and former Senate aide who helped shepherd the confirmation of Neil M. Gorsuch, Mr. Trumpâ€™s first Supreme Court nominee, last year. â€œSenators McConnell and Grassley both know that they need Senators Murkowski and

Collins to get across the line, and if they decided to put their foot on the accelerator and just hold the vote, that could backfire.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-19","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":322,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":322,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œIf youâ€™re President Trump, thereâ€™s good reasons for being frustrated by the delay,â€ Mr. Bonjean added, noting that many conservative activists believe that the Democrats backing Dr. Blasey are playing â€œa stalling gameâ€ designed to provide time to unearth more allegations against Judge Kavanaugh or further discredit him.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-4","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-20","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":136,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":136,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Some of those activists have begun to bristle publicly at what they regard as Mr. Grassleyâ€™s weakness in bowing to Dr. Blaseyâ€™s demands.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-21","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":367,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":367,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œThe Republicans need to stop aiding and abetting Chuck Schumerâ€™s extreme delay strategy,â€ said Penny Nance, the chief executive of Concerned Women for America, a conservative group, referring to the top Senate Democrat. â€œThey have been more than fair to Professor Ford, and if they continue to capitulate to her lawyers, it will cost them in the November elections.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-22","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":321,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":321,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Some prominent Republicans have indicated that they plan to back Mr. Trumpâ€™s nominee regardless of the hearingâ€™s outcome. Speaking about Dr. Blaseyâ€™s accusation before the latest charge surfaced on Sunday night, Mr. Graham said, â€œUnless thereâ€™s something more, no, Iâ€™m not going to ruin Judge Kavanaughâ€™s life over this.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-23","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":503,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":503,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"But if Dr. Blasey comes across as a compelling witness giving credible and emotional testimony of a traumatic event, Republican senators on the Judiciary Committee â€" all of them men â€" run the risk of appearing callous and chauvinistic by pressing her on details or questioning her account. Democrats are likely to question Judge Kavanaugh about his drinking habits and social conduct â€" open-ended questions that people close to him say he plans to avoid answering, but that will be difficult to deflect.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-5","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-24","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":255,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":255,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Democrats, too, must be careful not to appear to be dismissing Judge Kavanaughâ€™s account out of hand. Senator Mazie Hirono, Democrat of Hawaii, drew criticism on Sunday for suggesting that the judge was not credible because of his approach to legal cases.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-25","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":202,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":202,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œHow the Senate handles this and the Senate Republicans handle this will be a test of this time, of 2018, in the #MeToo movement,â€ Senator Patty Murray, Democrat of Washington, said on â€œMeet the Press.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-26","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":237,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":237,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Ms. Murray, who was elected in 1992 after Senate hearings on Anita F. 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Among the reminiscences about sports and booze is a mysterious entry: â€œRenate Alumnius.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-4","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":322,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":322,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The word â€œRenateâ€ appears at least 14 times in Georgetown Preparatory Schoolâ€™s 1983 yearbook, on individualsâ€™ pages and in a group photo of nine football players, including Judge Kavanaugh, who were described as the â€œRenate Alumni.â€ It is a reference to Renate Schroeder, then a student at a nearby Catholic girlsâ€™ school.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-5","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":145,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":145,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Two of Judge Kavanaughâ€™s classmates say the mentions of Renate were part of the football playersâ€™ unsubstantiated boasting about their conquests.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-6","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":229,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":229,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œThey were very disrespectful, at least verbally, with Renate,â€ said Sean Hagan, a Georgetown Prep student at the time, referring to Judge Kavanaugh and his teammates. â€œI canâ€™t express how disgusted I am with them, then and now.â€","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-1","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AEgJYLpgvRqetGkoww4R__g","range":{"length":22,"start":84},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://apple.news/AoYQQVlIMTdaLI-BbPG5DSA","range":{"length":10,"start":256},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-7","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":339,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":339,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Judge Kavanaughâ€™s years at Georgetown Prep, in a Maryland suburb of Washington, are under intense scrutiny because of allegations by Christine Blasey Ford that he sexually assaulted her during high school. Judge Kavanaugh has denied the allegation. He and Dr. Blasey are scheduled to testify Thursday before the Senate Judiciary Committee.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-8","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":305,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":305,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Judge Kavanaughâ€™s peers have given different accounts of what he was like. But his yearbook provides a contemporaneous glimpse of the elite Catholic schoolâ€™s hard-drinking atmosphere â€" Judge Kavanaughâ€™s personal page boasts, â€œ100 kegs or bustâ€ â€" and a culture that some describe as disrespectful to women.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-9","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":324,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":324,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"This month, Renate Schroeder Dolphin joined 64 other women who, saying they knew Judge Kavanaugh during their high school years, signed a letter to the leaders of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which is weighing Judge Kavanaughâ€™s nomination. The letter stated that â€œhe has behaved honorably and treated women with respect.â€","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2018-09-14%2065%20Women%20who%20know%20Kavanaugh%20from%20High%20School%20-%20Kavanaugh%20Nomination.pdf","range":{"length":6,"start":37},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-10","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":157,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":157,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"When Ms. Dolphin signed the Sept. 14 letter, she wasnâ€™t aware of the â€œRenateâ€ yearbook references on the pages of Judge Kavanaugh and his football teammates.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-2","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-11","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":409,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-

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He admired her very much then, and he admires her to this day.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-13","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":354,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":354,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œJudge Kavanaugh and Ms. Dolphin attended one high school event together and shared a brief kiss good night following that event,â€ the statement continued. â€œThey had no other such encounter. The language from Judge Kavanaughâ€™s high school yearbook refers to the fact that he and Ms. Dolphin attended that one high school event together and nothing else.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-14","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":168,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":168,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Ms. Dolphin said she had never kissed Judge Kavanaugh. â€œI think Brett must have me confused with someone else, because I never kissed him,â€ she said through her lawyer.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-3","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-15","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":307,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":307,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"In an interview on Fox News on Monday, Judge Kavanaugh defended his high school behavior in general terms. â€œPeople might have had too many beers on occasion and people generally in high school â€" I think all of us have probably done things we look back on in high school and regret or cringe a bit,â€ he said.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-16","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":106,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":106,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"A White House spokesman, Raj Shah, declined to comment beyond the statement from Judge Kavanaughâ€™s lawyer.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-17","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":175,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":175,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Four of the men who were pictured with Judge Kavanaugh in a photo captioned â€œRenate Alumniâ€ said it was simply a reference to their dating or going to dances with Ms. Dolphin.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-18","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":301,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":301,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"An elite Catholic boysâ€™ high school founded in 1789, Georgetown Prep is known for its motto, â€œForming men for others,â€ a reference to its many alumni who have gone into public service. Justice Neil M. Gorsuch of the Supreme Court is a graduate, as is Jerome H. Powell, chairman of the Federal Reserve.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-4","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-19","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":236,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":236,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Judge Kavanaugh, a member of the football team and the captain of the basketball team, played a prominent role in Georgetown Prepâ€™s firmament in the early 1980s. The schoolâ€™s culture was one of heavy drinking and at times insensitivity.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-20","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":230,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":230,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The 1983 yearbook, for example, includes multiple apparent references to the Ku Klux Klan (but not on Judge Kavanaughâ€™s page). His page, in addition to the â€œAlumniusâ€ entry, mentions his role as â€œtreasurerâ€ of the â€œKeg City Club.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-21","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":191,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":191,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-

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People would claim things they hadnâ€™t done to sort of seem bigger than they were, older than they were.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-24","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":273,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":273,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Bill Barbot, who was a freshman at Georgetown Prep when Judge Kavanaugh was a senior, said Judge Kavanaugh and his clique were part of the schoolâ€™s â€œfrattyâ€ culture. â€œThere was a lot of talk and presumably a lot of action about sexual conquest with girls,â€ Mr. Barbot said.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-25","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":280,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":280,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Ms. Dolphin was a subject of that braggadocio, according to Mr. Hagan and another classmate, who requested anonymity because he fears retribution. They said Judge Kavanaugh and his friends were seeking to memorialize their supposed conquests with the â€œRenateâ€ yearbook references.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-26","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":148,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":148,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œShe should be offended,â€ Mr. Hagan said of Ms. Dolphin. â€œI was completely astounded when I saw she signed that letterâ€ on Judge Kavanaughâ€™s behalf.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-6","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-27","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":69,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":69,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Some women who knew Judge Kavanaugh at the time defended his conduct.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-28","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":304,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":304,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œThese guys werenâ€™t any different than other boys high schools across the country,â€ said Suzanne Matan, a friend of Judge Kavanaughâ€™s from their high school days. â€œAnd I chose to hang out with those boys and many other girls did, too, because they were fun, and they were safe, and they were respectful.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-29","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":181,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":181,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The Georgetown Prep yearbookâ€™s personal pages were designed and written by the individual students, according to Mr. Madaleno and other alumni. A faculty adviser reviewed the pages.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-30","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":319,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":319,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Judge Kavanaugh was one of 13 graduating seniors who referred to Ms. Dolphin in some way on their personal pages. Some gave themselves titles â€" DeLancey Davis, for example, listed himself as â€œchairman of the Boredâ€ of the â€œRenate Club.â€ Another football player, Tom Kane, mentioned on his page â€œRenateâ€™s Suicide Squad.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-31","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":284,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":284,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The group photo, with Judge Kavanaugh and eight fellow football players in pads and uniform, grinning, was captioned â€œRenate Alumni.â€ Mark Judge, the commentator and author who has written about his alcohol-fueled years at

Georgetown Prep, stands next to Judge Kavanaugh in the photo.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-32","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":64,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":64,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Barbara Van Gelder, a lawyer for Mr. Judge, declined to comment.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-33","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":474,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":474,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Four of the players in the â€œRenate Alumniâ€ photo â€" Mr. Davis, Mr. Kane, Tim Gaudette and Don Urgo Jr. â€" said in a statement that they had â€œnever bragged aboutâ€ sexual contact or anything like that with Ms. Dolphin. The statement, issued by Jim McCarthy, a public-relations representative, said the yearbookâ€™s â€œRenateâ€ references â€œwere intended to allude to innocent dates or dance partners and were generally known within the community of people involved for over 35 years.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-34","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":289,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":289,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œThese comments,â€ the statement continued, â€œwere never controversial and did not impact ongoing relationships until The Times twisted and forced an untrue narrative. This shabby journalism is causing egregious harm to all involved, particularly our friend, and is simply beneath contempt.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-35","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":254,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":254,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Michael Walsh, another Georgetown Prep alumnus, also listed himself on his personal yearbook page as a â€œRenate Alumnus.â€ Alongside some song lyrics, he included a short poem: â€œYou need a date / and itâ€™s getting late / so donâ€™t hesitate / to call Renate.â€","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.judiciary.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/2018-07-09%20155%20Georgetown%20Prep%20Classmates%20to%20McConnell,%20Schumer,%20Grassley,%20Feinstein%20-%20Kavanaugh%20Nomination.pdf","range":{"length":6,"start":98},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-36","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":325,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":325,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Mr. Walsh, a bank executive in Virginia, was one of scores of Georgetown Prep alumni who signed a letter to Senate Judiciary Committee leaders vouching for Judge Kavanaughâ€™s â€œsharp intellectual ability, affable nature, and a practical and fair approach devoid of partisan purpose.â€ He did not respond to requests for comment.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-37","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":270,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":270,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Ms. Dolphin was aware that members of Judge Kavanaughâ€™s clique were reciting that poem, according to a person familiar with her thinking. She told the football players that she found it offensive, believing it made her seem like a cheap date, and she asked them to stop.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-38","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":250,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":250,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Some of Judge Kavanaughâ€™s peers said they doubted that the yearbook notations were good-natured. â€œThose guys werenâ€™t big on crushes,â€ Mr. Fishburne said. â€œI think they felt that if a girl didnâ€™t want to date them, then they must be gay. Iâ€™m serious.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-39","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":391,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":391,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"A high school friend of Ms. Dolphinâ€™s, who also signed the letter to the Senate Judiciary Committee, said that while she stood by the letterâ€™s contents, as a friend of Ms. Dolphinâ€™s she was â€œsickenedâ€ by the yearbookâ€™s â€œRenateâ€ references. She and a second friend of Ms. Dolphinâ€™s denied that there was any sexual contact between Ms. Dolphin and Judge Kavanaugh or anyone else in his circle.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"identifier":"_anf-divider-3","layout":"ComponentLayout-10","role":"divider","stroke":{"color":"#222222","style":"solid","width":"1.0pt"},"type":"line"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-40","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":35,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-75"},{"range":{"length":35,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-75"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Kitty Bennett contributed research.","textStyle":"footer-

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By doing so, theyâ€™re expanding the boundaries of what kinds of stories must be taken seriously â€" and bringing a much fuller picture of female humanity into view.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/A3a5du8CBSk-YrrB4JgycQw","range":{"length":12,"start":87},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://apple.news/AEoAndznRQDi2nA0rwpKTOA","range":{"length":30,"start":747},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-5","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":854,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"},{"range":{"length":11,"start":51},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"I thought about this forced shift when I opened the New Yorker piece by Jane Mayer and Ronan Farrow on Sunday night, and read about the kind of encounter most women I know have always assumed theyâ€™d never be able to recount in public â€" least of all in the midst of a highly scrutinized, high-stakes political battle â€" because it didnâ€™t meet the impossibly high standards the world has set for women whoâ€™ve been abused or assaulted and want to be believed. The story was told by Deborah Ramirez, who told Mayer and Farrow that she almost didnâ€™t come forward â€" even with a lifetime appointment to the Supreme Court in the balance â€" because what she had to relate happened one night in college when sheâ€™d been drinking. What she did remember was her Yale classmate Brett Kavanaugh pulling down his pants and thrusting his penis in her face against her will.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AMN_04a95QdyVaSlT0eQzPA","range":{"length":21,"start":317},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-6","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":708,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"},{"range":{"length":3,"start":458},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"Ramirez openly admits that her memory is patchy, that only flashes are clear, that she was drunk to the point of slurring. Each of these things, she clearly understands, undermines her tale, leaves her open to a different kind of assault now, 35 years later. And yet she not only decided to tell her story; she, like Christine Blasey Ford, opened it up to investigation. The imperfection of her victimhood did not stop her from speaking, from insisting that her view of events should count just as much as the blithe, blanket denials being issued by a man we have no reason to believe remembers his drunken youth any more clearly than she remembers hers, yet whose word is reflexively granted more authority.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AcQZ0Mp-TQgO4sysZiGbcJQ","range":{"length":20,"start":140},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-7","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":1257,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"},{"range":{"length":4,"start":108},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"Ramirezâ€™s willingness to speak was particularly affecting in the same week as the publication of Washington Post writer Elizabeth Bruenigâ€™s remarkable reporting on the rape, in her Texas hometown, of 16-year-old Amber Wyatt, 12 years ago. At the time of her alleged assault, Wyatt did tell her story, to fellow students, to her mother, and to police. But her account of how, after getting drunk and high at a party, she was taken to a shed by two boys who penetrated her vaginally and anally, and demanded that she perform oral sex, wasnâ€™t viewed as authoritative. Neither was the investigation that followed it, which included the collection of evidence of her attack and a medical examination at a hospital. Instead, Wyatt was vilified for having caused trouble to her community; vile slurs about her penetrability were spray-painted around her town and at her school; she was sent to finish her education elsewhere, and eventually written off as having made a false accusation, the voice sheâ€™d worked so hard to raise quelled, her story recalled as fallacious. Bruenig quotes a friend of Wyattâ€™s who remembers, â€œEveryone started blaming [Wyatt] because she said something, and if she would have kept her mouth shut then nothing would have ever happened.â€","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/ARif95BbdToiojzs2Dy5c5w","range":{"length":16,"start":169},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://apple.news/AbWCvXYSQQRibKkYIhU4zVA","range":{"length":18,"start":624},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-8","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":908,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"The message to women â€"

especially those whose voices might disturb the peace â€" has always been that things will go better for them if they keep their mouths shut. In my forthcoming book about the political consequences of womenâ€™s rage, I write about a 16th-century torture device called the brank, which was used to muzzle a defiant or cranky woman by keeping her head and jaw clamped in a metal cage. Some of the iron bridles included tongue depressors; some of those had spikes on the bottom to pierce the flesh. When I visited the Tower of London last year, during the week that followed the publication of stories about Harvey Weinsteinâ€™s serial sexual predation â€" told at long last by women whose tongues had been loosed â€" I saw an internally spiked metal neck collar on display. It was labeled a â€œcollar for tortureâ€ and described as something to be â€œput around the necks of scolding or wayward wives.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-9","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":1363,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"The censure of women who open their mouths in dissent or dissatisfaction or anything less than grinning compliance with the power structures that subjugate them is so common as to be the stuff of everyday catcalling. And we donâ€™t just hear the reminders â€" â€œCome on, baby, smile â€" you look so pretty when you smileâ€ â€" on the street. During the 2016 primaries, MSNBC host Joe Scarborough chided Hillary Clinton, after a set of primary victories, â€œSmile. You just had a big night.â€ And in 2018, commenting on Nancy Pelosiâ€™s grim visage during Trumpâ€™s first State of the Union, Sarah Huckabee Sanders said on CNN, â€œI think she should smile a lot more often.â€ When women like Pelosi and Clinton do open their mouths, theyâ€™re quickly cast as shrill and monstrous harpies. Do a Google image search of any powerful women in politics or public life, and youâ€™ll see that their ideological opponents love to show pictures of them with their mouths open, mid-yell, the very act of making a loud noise a sign of their unnatural tendencies; itâ€™s no accident that when he was asking to have her removed from Kavanaughâ€™s confirmation hearings two weeks ago, Orrin Hatch referred to a protester yelling about health care as a â€œloudmouth.â€ The best way to discredit threatening women is to capture them giving loud voice to something that we might imagine is uncomfortable to hear.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AsphunM9BQTqQJAJuthZQug","range":{"length":4,"start":757},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-10","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":868,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"And the best way to silence them â€" besides literally covering their mouths, as Kavanaugh is alleged to have done to Ford, as he was trying to rip her clothes off â€" is to ensure that their voices are considered illegitimate. There are a number of mechanisms with which to accomplish that. Bruenig writes of Wyattâ€™s economic precariousness, especially compared to the wealth and social stature of the young men who assaulted her. Wyatt, and Ramirez, considered themselves to be outsiders, who had to work to fit into comparatively more privileged circles. To be â€œthe popular girl,â€ and â€œone of the cool kids,â€ Wyatt told Bruenig, she often drank and took drugs. Ramirez described feeling like a social outsider at the party of the wealthy, elite frat guys at Yale; she participated in a game in which she was directed to drink to the point of incapacitating drunkenness.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-11","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":480,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"There are other qualities women are told to cultivate if they want to be liked and accepted: pliability, friendliness, flirtatiousness, sexual availability, forgiveness. Is it not devilishly grotesque that each and every one of these traits can be used to discredit their claims of having been preyed upon? Donâ€™t believe her â€" she was drunk, she was flirting with me, she slept with so many people, hereâ€™s a photo of her smiling with me a year later, and now she says I raped her?","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/A6DlgoKjzQ3WXnIPhpDBFXg","range":{"length":14,"start":308},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-12","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":665,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"We cannot even begin to assess how many stories women donâ€™t tell because they were drunk, or young, or had been playing along right up until the moment of assault, or had acquiesced to an assault because they felt they had no choice. This last dynamic was key to the horrifying tale, also told this week, by Laura Knoblach, the daughter of a Minnesota legislator who she said molested her from childhood. Once, she told reporters, when she was 15, her father asked if she liked the way he touched her, and sheâ€™d been too afraid to say anything but yes. Knoblach, like Wyatt, had told her story repeatedly throughout the years, but no one â€" until now â€" had listened.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-13","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":691,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"},{"range":{"length":14,"start":676},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"The number of these stories

â€" stories that have gone unheard, or unspoken, because they involve women whose experiences were complicated â€" is incalculable. Why didnâ€™t I report? Because I was drunk; because I donâ€™t remember perfectly; because I didnâ€™t yell long enough; because no one would believe me; because everyone would think it was my fault; because I thought it was my fault; because I had less power. This is what has foregrounded the fundamental inexpressibility of so much of the full human experience for so many women, even in this era in which we have so often been told that one yearâ€™s worth of stories about the ubiquity of assault and harassment amounts to an overcorrection.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-14","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":31,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"No. Weâ€™re nowhere near correct.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/A0lvCID-iTcqd-KoRVIcPwA","range":{"length":41,"start":407},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-15","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":448,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"},{"range":{"length":5,"start":256},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":14,"start":210},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"But whatâ€™s happening is getting us closer: Weâ€™re taking these stories seriously. Yes, in the case of Ramirez, because it may have an impact on a Supreme Court nomination. But it matters that it was reported in The New Yorker; it matters that the Washington Post created a special stand-alone section of its Sunday paper to feature Ambera€™s story. It matters that, unless Kavanaughâ€™s nomination is withdrawn, Ford will testify in front of the nation.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/A6IdjNZ80RJiHKmopbuD-fQ","range":{"length":6,"start":133},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-16","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":363,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"There may not be a legal or political outcome that is satisfying: The perpetrators may not face real repercussions. But part of what #MeToo has always been about â€" despite the obsessive focus on the consequences faced by men â€" is what happened to the women (and to the men whoâ€™ve spoken out about their own abuse). Itâ€™s been about the exposure of their realities.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/Ac4BQnImSTTaVuRYM8v2BRw","range":{"length":23,"start":228},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-17","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":646,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"The telling of the stories, the raising of the voices, does its own political work and reveals things that we may have known at some level but have never been able to see so plainly: the connection between policy â€" the desire to control womenâ€™s bodies via restricting and policing their reproductive autonomy â€" and the personal treatment of individual women. The connection between a desire for legal or political domination â€" over workersâ€™ ability to bargain, citizensâ€™ ability to vote, black peopleâ€™s ability to walk the streets without fear of being indiscriminately accosted by the police â€" and the drive toward personal, physical domination.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AcQZ0Mp-TQgO4sysZiGbcJQ","range":{"length":6,"start":8},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-18","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":605,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"Bruenig writes, powerfully, of Wyatt, â€œThere will always be people nobody believes: people with lesser reputations, people who struggle with addiction, people without much capital, social or otherwise, to credit them. And there will always be cases of offenses that are real and true but hard to prosecute, which means that justice in the world â€" if itâ€™s to exist at all â€" will have to â€¦ arise from some other reckoning than a proper settling of accounts.â€ In this vein, Bruenig offered her reporting on Wyatt, with the stated hope that it would â€œtroubleâ€ readers, in the way that it â€œstill troublesâ€ her.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-19","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":353,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-11"}],"layout":"bodyContentLayout","role":"body","text":"All of these stories are troubling not just those of us who read them, but our view of power, in part by exposing its complicated, pervasive abuses. As women insist on wresting the metaphorical hands from their mouths, and we commit to listening to and examining what they have to say, this broken world may not get fixed, but it will never be the same.","type":"text"}],"identifier":"www.thecut.com/_components/article/instances/cjmgmszeq000jw1y64eqbuwzb","language":"en","layout":{"columns":10,"gutter":20,"margin":85,"width":1024},"metadata":{"canonicalURL":"http://www.thecut.com/2018/09/kavanaugh-sexual-assault-deborah-ramirez-christine-ford.html","datePublished":"2018-09-24T19:55:08.111Z","thumbnailImageIdentifier":"ebc23aeb125f2f900ab112b92de36369","transparentToolbar":false},"resources":{"492005d4-a642-412e-91e0-97b82fa75b42":{"URL":"asset://492005d4-a642-412e-91e0-

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Kavanaugh, which are slowing proceedings on his nomination to be the newest Supreme Court justice, could be one of the â€œsingle most unfair, unjust things to happen to a candidate for anything.â€","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AnM0QbeC0Rkm0V_q-OJO9Ng","range":{"length":32,"start":320},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-8","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":353,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":353,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The president said he continues to support Judge Kavanaugh, and dismissed the allegations about the judgeâ€™s conduct decades ago as â€œtotally political.â€ Mr. Trump characterized the women making them as people coming â€œout of the woodwork.â€ His comments came during brief remarks in New York on Monday morning ahead of his appearance at the United Nations.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-9","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":343,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":343,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Mr. Trumpâ€™s statements on Monday echoed his remarks in a radio interview to be broadcast on Monday morning, in which Mr. Trump acknowledged that he would most likely not be able to persuade any Democrats to vote for Judge Kavanaugh, meaning that he would have to hold nearly every Republican to win confirmation in the narrowly divided Senate.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-10","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":242,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":242,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œWeâ€™ll get almost no Democrat,â€ he told Geraldo Rivera for the debut show of â€œGeraldo in Clevelandâ€ on WTAM radio. â€œWe may get a couple in states where I won by many, many points â€" you understand that â€" but weâ€™ll essentially get no Democrat.â€","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-1","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AP818R8qRS2un55np-8Luuw","range":{"length":35,"start":24},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-11","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":190,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":190,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Yet Mr. Trump suggested Christine Blasey Fordâ€™s allegations against Judge Kavanaugh were suspect because she never reported them to the authorities. â€œThis went 36 years without a complaint.â€","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/ASDpb1vcRQemX7gbpw9LQYg","range":{"length":20,"start":254},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-12","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":456,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":456,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Dr. Blasey, 51, who also goes by her married name, Ford, has accused Judge Kavanaugh, 53, of sexually assaulting her while he was drunk during a high school party when they were both teenagers. He has categorically denied the allegation, and the two are scheduled to testify separately before the Senate Judiciary Committee on Thursday. Mr. Trump has stuck by Judge Kavanaugh, who would join Justice Neil M. Gorsuch, his first appointee, on the high court.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-13","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":136,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":136,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œHopefully, weâ€™ll have a second judge very shortly who is a fantastic, fantastic man, a fantastic talent and intellect,â€ Mr. Trump

said.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-14","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":289,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":289,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The president, nonetheless, said he favored allowing Dr. Blasey to make her case before the Senate. â€œI want her to have her voice,â€ he said. â€œLet her have her voice, let her say whatever she has to say. Let him say what he has to say and that in the end these senators will make a choice.â€","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-2","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AyWjf_1bkP7-54sKLmXS3Ng","range":{"length":1,"start":31},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://apple.news/AyWjf_1bkP7-54sKLmXS3Ng","range":{"length":28,"start":32},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-15","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":284,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":284,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The interview was taped before The New Yorker posted a story on Sunday citing another woman, Deborah Ramirez, 53, who said that an inebriated Judge Kavanaugh exposed himself in front of her face during a dormitory party at Yale University. Judge Kavanaugh denied that allegation, too.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-16","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":428,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":428,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"At one point, the White House had hopes of winning the support of several Democratic senators running for re-election in states that Mr. Trump won, but that prospect seemed to vanish with the emergence of Dr. Blaseyâ€™s allegations. If no Democrats support Judge Kavanaugh, that means the Republicans, who hold a 51-to-49 majority with Vice President Mike Pence able to break ties, can afford to lose only one of their own caucus.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AdHo1AGpBRiCpAYZt1t9nVA","range":{"length":30,"start":124},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-17","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":359,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":359,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"During the interview, Mr. Trump declined to say whether he might fire Rod J. Rosenstein, the deputy attorney general, after a report in The New York Times that Mr. Rosenstein last year suggested secretly recording the president to demonstrate the chaos in the administration and raised the possibility of invoking the 25th Amendment to remove him from office.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-18","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":251,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":251,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"The Justice Department has said that Mr. Rosenstein was joking when he talked about taping the president, a version in conflict with others who described his comments. Mr. Rosenstein said that he currently sees â€œno basis to invoke the 25th Amendment.â€","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-3","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-19","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":315,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":315,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Advisers have sought to keep Mr. Trump from firing Mr. Rosenstein, at least until after the midterm elections in November, for fear of a backlash. Since Attorney General Jeff Sessions has recused himself from overseeing the Russia investigation, Mr. Rosenstein supervises the special counsel, Robert S. Mueller III.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-20","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":312,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":312,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œI donâ€™t want to comment on it until I get all the facts,â€ Mr. Trump said when asked if he would fire Mr. Rosenstein. â€œI havenâ€™t gotten all the facts, but certainly itâ€™s being looked at in terms of what took place. If anything took place and Iâ€™ll make a determination sometime later, but I donâ€™t have the facts.â€","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://apple.news/AOlLAmP4aS6eAoyeiTWGmOw","range":{"length":15,"start":149},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-21","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":216,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":216,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Mr. Trump asserted that he was not worried about his former personal attorney, Michael D. Cohen, who is talking with Mr. Muellerâ€™s prosecutors after pleading guilty to breaking campaign finance laws and other

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I have very big law firms I have that do my work.â€","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-4","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-23","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":247,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":247,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"While the president said it was â€œunrelated to me,â€ in fact, Mr. Cohen acknowledged in court that Mr. Trump directed him to make payments to two women during the 2016 campaign to keep them silent about affairs they said they had with the candidate.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-24","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":250,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":250,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Mr. Rivera asked if Mr. Trump knew of anything that Mr. Cohen could tell the authorities that could be a problem for the president. â€œI donâ€™t know anything because, Iâ€™ll be honest, I do everything straight,â€ Mr. Trump said. â€œI do everything straight.â€","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2018/09/13/us/politics/ap-us-tropical-weather-trump-the-latest.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006123059","range":{"length":21,"start":198},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://apple.news/AYfZ2n911QimFWfm1e7ZqaA","range":{"length":43,"start":264},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-25","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":336,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":336,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Mr. Trump again defended his handling of Hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico and again assailed Carmen YulÃn Cruz, the mayor of San Juan, calling her a â€œhorror show.â€ The mayor recently called Mr. Trump â€œdelusional, paranoid and unhinged from any sense of realityâ€ for denying the officially accepted death count of 3,000 from the hurricane.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-26","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":311,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":311,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œYou have the mayor of San Juan whoâ€™s incompetent,â€ Mr. Trump said. â€œShe should never be there. Sheâ€™s just doesnâ€™t know what sheâ€™s doing, sheâ€™s totally incompetent person. You have as you know locally they did a very, very poor job. The electric was broken before the storms that got hit by two storms not one.â€","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-5","layout":"ComponentLayout-4","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-27","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":390,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"},{"range":{"length":390,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"He said that critics blamed him for a situation that was already dysfunctional before the storm. â€œIt was a total mess, it was corrupt â€" couldnâ€™t be worse,â€ he said. â€œThe storms hit and they said, â€˜Oh letâ€™s blame Trump for the electric, letâ€™s have Trump, letâ€™s have Trump fix the electric plant, which takes a long time to rebuild it, which is a big deal. 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The countryâ€™s deal with the Vatican last week was part of that broader effort.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-26","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":153,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":153,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"With the pope legitimizing bishops appointed by the Chinese government, the party thinking goes, secret underground churches may have no reason to exist.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-27","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":5,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":5,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"_____","type":"text"},{"components":[{"identifier":"_anf-divider-3","layout":"ComponentLayout-12","role":"divider","stroke":{"color":"#E2E2E2","width":"1.0pt"},"type":"line"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/01/12/us/100000004069963.app.html","range":{"length":25,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-heading3-

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attack on a military parade that killed 25 people. A local Arab separatist group
claimed responsibility, but Iran blamed Saudi Arabia, the U.A.E. and the U.S. Above, a
funeral for victims of the attack. [The New York
Times]","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-
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/24/indonesian-teenager-survives-49-days-adrift-at-sea-in-fishing-
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funded universities are male, according to a new report, prompting calls for more
family-friendly policies in academia and training to tackle bias. [The South China
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director, Michelle Guthrie, on Monday. Crikey takes a look back at her short and
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different forms of love: love from a distance, the shared memories of love, love for
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warming up to the idea and negotiations with the E.U. at an â€œimpasse,â€ Mr. Corbyn is
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Now, the overwhelming feeling is that Mr. Macronâ€™s pro-market reforms have so far not improved the lives of ordinary French people.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-3","layout":"ComponentLayout-10","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-21","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":172,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":172,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œIn the beginning I thought, â€˜Yes, heâ€™s young, heâ€™s dynamic,â€™â€ a waitress in Montmorillon said. â€œBut really, now, I see heâ€™s just doing it his way, without even asking us.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-22","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":89,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":89,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Mr. Macronâ€™s sputtering descent may hold broader dangers for liberal democracy in Europe.","type":"text"},{"components":[{"identifier":"_anf-divider-3","layout":"ComponentLayout-12","role":"divider","stroke":{"color":"#E2E2E2","width":"1.0pt"},"type":"line"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/01/12/us/100000004069963.app.html","range":{"length":25,"start":0},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-heading3-1","layout":"interactive-promo-headline","role":"heading3","text":"â†‑ï¸ Graphic: Local Weather","textStyle":"interactive-promo-headline","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-55","layout":"inset","role":"body","text":"See the forecast for your

area.","textStyle":"interactive-promo-summary","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-divider-4","layout":"ComponentLayout-13","role":"divider","stroke":{"color":"#E2E2E2","width":"1.0pt"},"type":"line"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-5","layout":"ComponentLayout-11","role":"container","type":"container"},{"identifier":"_anf-heading4-1","layout":"heading4","role":"heading4","text":"Business","type":"text"},{"components":[{"caption":" Tracie Van Auken for The New York Times","captionComponent":{"text":" Tracie Van Auken for The New York Times"},"identifier":"100000006123015_5ba868d80c639","imageIdentifier":"a23e22a29a1aed911fa81d5fda2201f5","layout":"fullbleed-image","role":"photo","type":"scalable_image"},{"identifier":"_anf-caption-5","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":40,"start":0},"textStyle":"photo-credit"}],"layout":"default-caption","role":"caption","text":" Tracie Van Auken for The New York Times ","type":"text"}],"identifier":"_anf-container-6","layout":"image-container","role":"container","type":"container"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/business/media/comcast-disney-sky.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006108935","range":{"length":22,"start":62},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-23","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":284,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":284,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":8,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€¢ Comcast and its chief executive, Brian Roberts, above, have wrested control of Sky, one of Europeâ€™s top television companies, from Rupert Murdoch and the Walt Disney Company, which is buying most of Mr. Murdochâ€™s company, 21st Century Fox. But the acquisition came at a steep price.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/technology/online-banking-monzo.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006108935","range":{"length":23,"start":44},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-24","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":97,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":97,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":25,"start":8},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"},{"range":{"length":5,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€¢ Banks without physical branches in Europe are luring young people with slick apps and low fees.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/21/technology/google-search-political-bias.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006108935","range":{"length":49,"start":67},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-25","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":271,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":271,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":13,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€¢ Sundar Pichai, Googleâ€™s chief executive, denied that the company manipulates search results for political purposes, responding to a report that employees discussed including pro-immigration content in search results after President Trump enacted a travel ban last year.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/23/business/us-tariffs-on-chinese-goods-to-take-effect-and-the-fed-will-meet.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006108935","range":{"length":32,"start":34},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-26","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":128,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":128,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":17,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€¢ Coming this week: The U.S. will resume trade talks with the E.U., and the Federal Reserve is expected to raise interest rates.","type":"text"},{"bannerType":"any","identifier":"_anf-banner_advertisement-4","layout":"ComponentLayout-10","role":"banner_advertisement","type":"banner_advertisement"},{"additions":[{"URL":"http://markets.on.nytimes.com/research/markets/worldmarkets/worldmarkets.asp?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006108935","range":{"length":14,"start":23},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-27","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":38,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":38,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":17,"start":2},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-10"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€¢ Hereâ€™s a snapshot of global

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October for the wildlife charity Tusk Trust, which organized the so-called Tusk Trail.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-44","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":158,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":158,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Prices are expected to go far higher than $15,000 â€" the amount paid in 1998 to a Swiss artist who designed the fiberglass cows that set off a worldwide trend.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2000/05/31/nyregion/is-nothing-sacred-international-discontent-erupts-over-a-cow-parade.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006108935","range":{"length":22,"start":75},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-45","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":134,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":134,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"â€œI gave them character. I gave them feelings,â€ that artist, Roland Muller, told The Times in 2000. â€œI wanted people to react to them.â€","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-46","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":89,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":89,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"His cows were mass produced, decorated by local artists and then put in Zurichâ€™s streets.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2000/08/24/nyregion/bovine-crimes-strike-an-unlikely-cow-town.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006108935","range":{"length":16,"start":137},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://intransit.blogs.nytimes.com/2007/10/25/who-let-the-cows-in/?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006108935","range":{"length":18,"start":156},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-47","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":175,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":175,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Few expected his cow parade to be anything more than a quirky local event. But it was such a tourist draw that cows were soon arriving â€" and being tipped â€" all over the place.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2000/07/28/arts/art-review-stretching-definitions-of-outdoor-sculpture.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006108935","range":{"length":17,"start":57},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/2001/08/20/arts/art-on-streets-till-the-cows-come-home.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006108935","range":{"length":4,"start":241},"type":"link"},{"URL":"https://www.theguardian.com/childrens-books-site/gallery/2014/nov/03/paddington-bear-trail-sculptures-celebrities","range":{"length":5,"start":249},"type":"link"},{"URL":"http://gallopalooza.com/showcase/","range":{"length":6,"start":256},"type":"link"}],"identifier":"_anf-body-48","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":284,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":284,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Not everyone was pleased. Roberta Smith, our art critic, wrote at the time that the cows made outdoor sculptures â€œa near inescapable conditionâ€ after appearing in New York. But they remain popular. There have been parades of everything from pigs to bears, horses, elephants and lions.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-49","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":39,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":39,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":39,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Alex Marshall wrote todayâ€™s Back Story.","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-50","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":5,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":5,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":5,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"_____","type":"text"},{"identifier":"_anf-body-51","inlineTextStyles":[{"range":{"length":71,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":71,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-100"},{"range":{"length":71,"start":0},"textStyle":"_anf-ts-1"}],"layout":"default-body","role":"body","text":"Your Morning Briefing is published weekday mornings and updated online.","type":"text"},{"additions":[{"URL":"https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/briefing/global-morning-briefing-newsletter-signup.html?partner=applenews&ad-keywords=APPLEMOBILE&region=written_through&asset_id=100000006108935","range":{"length"